Dr. Martin Luther's

Complete Writings

published by

Dr. Joh. Georg Walch.

Twenty-first volume.

Second part.

Dr. Luther's Letters.

(Second section.)

New revised stereotype edition.

ST. LOUIS, MO.
CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE.
1904.

Dr. Martin Luther's Letters

along with

the most important letters addressed to him, and some other strikingly interesting writings.

Letters from the years 1533 to 1546.

Postscript.

Addendum to the letters from April 1531 to July 1536.

Published anew by order of the Ministry of the German Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other states.

ST. LOUIS, MO.
CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE.
1904

Foreword.

We have little to add here to what has been said in the preface to the first part of this volume. In this part, too, the pieces originally written in Latin have almost without exception been newly translated into German, several dates have been corrected, and many improvements have been made in the text.

We have retained the "Postscript" [*"Nachlese zu den sämmtlichen Theilen der Hallischen Sammlung der Schriften Luthers,"*] which Walch assigned to this volume, but have included eight numbers of it in the collection of letters in a suitable place, because four (namely, concerns) actually belong there, but the other four are often referred to in letters. The last number of Walch's Postscript, "Luthers Randglossen über die Bibel," has already been included in the eighth volume of our edition (see the preface to the eighth volume). On the other hand, we have added two pieces to the Postscript, namely "Luther's Opinion of Augustine's Words: *Accedat verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum*" and the so-called "Twelve Protestant Counsels of the Papists",
illuminated by Luther. The former writing is (inappropriately) under the letters in Walch, the latter is missing in Walch.

Only shortly before the completion of the typesetting and printing of the Nachlese did the last two volumes of the Erlanger Briefwechsel, namely the ninth and tenth volumes, come into our hands. Therefore, we were not able to include the improvements and additions resulting from them in the work itself, but had to assign them to a supplement.

With this volume, by God's grace, the reprinting of Luther's complete writings by Dr. Joh. G. Walch is now complete; praise, glory and thanks be to God, who has faithfully assisted us in this great work for twenty-four years. May He grant that these glorious writings may also be diligently read, so that through the God-enlightened Luther we may ever better attain the right understanding of the writings given by God, and, like him, grasp and hold them in fervent faith. May God grant this, for the sake of Jesus Christ, his dear Son, our Saviour, amen.

St. Louis, circa Michaelmas 1904.

A. F. Hoppe

Index of Luther's letters,

which indicates both the letters contained in this volume and those in other volumes to which reference is only made here.

According to the time sequence.

Columne

1950a. Grundzüge eines Bedenkens über einen zu errichtenden Religionsfrieden. Without date 1532 1792
1950b. To Mrs. Dorothea Jörger. 1 Jan. 1533 1793
1951. To Nie. Hausmann. 2 Jan. 1533 1796
1952. Never. Hausmann to Luther. 5 Jan.
1533 ... 1797 1953. Justus Menius to Luther. Early 1533. .. 1799
1954. To Nie. von Amsdorf. 14 Jan. 1533 1800
1955. To the Christians chased out of Oschatz.
Jan. 20, 1533, St. Louis ed. vol. X, 1956.
1956 To the Mayor and Council of Rothenburg an der Tauber. 26 Jan. 1533 1801
1957. to Hans von Loser, hereditary marshal. 29 Jan. 1533 1802
1958. to the council and congregation of Frankfurt a. M. Jan. 1533.
St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2007.
1959. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 9 March 1533 1803
1960. Bugenhagen to Spalatin. 10 March 1533... 1804
1961. Veit Dietrich to Justus Menius. 23 March
1533. (Regest.) 1805
1962. to Paul Lautensack. 24 March 1533. (Regest.) 1805
1963. to Georg Held. 28 March 1533 1805
1964. to George, Prince of Anhalt. 28 March 1533 1807
1965. To John, Prince of Anhalt. 28 March
1533 1808
1966. to Spalatin. 29 March 1533 1809
1967. the council of Nuremberg to Luther and Me
lanchthon. 8. April 1533 1810
1968. To the Protestant Christians of Leipzig.
Apr. 11, 1533. St. Louis ed. vol. XIX, 1820.
1969 To the Council of Nuremberg, together with Melanchthon. 18 April 1533 1811
1970. Wolf Wiedemann to Luther. 25 April 1533.
St. Louis ed. vol. xix, 1822.
1971. To Wolf Wiedemann. 27 April 1533.
St. Louis ed. vol. xix, 1822.
1972. to Aegidius Freund. 28 April 1533 1813
1973. To Mrs. Dorothea Jörger. 6 May 1533... 1814
1974. to the council of Torgau. 6 May 1533 1815
1975: Prince John Frederick to Luther.
12 May 1533 1816
1976. to Spalatin. 12 May 1533 1817
1977. to an unnamed person. 13 May 1533.
St. Louis ed. vol. x, 1754.
1978. to Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt. 15 May 1533 1817
1979. to Spalatin. 24 May 1533 1818
1980. to Spalatin. 26 May 1533 1819
1981. to Christoph Rühel. 9 June 1533 1821
1982 Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.
11 June 1533 1822
1983. to Nicolaus Hausmann. 16 June 1533.
St. Louis ed. vol. XVI, 1878. .
1984. to Joachim, Prince of Anhalt. 19 June
1533. St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1808.
1985. to Michael Stiefel. 24 June 1533 1825
1986. to Tilemann Schnabel and other Hessian theologians. 26 June 1533 1826
1987. Four concerns about the advertisement of the Emperor and the Pope for a council to the Elector John Frederick. St.
Louis Edition, Vol. XVI, 1872.
1988. preface to the printing of the advertisement 2c. After 30 June 1533, not by Luther.
St. Louis ed. vol. XVI, 1863.
1989. To the Leipzigers who were chased away for the sake of the Gospel. June or July 1533, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 1932.
1990. to the council of Reval. 9 July 1533. (Regest.) 1828
1991. to Spalatin. 10 July 1533 1829
1992. to Christoph Rühel. 14 July 1533 1829
1993 To the clergy of Nuremberg. 20 July 1533 1830
1994. To Wenc. Link. 20 July 1533 1835
1994a. To Hans Honold in Augsburg. 21 July 1533. 1837
1995. to Spalatin. 22.July1533 1839
1996. to the council of Augsburg. 8 Aug. 1533.
St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2033.
1997 Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg to Luther.

15 Aug. 1533 1839
1998. to Spalatin. 25 Aug. 1533 1840
1999. to Justus Menius. 26 Aug. 1533. (Fragment.) 1841
2000. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 27 Aug. 1533 1841
2001. to the council of Bremen. 7 Sept. 1533 1842
2002. To Nic. Hausmann. 24 Sept. 1533 1843

Columne

2003: The Council of Nuremberg to Luther and the Wittenberg Theologians. 27 Sept. 1533. (Regest.) 1844
2004. to the preachers of Erfurt, jointly with Melanchthon and Jonas. 30 Sept. 1533 1844
2005. to the council of Nuremberg. 8 Oct. 1533.... 1847
2006. to Andreas Osiander. 8 Oct. 1533 1851
2007. To Wenc. Link. 8 Oct. 1533 1853
2008. to Johann and Joachim, Princes of An halt. 15 Oct. 1533 1854
2009. To Nic. Hausmann. 15, Oct. 1533 1855
2010 The Council of Augsburg to Luther. 16 Oct. 1533 1857
2011. the council of Nuremberg to Luther and the other theologians. 20 Oct. 1533 1857
2012. to Joh. Agricola. 22 Oct. 1533 1858
2013. to Mrs. Dorothea Jörger. 24 Oct. 1533 1859
2014. Jonas to Spalatin. 26 Oct. 1533 1860
2015 To the Council of Augsburg. 29 Oct. 1533. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2046.
2016. to Lazarus Spengler in Nuremberg. 1 Nov. 1533 1863
2017. john P. Weller to john Brismann. 17 Nov,

2018. To Leonhard Beier. 6 Dec. 1533 1870
2019. to Eberhard Brisger. 12 Dec. 1533 1871
2020. to Joh. Schlaginhaufen. 12 Dec. 1533.... 1872
2021. To Nic. Hausmann. 17 Dec. 1533 1873
2022. To Leonh. Beier. Without date 1533 1874
2023. to his son Johannes. 1533? (1543.) St. Louis ed. vol. XVIII, 1981.
2024. to Nic. von Amsdorf. Without date 1533 1875
2025. to Joh. Heß and Ambrosius Moiban. Without Date 1533 1875
2026. Draco to Luther. Without date 1533. (Regest.) 1876
2027. to Augustin Himmel. Without date 1533 1877
2028. Conrad Ottinger in Cassel to Luther. To beginning Jan. 1534 1878
2029. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 3 Jan. 1534 1879
2030. to Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony. 10 Jan. 1534 1880
2031. to the abbess of Herford, Anna von Lim burg. 15 Jan. 1534 1881
2032. to the council of Kitzingen. 20 Jan. 1534 1882
2033 To Joh. Rühel. 25 Jan. 1534 1883
2033a. To Leonhard Beier. 26 Jan. 1534 1884
2034. Amsdorf to Luther. 28 January 1534. St. Louis ed. vol. XVIII, 1988.
2035. to Nic. Hausmann. 8 Feb. 1534 1886
2036. To Leonh. Beier. 21 Feb. 1534 1888
2037. to Nicolaus von Amsdorf. February 1534. St. Louis ed. vol. XVIII, 1990.
2038. to Heinr. von Einsiedel. 3 March 1534 1889
To Joh. Schlaginhaufen. 10 March 1534. See No. 3335 in this volume.
2039. to Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony. 11 March 1534 1890
2040.Aneinen von Adel. 14 March 1534 1891
2041. to Justus Menius. 16. mael^ 1534 ...1893
2042. To Nic. Hausmann. 21 March 1534 1894
2043. To Nic. Hausmann. 23 March 1534 1895
2044. to Spalatin. 25 March 1534 1896
2045. to the council of Leisnig. 26 March 1534 1897
2046. To Nic. Hausmann. 28 March 1534 1898
2047. to Spalatin. 28 March 1534 1899

Columne

2048. to Spalatin. 12 April 1534 1900
2049. To Nic. Hausmann. 12 April 1534 1901
2050. to Justus Menius. 16 April 1534 1902
2051. to Mrs. Dorothea Jörger. 27 April 1534 1903
2052. to Gabriel Zwilling. 29 April 1534. St. Louis ed. vol. x, 820.
2053. To Leonh. Beier. 4 May 1534 1904
2054. to Justus Jonas. Perhaps in May 1534 1905
2055. To Balthasar Jöppel, former Orga.

nists. 10 May 1534. St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 1732.
2056. to Joachim, Prince of Anhalt. 23 May 1534. St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1812.
2057. to a good friend, from the Angular Mass. March, April or May 1534. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 1286.
2058. to Otto von Pack, bailiff at Torgau. 2 June 1534 1907
2059. To Joachim, Prince of Anhalt. 9 June 1534. St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1810.
2060. To Christian Beier, Chursächsichen chancellor. 10 June 1534 1908
2061. to Friedrich Myconius. 10 June 1534 1909
2062. To Joachim, Prince of Anhalt. 12 June 1534 1909
2063. To Joachim, Prince of Anhalt. 13 June 1534 1910
2064. to Joachim, Prince of Anhalt. 18 June 1534. St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1810.
2065. To Joachim, Prince of Anhalt. 23 June 1534. St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1810.
2066. Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther. 28 June 1534. (Regest.) 1911
2067. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 28 June 1534 1911
2068. to Joh. Rühel. June 29, 1534, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 1804.
2069 To the City Council of Regensburg. 30 June 1534 1913
2070 To Friedr. Myconius. 5 July 1534 1914
2071. to Duke Henry V of Mecklenburg. 7 July 1534 1915
2072. letter of recommendation for an orientali clergymen. 7 July 1534 1916
2073. inheritance contract between the Luther siblings. 10 July 1534 1917
2074. to Justus Menius. 14 July 1534 1918
2075. to Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony. 27 July 1534 1919
2076. to his housewife. 29 July 1534 1920
2077. to author Broitzer. 25 August 1534. St. Louis ed.', vol. x, 2038.
2078. To Wenc. Link. 2 Sept. 1534 1921
2079. to Joh. Agricola. 7 Sept. 1534 1922
2080. to Friedr. Myconius. 23 Sept. 1534 1922
2081. to Matthias Weller. 7 October 1534. St. Louis ed. vol. x, 1726.
2082. To Nic. Hausmann. 14 Oct. 1534 1923
2082a. Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther. First half October 1534 1924
2083. to Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 17 Oct. 1534 1925
2084. To the Council of Herford. 24 Oct. 1534 1926
2085. To Gerh. Wilskamp. 24 Oct. 1534 1927
2086. To Nic. Hausmann. 17 Nov. 1534 1928
2087. to Caspar Müller. 24 November 1534 . St. Louis ed. vol. x, 1806.

Columne

2088 Anton Corvinus to Luther. 24 Nov. 1534. (Regest.) 1929
2089. To Leonh. Beier. 30 Nov. 1534 1930
2090. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 7 Dec. 1534 1930
2091. to Hans Kohlhase. 8. Dec. 1534 1932
2092. to Johann, Prince of Anhalt. 15 Dec. 1534 1933
2093. to JustusJonas . 16. Dec. 1534 1935
2094. concerns for the settlement at Cassel. 17 Dec. 1534. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2048.
2094a. To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 17 Dec. 1534. (Regest.) 1935
2095. to Justus Jonas. 17 Dec. 1534 1936
2096. to Joachim, Prince of Anhalt. 17 Dec. 1534 1937
2097. to Joachim, Prince of Anhalt. 19 Dec. 1534 1937
2098. To Eberh. Brisger. 20 Dec. 1534 1938
2099 Doctor Brück to Luther. 21. dec. 1534 1939
2100. to the Elector Johann Friedrich. 23 Dec. 1534 . 1941
2101. to the chancellor Brück. 23 Dec. 1534 1944
2102 Prince John Frederick to Luther. 30 Dec. 1534 1945
2103. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. Without date 1534. (Regest.) 1946
2104. to Wolfgang Sieberger. Without date 1534. St. Louis ed. vol. XIV, 786.
2105. To Spalatin. Without date 1534 1946
2106. to Joh. Lang. Without date 1534. piece.) 1947
2107. concerns why loneliness is to be fled. Without date 1534 1948
2108. to Mrs. Felicitas of Selmenitz. (Bible inscription.) 1534. St. Louis edition, vol. IX, 1798.
2109. to Elector Johann Friedrich. Without date. (1535.) 1949
2110. to Anton Lauterbach. 8 Jan. 1535 1950
2111 Prince John Frederick to Luther. 12 Jan. 1535 1951
2112. To Leonh. Beier. 18. Jan. 1535. St. Louis Ed. vol. x, 704.
2113. to a composer [Matthias Weller]. 18 Jan. 1535 1952
2114. to Casp. Aquila. 20 Jan. 1535 1953
2115 To Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 30 Jan. 1535 1954
2116. concerns about Bucer's settlement proposals. End of January, 1535. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2057.
2117. to Nicolaus von Amsdorf. Beginning of 1535. St. Louis ed. vol. xiv, 354.
2118. to Joh. Lonicer. 8 Feb. 1535 . 1955
2119 Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther. 15 Feb. 1535. (Regest.) 1956
2120. to Spalatin. 24 Feb. 1535 1956
2121. to Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony. 2 March 1535 1957
2122. to the council of the city of Hanover. 3 March

2123. To Barbara Lischnerin. 7 March 1535. St. Louis ed. vol. x, 2226.
2124. to Augustin Himmel. 5 April 1535 1959
2125. Au Mrs. Dorothea Jörger. 8 April 1535 1960

Columne

2126. To Dr. Joh. Cario. 13 April 1535 1961
2127. To Benedict (Gübe? Baworinsky?), Aeltesten of the Bohemian Brethren. 18 April 1535 1963
2128. To Spalatin. 22 April 1535 1965
2128a. To Wenc. Link. 25 April 1535 1966
2129. armuthszeuguiß. May 6, 1535 1968
2130. To Erh. Schnepf. 15 May 1535 1969
2131. Letter of recommendation for Theob. Diedel-Huber. 15 May 1535 1970
2132. Stephan Roth to Luther. 7 June 1535 1971
2133. to Justus Menius. 7 June 1535 1971
2134. to Joachim, Prince of Anhalt. II June 1535 1973
2135 To the Council of Freiberg, June 13, 1535. 1974

2136 Joachim, Prince of Anhalt, to Luther.
June 13, 1535. (Regest.) 1974.
2137. to Johann Gülden. 15 June 1535 1975
2138 The Councils of the Electorate of Saxony to Luther. 15 June
1535 1975
2138a. The Augsburg Preachers to Luther.
20 June 1535. (Regest.) 1976
2139. To Anton Lauterbach. 27 June 1535.
St. Louis ed. vol. X, 1958.
2139a. To Elector Johann Friedrich. 3 July
1535 1977
2140. Stephan Roth to Luther. 5 July 1535 1978
2141. to Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony.
July 9, 1535 1979
2142. to Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony.
July 16, 1535 1980
2143: Prince John Frederick to Luther.
20 July 1535 1981
2144 To the Council of Augsburg. 20 July 1535.
St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2068.
2145 To the clergy of Augsburg. 20 July
1535. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2069.
2146 Melanchthon to Luther, Jonas 2c. 29 July
1535 1982
2147 To Albrecht, Archbishop of Mainz. 31 July
1535. St. Louis ed. vol. XIX, 1878.
2148. to mayor and council of Augsburg.
Aug. 3, 1535 1983
2149: Prince John Frederick to Luther.
3 Aug. 1535 1984
2150. to Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony.
Aug. 7, 1535 1985
2151. to Gabr. Gemini. 8 Aug. 1535 1986
2152. to Justus Menius. 8 Aug. 1535 1987
2153. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 17 Aug.
1535. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 299.
2154. to Justus Jonas. 19 Aug. 1535 1988
2155. mayor and council of the city of Esslingen
to Luther. 19 Aug. 1535 1990
2156. the Strasbourg theologians to Luther.
August 19, 1535. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2071.
2157. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 20 Aug.
1535. St. Louis ed. vol. XVI, 1888.
2158.to Jakob Probst. 23. aug. 1535 1991
2159.to Justus Menius. 24 Aug. 1535 1992
2160. To Justus Jonas. 24 Aug. 1535.. 1993
2161. to Justus Jonas. 27 Aug. 1535 1994
2162. to Melanchthon. 29 Aug. 1535 1995
2163. to Justus Jonas. 1 Sept. 1535 1996
2164. mayor and council of Ulm to Luther.
3 Sept. 1535 1998

Index to Luther's letters, arranged in chronological order.

2165. to Justus Jonas. 4. Sept. 1535 1999
2166. to Spalatin. 6 Sept. 1535 2000
2167 The Council of Augsburg to Luther. 8 Sept. 1535 2001
2167a. Johann Förster in Augsburg to Luther. 8 Sept. 1535. (Regest.) 2002
2167b. Dr. Gereon Seiler to Luther. 8. (?)Sept. 1535. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2124.
2167c. The preachers at Augsburg to Luther. 8 (?) Sept. 1535. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2139.
2168. to Mrs. Dorothea Jörger. 12. Sept. 1535 2003
2169. to Churf. Johann Friedrich, together with the other theologians. 12 Sept. 1535. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 283.
2170. to George of Anhalt. 17 Sept. 1535. 2004
2171 Prince John Frederick to Luther and the other theologians. Sept. 1535 2006
2172. to an unnamed nobleman. 19 Sept. 1535. St. Louis edition, vol. X, 196.
2172a. To Elector Johann Friedrich. 28 Sept. 1535 2007
2173. To Gabr. Gemini. 30. Sept. 1535 2008
2174. to Joh. Riedtesel. 4. Oct. 1535 2010
2175 To the Preachers of Strasbourg. 5 Oct. 1535. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2074.
2176. to the preachers in Augsburg. 5 Oct. 1535. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2076.
2177. to mayor and council in Augsburg. 5 Oct. 1535 2011
2178. to the preachers of Ulm. 5 Oct. 1535. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2077.
2179. to the City Council of Esslingen. 5 Oct. 1535 2012
2180. To Dr. Gereon Seiler. 5 October 1535. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2078.
2181. to Casp. Huberinus. 5. Oct. 1535 2013
2182. Melanchthon to Luther. 17 Oct. 1535 2014
2183. to Justus Jonas. 18 Oct. 1535 2014
2184. to an unnamed person. 25 October 1535. St. Louis ed. vol. x, 2046.
2185. to Justus Jonas. 28 Oct. 1535 2016
2186. to the preachers of Soest. Before 2 Nov. 1535. St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 643.
2187. To Bernhard, pastor in Dinkelsbühl. Nov. 2, 1535 2017
2188. To Leonh. Beier. 2 Nov. 1535 2019
2189. to Justus Jonas. 10 Nov. 1535 2020
2190. to the preachers in Frankfurt. 10 Nov. 1535 2021
2191 To the Council of Frankfurt. 23 Nov. 1535.... 2023
2192. To Martin Schalling. 27 November 1535. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2082.
2193 To the preachers of Strasbourg. 27 Nov. 1535. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2081.
2194. To Nic. Gerbet. 27 Nov. 1535, St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2079.
2195. to Melanchthon. In Dec. 1535 2024
2196: Prince John Frederick to Luther. 6 Dec 1535 2026
2197 Melanchthon to Luther. 6 Dec. 1535 2027
2198. to Friedr. Myconius. 15 Dec. 1535 2027
2199. To Stenzel Guldschmidt. 20. Dec. 1535. St. Louis ed. vol. x, 692.
2199 a. To Wolfgang Brauer. 27. Dec. 1535. St. Louis ed. vol. x, 2224.

Columne

2200. To Urban Rhegius. 30 Dec. 1535 2029
2200a. To the preachers of Nordhausen. Without Da tum 1535. St. Louis edition, vol. X, 744. - There the addressees are not named; we have inserted the name after Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 165. - This proof was omitted by mistake in the text, Col. 2030. This letter is missing from De Wette and the Erlangen edition, and has only been added by Seidemann l. c.
2201 Prince John Frederick to Luther. Jan. 9, 1536..... 2030
2202. to Elector Johann Friedrich. II. Jan. 1536 2031
2202a. To the Archbishop of Mainz. Before the Jan. 12, 1536. St. Louis ed. vol. XIX, 1884.
2203. to Veit Dietrich. 14 Jan. 1536 2033
2204. to Balthasar Raide. 17 Jan. 1536 2035

2205. To Nic. Hausmann. 17 Jan. 1536 2036
2206. to Caspar Müller, chancellor in Mansfeld. 19 Jan 1536 2037
2207. to George, Prince of Anhalt. 24 Jan. 1536 2039
2208. to the Vice Chancellor Franz Burkhard. 25 Jan. 1536 2040
2209. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 25 Jan. 1536. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 284.
2210. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. 27 Jan 1536 2041
2211 To Johann, Georg and Joachim von An halt. 1 Feb. 1536 2042
2212. to Anton Lauterbach. 8 Feb. 1536 2043
2213. to Lorenz Castner and comrades. II. Feb. 1536. St. Louis ed. vol. XX, 1758.
2214: Prince John Frederick to Luther. 6 March 1536. (Regest.) 2045
2215. To Nic. Hausmann. 11 March 1536 2046
2216 To Johann, Georg and Joachim von An halt. 13 March 1536 2047
2217. to Spalatin. 19 March 1536 2048
2218. To Wenc. Link. 20 March 1536 2048
2219. Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. 24 March 1536 2050
2220. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther and the other theologians. 25 March 1536. (Regest.) 2050
2221. To Mart. Bucer. 25 March 1536, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVII, 2084.
2222. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 28 March 1536 2051
2223. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 4 April 1536 2052
2224. to Elector Johann Friedrich. April 6 1536 2053
2225. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. 6 April 1536. (Regest.) 2054
2226. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. 8 April 1536 2055
2227. to the Vice-Chancellor Franz Burkhard. 8.April 1536 2055
2228. To Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt. 9 April 1536 2056
2229. to Thomas Cromwell. 9 April1536 2057
2230. to Johannvon Riedtesel. 16. April 1536 2058

Columne

2231. To Hans Reineck. I8.Apr. 1536. St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 2040.
2232. To Franz Burkhard,Vice Chancellor. April 20. 1536. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 282.
2233 The Council of Augsburg to Luther. 28 April 1536. (Regest.) 2059
2234. the Confederates to Luther. 30 April 1536. (Regest.) 2060
2235. to Joh. Brismann. 1 May 1536 2060
2236. AnA. Rudolph. 12.May 1536. St. Louis Ed. vol. x, 720.
2237. To Wolfg. Capito. 12.May 1536. St. Louis Ed. vol. XVII, 2101.
2238. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. May 14, 1536. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2085.
2239. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 21 May 1536 2061
2240. landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther 2c. 24 May 1536. (Regest.) 2062
2241. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. 25 May 1536 2062
2242 To the Council of Strasbourg. 29 May 1536. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2119.
2243 To the Council of Augsburg. 29 May 1536 2063
2244. to Margrave George of Brandenburg. 29 May 1536 2064
2245. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 5 June 1536 2066
2245a. Concerns of Luther, Cruciger 2c. to Philip of Hesse. 5JuneI536. St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1752.
2246. To Henry, Duke of Saxony. 7 June 1536 2067
2247 To Justus Jonas. 7 June 1536 2068
2248 To Spalatin. 10 June 1536 2069
2249. to Spalatin. 12 June 1536 , 2070
2250 Capito to Luther. 13 June 1536. (Regest.) 2071
2251 The Moravian Brethren to Luther. In June 1536. (Regest.) 2071
2252. Mich. Dalenbrock to Luther. 17 June 1536. (Regest.) 2072
2253. to Wolfg. Koech and Peter Thun. 20 June 1536 2072
2253a. To George, Prince of Anhalt. 30 June 1536 2073
2254. to Duke Henry of Saxony. 4 July 1536 2074
2255. to Joh. forester. 12 July 1536 2075
2256. Andr. Osiander to Luther. 12 July 1536. (Regest.) 2076
2256a. Au George, Prince of Anhalt. 17 July 1536 . 2076
2257 The Council of Augsburg to Luther. 18 July 1536. (Rules.) 2077
2258. Wolfg. Capito to Luther. 20 July 1536. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2120.
2258a. To Johann, Georg and Joachim von An halt. 21 July 1536 2077
2259 Martin Bucer to Luther. 21 July 1536. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2122.
2260. the clergy at Augsburg to Luther. July 23, 1536, St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2131.
2261. to Leonh. Beier, together with other theologians. 24 July 1536 2079
2262. the electoral councils to Luther 2c. July 24, 1536. (Regest.) 2080
2263. to Miss Dorothea Jörger. 31 July 1536 2081
2264. Andreas Ebert to Luther. End of July 1536 2081
2265. to Andreas Ebert. 5 Aug. 1536 2083
2266. to Hieronymus Welker. 5 Aug. 15362085
2267. concerns of the Wittenberg scholars about the Concil at Mantua. 6-12 Aug. 1536. (Regest.) 2086
2268. au the clergy at Augsburg. 7 Aug. 1536 2086
2269 To the Council of Augsburg. 7 Aug. 1536 2087
2270. to Joh. Förster. Aug. 7, 1536 2088
2271: Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. 8 Aug 1536 2089
2272. to Hieronymus Weller. 13 Aug. 1536 2090
2173. Elisabeth of Brandenburg to Luther. 13 Aug. 1536. (Regest.) 2091

2274. the monastery of Plötzkau to Luther. 14 Aug. 1536 2091
2275. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 16 Aug. 1536 2093
2276. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 17 Aug. 1536 2094
2277. to Justus Jonas. 17 Aug. 1536 2095
2278 To Justus Jonas. 18 Aug. 1536 2096
2279 Elector John Frederick to Luther. 19 Aug 1536 2098
2280. to Franz Burkhard, Vice-Chancellor. 22 Aug. 1536 2098
2281. George, Prince of Anhalt, to Luther. 24 Aug. 1536. (Regest.) 2099
2281a. To George, Prince of Anhalt. 28 Aug. 1536 2100
2282. Joachim Vadian to Luther. 30 Aug. 1536. (Regest.) 2101
2283. to the council of Leisnig. 31 Aug. 1536 2101
2284. capito to Luther. Sept. 4, 1536. (Regest.) 2102
2285. to Justus Jonas. Sept. 5, 1536 2102.
2286 Bucer to Luther. 6 Sept. 1536. (Regest.) 2103
2286a. The Council of Reutlingen to Luther. 13 Sept. 1536. (Regest.) 2103
2287. Nic. von Amsdorf to Luther. 14 Sept. 1536 2104
2288. to Nic. Hausmann. 20 Sept. 1536 2105
2289. to Spalatin. 24 Sept. 1536 2106
2290. to the council of Zwickau. Sept. 27, 1536. 2107
2291. to George, Prince of Anhalt. 29 Sept. 1536 2108
2292. to Count Albrecht of Mansfeld. 5 Oct. 1536. St. Louis edition, vol. x, 818.
2293. Jakob Meyer to Luther. 7 Oct. 1536. (Regest.) 2109
2294. the Bohemian Brethren to Luther. 8 Oct. 1536. (Regest.) 2110
2295. to the council at Saatfeld. 9 Oct. 1536 2110
2296. elector Johann Friedrich to Dr. Brück. 9 Oct. 1536. (Regest.) 2111
2297. to Joh. Agricola. About 9 Oct. 1536. (Regest.) 2112
2298 Joh. Agricola to Luther. 18 Oct. 1536 2112
2299. To Casp. Huberinus. 23 Oct. 1536 2113
2300. Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. 26 Oct. 1536. (Regest.) 2114
2301 To Hans von Taubenheim. 28 Oct. 1536 2114
2302. the clergy at Ulm to Luther. 31 Oct. 1536. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2133.
2303 Conrad Cordatus to Luther. End of Oct. 1536. (Regest.) 2115

Columne

2304 To Elector Johann Friedrich. 1 Nov.
1536 2115
2305 Melanchthon to Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen and Cruciger. I Nov. 1536 . 2116
2306 To Duke Henry of Saxony. 2 Nov.
1536 2118
2307 Conrad Cordatus to Luther. 3 Nov. 1536 2120
2308 To the attestations of the Moravian brothers.
5 Nov 1536 2122
2309. to Else Agricola. 13 November 1536.
(Regest.) 2123
2310 The Nuremberg Council to the Theological Faculty
at Wittenberg. 13 Nov. 1536. (Regest.).... 2123
2311 To the Council of Ulm. 14 November 1536.
St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2135.
2312 To the Council of Saatfeld. 15 Nov. 1536 2124
2313 To Duke Henry V of Mecklenburg.
18 Nov 1536 2125
2314 To the Council of Nuremberg, together with Jonas and Melanchthon. 28 Nov. 1536 2126
2315 Joachim Vadian to Luther. 28 Nov. 1536.
(Regest.) 2127
2316. To Christian III, King of Denmark.
2 Dec 1536 2127
2317 Conrad Cordatus to Luther. 6 Dec. 1536 2128
2318. Oswald Myconius to Luther. 8 Dec. 1536.
(Regest.) 2131
2319. to the chancellor Brück. 10 December 1536.
St. Louis ed. vol. XIX, 1882.
2320. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther 2c.
11 Dec. 1536 2132
2321. to Joh. Agricola. 15 Dec. 1536. (Regest.) 2133
2322 Cordatus to Luther. 16 Dec. 1536 2133
2323. to Spalatin. About 17 Dec. 1536 2134
2324. concerns about the Concil at Mantua and
Of the opposition. In Dec. 1536 2135
2325. to Joachim, Prince of Anhalt. 25 Dec.
1536 2137
2326. to Mayor and Council of Isny. 26 Dec.
1536. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2138.
2327. To Anton Lauterbach. 27. December 1536?
(1535.) 2138
2328. Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon. 31 Dec. 1536 2139
2329. to the Elector Johann Friedrich. Without date 1536 2140
2330 Concerns about the authority of the authorities in ecclesiastical matters. Without date 1536.
(Regest.) 2141
2331: Concerns of the Wittenberg theologians to the clergy at Erfurt. Without date 1536.
(Regest.) 2141
2332. to the Churf. Johann Friedrich. 3 Jan.
1537 2141
2333 Prince John Frederick to Luther.
7 Jan 1537 2143
2334. Strasbourg to Luther. 15 January 1537.
(Regest.) 2145
2335. the Strasbourg clergy to Luther.
January 18, 1537. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2136.
2336 Capito and Bucer to Luther. 19 Jan.
1537. (Regest.) 2146
2337. to his son Johann. 27 Jan. 1537 [? 1543] 2146

Columne

2338. duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.
30 Jan. 1537. (Regest.) 2147
2339. toJustus Jonas. 1 Feb. 1537 2147
2340 King Ferdinand to Luther. 1 Feb. 1537.
(A spurious letter.) St. Louis ed. vol. XVI, 1995.
2341. to Justus Jonas. 9 Feb. 1537 2149
2342. to Justus Jonas. 14 Feb. 1537 2151
2343 Concerns about the Concilium. In Feb.
1537. St. Louis ed. vol. XVI, 1997.
2344. to Jakob Meyer, mayor of Basel.
17 Feb 1537 2153
2345. to Aegidius Mechler. 25 Feb. 1537 2154
2346. to Melanchthon. 27 Feb. 1537 2155
2347. to his housewife. 27 Feb. 1537 2156
2348.Luther's First Testament. 28 Feb. 1537.... 2157
2349 Luther's speech to Bucer and Wolfhardt.
March 1, 1537, St. Louis ed. vol. XXII, 586.

2350 Melanchthon to Luther. 3 March 1537 2159
2351. to Spalatin. 21 March 1537 2161
2352 Luther's testimony that he is still alive. March or later 1537 2162
2353. to duke Barnim of Pomerania, common with Bugenhagen. April 6, 1537. ... 2163
2354. to Justus Jonas. 12 April 1537 2166.
2355. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther and the other theologians 2c. 14 April 1537. (Regest.) 2167
2356. King Christian III of Denmark to Luther. 17 April 1537. (Regest.) 2167
2357 Capito to Luther. 26 April 1537. (Regest.) 2168
2358. to Conrad Cordatus. 21 May 1537 2168.
2359. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 29 May 1537 2169
2360. to Mrs. Dorothea Jörger. 3 June 1537 2170
2361. to Friedr. Myconius. 4 June 1537 2170
2362 Severin Schulde to Luther, 28 June 1537 2171
2363. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 29 June
2364. to Johann Schreiner. 9 July 1537 2174
2365. to Capito. 9 July 1537 2175
2366. To Justus Menius. 17 July 1537 2177
2367. to Elector John Frederick. 26 July 1537 2178
2368. to Friedr. Myconius. 27 July 1537 2179
2369. to Eoban Hesse. 1 Aug. 1537 2180
2370. to Johann, Prince of Anhalt. 9 Aug. 1537. St. Louis edition, vol. X, 820.
2371: Prince John Frederick to Luther. 16 Aug. 1537 2183
2372. to the council of Torgau. Aug. 21, 1537.... 2184
2373. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 23 Aug. 1537 2185
2374. to Johann, Prince of Anhalt. 27 Aug. 1537 2185
2375. Jakob Schenk to Luther. 1 Sept. 1537. (Regest.) 2186
2376 Agricola to Luther. 2 September 1537. (Regest.) 2186
2377. elector Johann Friedrich to Spalatin. 4 Sept. 1537 2187
2378. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. 16 Sept. 1537. (Regest.) 2188
2379. To Johann, Prince of Anhalt. Middle Sept (?) 1537 2189

Columne
2380. To Margaretha, Princess v. Anhalt. 26.September 1537 2189
2381. to Augustin Himmel. 27 Sept. 1537 2190
2382. to Johann Fesel. 5 Oct. 1537 2191
2383. ordination certificate. 7. Oct. 1537 2192
2384 Luther, Jonas and Melanchthon to the Council at Naumburg. 21 Oct. 1537. (Regest.) 2193
2385. to Joh. Wickmann. 2 Nov. 1537. (Regest.) 2193
2386. to Elector John Frederick. 7 Nov. 1537 2193
2386a. To the vice-chancellor Burkhard. About the 7 Nov 1537 2194
2387 Luther, Jonas and Spalatin to Hans von Dovecote. 9 Nov. 1537 2195
2388. to Johann Langer. 12 Nov. 1537 2196
2389. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 16 Nov.
2390. To Wolfg. Reißenbusch. Nov. 25, 1537 2198
2391. the Moravian brethren to Luther. In Nov. 1537. (Regest.) 2199
2392: Joh. Agricola to Luther. Before 1 Dec. 1537. (Regest.) 2200
2393. to the reformed places of Switzerland. 1 Dec. 1537. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2143.
2394 Bucer to Luther. 3 Dec. 1537. (Regest.) 2200
2395. To Mart. Bucer. 6. Dec. 1537. St. Louis Ed. vol. XVII, 2147.
2396: Prince John Frederick to Luther. 9 Dec 1537 2200
2397. to the Jew Josel (Jesel). 10 Dec. 1537. St. Louis ed. vol. XX, 1826.
2398. to Elector John Frederick. 11. Dec. 1537 2202
2399. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. 16 Dec 1537 2204
2400. to Elector John Frederick. 19 Dec. 1537 2205
2401. to Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Jonas and Melanchthon. 19 Dec 1537 2206
2402. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther 2c. 22 Dec 1537 2207
2403. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 23 Dec.
2404. to the vice chancellor Burkhärd2209
2405. Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. 27 Dec 1537 2209
2405a. To the vice-chancellor Burkhard. Without da tum 1537 2210
2406. to Joh. Bugenhagen. Without date 1537 2211
2407. M. Georg Karg to Luther. 3 Jan. 1538. (Regest.) 2216
2408. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 4 Jan. 15382217
2409. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther 2c. 6 Jan. 1538. (Regest.) 2218
2410. to Johann Agricola. 6. Jan. 1538 2219
2411. to the Vice-Chancellor Burkhard. 7 Jan. 1538 2219
2412. to Margaretha of Anhalt, Wolfgang's Mother. 9 Jan. 1538 2220
2413 To Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt. 9 Jan. 15382222
2414. To N. N. Hausmann. 27 January 1538. St. Louis ed. vol. x, 818.
2415 To Justus Jonas. 6 Feb. 1538 2223
2416. to Joh. Schlaginhaufen. 8 Feb. 1538 2223
Columne
2417. to Justus Jonas. . 12 Feb. 1538 2224
2418. To Nic. Hausmann. 23 Feb. 1538 2226
2419. to Jakob Schenk. 28 Feb. 1538. (Regest.) 2227
2420. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 2 March 1538 2227
2421 To the Vice-Chancellor Burkhard. 2 March 1538 2228
2422. to an unnamed person. (Against the Sabbath-keepers.) March 1538. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, 1828.
2423. To Nic. Hausmann. 27 March 1538 2229
2424. Heinrich Bullinger to Luther. March 1538. (Regest.) 2230
2425. to Justus Jonas. 8 April 1538 2230
2426. to the Moravian brethren. 24 April 1538. (Regest) 2231
2427. To Ambrosius Berndt. After 1 May 1538 (?) 2232
2428. the reformed Swiss places. Luther. May 4, 1538. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2154.
2429. to Duke Albrecht of Prussia. 6 May 1538 2234
2430. to Sebastian Heller, chancellor. 12 May 1538 2235
2431. to Justus Jonas. 12 May 1538 2237
2432. to bishop Edward Fox. 12 May 1538 2238
2433 To Heinrich Bullinger. 14 May 1538 2239
2434.. To Sebastian Heller, Chancellor. 18 May 1538 2241

2435. to Justus Jonas. 20 May 1538 2241
2436. to George and Joachim, Princes of An
halt. 22.May 1538 2242
2437. to Justus Jonas. 24 May 1538 2243
2438. Letter of recommendation for a Moor.
24 May 1538 2244
2439. Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.
24 May 1538. (Regest.) 2244
2440. to Bernhard von Dölen. 27 May 1538 2245
2441. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 29 May
1538 2246
2442. to George and Joachim, princes of An
halt. 1 June 1538 2248
2443. to Anton Unruhe, judge 13 June 1538 2249
2444. to the church congregation at Wittenberg.
June 16, 1538. St. Louis ed. vol. XIV, 762.
2445. Oswald Myconius to Luther. 20 June
1538. (Regest.) 2250
2446. to Hans Schwalb. 22 June 1538 2250
2447. To the Assembly of the Deputies of the Reformed Places of Switzerland, June 27, 1538. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVII, 2161.
2448 To Philip III, Count of Nassau. 1 July
1538 2251
2449. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.
July 9 1538 2252
2450. duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.
July 24, 1538. (Excerpt.) 2253
2451. To Christian III, King of Denmark.
July 26, 1538. (Wrong address and wrong
Year.) 2254
2452 To Johann, Georg and Joachim von An
halt. 31 July 1538 2254
2453. to Duke Albrecht of Prussia. 15 Aug.
1538 2256
2454. to Philip III, Count of Nassau. 17 Aug.
1538 2257

Columne

2455. the council of Augsburg to Luther. 19 Aug. 1538 2257
2456 To the Council of Augsburg. Aug. 29, 1538 2263
2457. to Elector John Frederick. 29 Aug. 1538. 2264
2458. To an unnamed person. In August 1538. (Unauthentic letter.) 2264
2459. to Bernhard von Dölen. 31 Aug. 1538 2265
2460. to Elector Johann Friedrich. Early Sept. 1538. (Missing letter.) 2265
2461. to Philipp Gluenspieß. 1. Sept. 1538 2266
2461a. Heinr. Bullinger to Luther. 1 Sept. 1538. (Regest.) 2267
2462. concerns in a matrimonial matter, joint with Jonas. First half Sept. 1538 2267
2463. To Elisabeth, Duchess of Brunswick. 4 Sept 1538 2268
2464. To Cyriacus Gerich. After 9 Sept. 1538... 2269
2465. to Jacob Probst in Bremen. 15 Sept. 1538 2270
2466. George of Anhalt to Luther. 28 Sept. 1538. (Regest.) 2272
2467. duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther. 8 Oct. 1538. (Regest.) 2272
2468. to George and Joachim, Princes of An halt. 14. Oct. 1538 2272
2469. to George, Prince of Anhalt. 26 Oct. 1538 2273
2470. ordination certificate, together with Jonas. 27. Oct. 1538 2276
2471. to George, Prince of Anhalt. 30 Oct. 1538 2276
2472. To the Council of Amberg. 30. Oct. 1538 2277
2473. to Simon von Wenden. 8 Nov. 1538 2277
2474. to Johann Forster. 11 Nov. 1538 2280
2475. to Hans Metsch, bailiff. 16 Nov. 1538. St. Louis ed. vol. XXII, 613.
2476. to Johann, Prince of Anhalt. 18 Nov. 1538 2281
2477. to the war councils of the city of Strasbourg. 20 Nov 1538 2282
2478. To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 20 Nov 1538 2283
2479. to Johann, Prince of Anhalt. 22 Nov. 1538 2284
2480. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 25 Nov. 1538 2284
2481. to Duke Albrecht of Prussia. 25 Nov. 1538. 2287
2482. to the council of Amberg. 30 Nov. 1538 2287
2483. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 1 Dec. 1538 2289
2484. Nic. von Amsdorf to Luther. 11 December 1538 2290
2485. To Nic. Woodpecker. 12 Dec. 1538 2290
2486. to Joh. Riemann. 16. Dec. 1538 2291
2487 George of Anhalt to Luther. 22 Dec. 1538 2292
2488. Joh. Agricola to Luther. 26 Dec. 1538. (Regest.) 2293
2489. to Melanchthon. 28 Dec. 1538. (Regest.) 2293
2490. to Hieronymus Weller. 30 Dec. 1538 2293
2491. To Sebastian Heller. No date 1538... 2295
2492. Duke Magnus of Mecklenburg to Luther. End of Dec. 1538. (Regest.) 2296
2493. To Benedict Pauli. Without date 1538. St. Louis ed. vol. XXII, 821.
2494. Luther's expert opinion on Musa's "attack". 1539 (?) 2297
2495. George, Prince of Anhalt, to Luther. 1 Jan.
2496. to George, Prince of Anhalt. 2 Jan. 15392298
2497. to Hans von Taubenheim. 10 Jan. 1539. St. Louis ed. vol. x, 2042.
2498. to Nic. von Amsdorf. II. Jan. 1539 2299
2499 To Joh. Schreiner. 12 Jan. 1539 2300
2500. to Hieronymus Welker. 19 Jan. 1539 2301
2500a. To Leonhard Beier. (In the issues: 27 Jan. 1539.) See No. 2033a 2302

2501. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 31 Jan. 1539 An 2302
2502: Concerns of Luther and other theologians about the opposition. 31 Jan. 1539, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 566.
2503. To Dr. Caspar Güttel. "Against the Antinomians." Jan. 1539. St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1610.
2504. Caspar Zeuner to the Bishop of Meissen. Feb. 1, 1539. St. Louis ed. vol. XXII, 1777.
2505 To Melanchthon. 2 Feb. 1539 2303
2506 To Joh. Lübeck. 8 Feb. 1539. St. Louis ed. vol. X, 554.
2507. To Gabr. Gemini. 10 Feb. 1539 2305
2508 Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther. 15 Feb. 1539. (Regest.) 2306
2509 To Jakob Probst. 21 Feb. 1539 2306
2510. To Dr. Joh. Rühel. 21 Feb. 1539 2308
2511. to Friedr. Myconius and Justus Menius. 23 Feb 1539 2309
2512. to the council of Saatfeld. 23 Feb. 1539 2310
2513. to Andreas Hügel. 25 Feb. 1539 2311
2514 To all parish priests, circular letter. Feb. 1539. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 302.
2515 To Melanchthon. 2 March 1539, St. Louis edition, Vol. XVII, 305.
2516 Friedr. Myconius to Luther. 3 March 1539 2312
2517 Melanchthon to Luther. 3 March 1539 2314
2518. to Melanchthon. 14 March 1539 2315
2519 Melanchthon to Luther. 14 March 1539 2317
2520 To the Visitators in Thuringia. 25 March 1539; 2318
2521 To Melanchthon. 26 March 1539 2319
2522. to John Kymaeus. 31 March 1539 2320
2523. To the Wittenberg council. ? (Note.) In the March 1539 2320
2524 Melanchthon to Luther. 4 April 1539 2321
2525. to Elector Johann Friedrich. April 5 1539 2322
2526 To Elector John Frederick. 9 April 1539 2323
2527. To Gabr. Gemini. 17 April 1539 2324
2528. to Bernh. Besserer. 18 April 1539 2325
2529 To Gustav I, King of Sweden. 18 April 1539 2326
2530 Bucer to Luther. 19 April 1539. (Regest.) 2327
2531. to Clemens Ursinus. 20 April 1539 2327
2532. To Dr. Ambrosius Moiban. 26 April 1539 2328
2533. Catharina Luther to Hans von Taubenheim. 28 April 1539. (Regest.) 2329
2533a. To the mayor and council of Bernburg. 1 May 1539 2329
2534. All Magnus, Duke of Mecklenburg. 14 May 1539 2330

2535. concerns of the Wittenberg theologians. May 1539. (Regest.) 2331
2536. to Spalatin. 20 May 1539 2331
2537. to George, Prince of Anhalt. 20 May
2538. to Justus Menius. 29 May 15392334
2539. Luther and Jonas to the Elector Johann Friedrich. 1 June 1539 2334
2540. to the Elector John Frederick, together with Melanchthon. 1 June 1539 2336
2541. to the Elector Johann Friedrich. June 3 1539 2337
2542. To Hans von Taubenheim. June 3, 1539 2338
2543. Elector John Frederick to Luther. June 3 1539 2339
2544. To Mrs Ursula Schneidewein. 4 June 1539 2340
2545. To Justus Jonas. 11 June 1539 2341
2546. to mayor and council of Coburg. 17 June 1539 2342
2547. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther and the other theologians. 22 June 1539 2343
2548. to Wenceslaus Link. 23 June 1539 2344
2549. To Duke Albrecht of Prussia. 23 June 1539 2346
2550. Wenceslaus Link to Luther. 24 June 1539. (Regest.) 2347
2551. to JustusJonas . 30 June 1539 2347
2552: Concerns to the Elector, together with Jonas and Melanchthon. St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1300.
2552a. Postscript to a Concern of the Wittenberg Theologians. 1 July 1539 2349
2553. to Mrs. Cath. Metzler. . 3 July 1539 2349
2554. to Spalatin, Brisger and Eberhard N. (Steinbach). July 5, 1539. (Regest.) 2350
2555. ordination certificate for Johann Nandelstat. 6 July 1539 2351
2556. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 8 July 1539 2352
2557. to Mrs Ursula Schneidewein. 10 July 1539 2353
2558. ordination certificate for Wenc. Kilmann. 13 July 1539 2354
2559. To Hans Schott. 14 July 1539 2355
2560. to Justus Jonas. Perhaps July, 1539 2356
2561. to Justus Jonas. 24 July 1539 2356
2562. duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther. July 24, 1539. (Regest.) 2357
2563. to Duke Henry of Saxony. 25 July 1539 2358
2564. Ludwig, Count of Oettingen, to Luther. 27 July 1539. (Regest.) 2360
2565. To the Duchess Catharina of Saxony. 28 July 1539 2360
2566. to Johann Riemann. 2.Aug. 1539 2361
2567. to Justus Jonas. 6.Aug. 1539 2362
2568. To Francis of Neva, Count of Thurocz. 4 or 7 Aug. 1539 2364
2569. to Ludwig, Count of Oettingen. 12 Aug. 1539 .. 2366
2570 To John, George and Joachim, Princes of Anhalt. 13 Aug. 1539 2366
2571 To Justus Jonas. 14 Aug. 1539 2368
2572. to Spalatin. 15 Aug. 1539 2369

Columne

2573. to the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Bugenhagen 2c. 17 Aug. 1539 2370
2574. to the council of Oschatz. 21 Aug. 1539 2371
2575. to Justus Jonas. 29 Aug. 1539 2372
2576. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. Aug. 30, 1539 2373
2577. the clergy of Zurich to Luther. Aug. 30, 1539. (Regest.) 2374
2578. to Elector John Frederick. Perhaps Sept. 1539 2375
2579. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 7 Sept. 1539 2375
2580. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 19 Sept. 1539 2376
2581. to the chancellor Brück. 19 Sept. 1539 2377
2582. Spalatin to Luther and Jonas. 19 Sept. 1539 2378
2583. to Spalatin. 22 Sept. 1539 2379

2584. all Dr. Franz Herzenberger. 6. Oct. 1539 2380
2585. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther, Bugenhagen 2c. 12 Oct. 1539. (Regest.) 2381
2586. to Duke Albrecht of Prussia. 13 Oct.
2587. To Mart. Bucer. 14 Oct.. 15392383
2588. to Mart. Bucer and the Strasbourg Pre
diger. 14. Oct. 1539 2385
2589. to Elector John Frederick, together with the other theologians. 23 Oct.
1539. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 265.
2590. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 23 Oct.
1539. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 269.
2591. To Wenc. Link. 26 Oct. 1539 2386
2592. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther and Bernh. von Mila. 31 Oct. 1539 2387
2593. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 4 Nov.
1539 2388
2594 To Elector John Frederick, together with Melanchthon. 7 Nov. 1539 2389
2595. to Spalatin. 10 Nov. 1539.. 2392
2596. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.
10 Nov 1539 2393
2597. to Hieronymus Weller. 10 Nov. 1539 2394
2598. to Eberhard Brisger. 10 Nov. 1539 2395
2599. to Johann Mantel, former church servant
at Wittenberg. 10 Nov. 1539 2396
2600. Elector John Frederick to Luther and Melanchthon. 13 Nov. 1539 2397
2601. to Conrad Cordatus. 22 Nov. 1539 2398
2602. Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.
Nov. 24, 1539. (Regest.) 2399
2603. to an unnamed person. 25 Nov. 1539. (Unauthentic letter.) 2400
2604. To Anton Lauterbach. 26 Nov. 1539 2400
2605. To Augustin Himmel. 26 Nov. 1539 2401
2606. To Joh. Cellarius. 26 Nov. 1539 2402
2607. To Joh. Spangenberg. 30 Nov. 1539 2403
2608. to his sister Dorothea. 2 Dec. 1539.
(A fake letter.) 2404
2608a. To Nic. Medler. 4 Dec. 1539 2404
2609. to Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg.
4 Dec. 1539. St. Louis ed. vol. XIX, 1022.
2609a. To Georg Büchholzer, provost in Berlin.
4 Dec. 1539. St. Louis ed. vol. XIX, 1026.

2610. to Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 10 Dec. 1539. St. Louis edition, vol. X, 748.
2611. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther 2c. 29 Dec. 1539. (Regest.) 2405
2612 To the mayor of Wittenberg. Without date 1539. St. Louis edition, vol. XIV,

2613. to Justus Jonas. Without date 1539 2406
2614. Written in memory of someone. Without date 1539 2406
2615. to the Chancellor Brück. 2 Jan. 1540 2407
2616 To Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg, together with the other theologians. 7 Jan 1540 2408
2617. to Churf. Johann Friedrich, together with the other theologians. 7 Jan. 1540 2410
2618. the congregations of Plötzka and Pretzin to Luther. 10 Jan. 1540 2412
2619. to Asmus Spiegel, Court Marshal. 15 Jan. 1540 2414
2620. to Churf. Johann Friedrich, together with the other theologians. 16 Jan. 1540 2415
2621. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 18 Jan. 1540. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 335.
2622. concerns for the day at Schmalkalden. Jan. 18, 1540. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 319.
2622a. Cruciger to Caspar Börner. 22 Jan. 1540. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 317.
2623. Elector John Frederick to Luther and the other theologians. 23 January 1540. (Regest.) 2417
2624. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. 25 Jan 1540 2417
2625. To Duchess Elisabeth of Brunswick. 29 Jan 1540 2419
2625a. To George Scarab. 6 February 1540. (Regest.) 2419
2626 The Council of Belgern to Luther. 10 Feb. 1540 2420
2627. to Elector John Frederick, jointly with Jonas. 13 Feb. 1510 2422
2628. formula of absolution. Mid Feb. 1540 2423
2629 To the clergy of Nuremberg, together with the other theologians. 17 Feb. 1540 2423
2630. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 25 Feb. 1540. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 336.
2631. to Jonas, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon. 26 Feb 1540 2435
2632. the Nuremberg clergy to the Wittenberg theologians. 29 Feb. 1540. (Regest.) 2437
2633. to Anton Lauterbach. 3 March 1540 2437
2634. to Melanchthon. 5 March 1540 2438
2635. to Hieronymus Weller. 16 March 1540 2440
2636 Albrecht of Prussia to Luther. 21 March 1540. (Regest.) 2441
2637. to Jonas, Bugenhagen, Cruciger 2c. Between March 21 and 27, 1540. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 336.
2638. Joh. Schreiner to Luther. 30 March 1540. (Regest.) 2442
2639. landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther. 5 April 1540. (Regest.) 2442

Columne

2640. Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. April 7 1540 2442
2640a. Caspar Güttel to Luther. 7 April 1540 2443
2641 To Melanchthon. 8 April 1540 . 2444
2642. To Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 10 April 1540. (Regest.) 2446
2643 Melanchthon to Luther. Around II. April 1540. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 353.
2644. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 12 April 1540 2447
2645. To Prince Joachim of Anhalt. 13 April 1540 2448
2646. To Dr. Caspar Güttel. 13 April 1540 2449
2647. to Nicolaus Sastrow. 14 April 1540. St. Louis ed. vol. x, 2222.
2648. ordination certificate for Johann Fischer. 18 April 1540 2449
2649. to Spalatin. 29 April 1540 2450
2650. to the council of Siegen. 3 May 1540 2451
2651. to dean and canons of Zeitz. 4 May 1540 2451
2652. to Simon Leupold. 6 May 1540 2452
2653 To Elector John Frederick. 10 May 1540 2453
2654. to Justus Menius. 11 May 1540 2453
2655. To Dr. Joh. Lang. 15 May 1540 2454
2656: Prince John Frederick to Luther. 15 May 1540 2455

2657. ordination certificate for Heinr. Bock. 17 May 1540 2456
2658. to Anton Lauterbach. 18 May 1540 2457
2659. the electoral councils to Luther 2c. 21 May 1540 2458
2660. to Anton Lauterbach. 22 May 1540 , 2459
2661. to the electoral councils, jointly with the other theologians. 22 May 1540 2459
2662. To Count Albrecht of Mansfeld. 24 May 1540 2460
2663. to the council of Roßwein. May 24, 1540. .. 2462
2664. to Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 24 May 1540. (Regest.) 2462
2665. to Elector Johann Friedrich... 26 May 1540 2462
2666. To Johann and Georg, Princes of Anhalt. 28 May 1540 2463
2667. to a council of the landgrave of Hesse. End of May or On. June 1540 2464
2668. to Elector Johann Friedrich. Beginning June 1540 2467
2669. to Anton Lauterbach. 2 June 1540 2469
2670 To Johann, Georg and Joachim von An halt. 5 June 1540 2470
2671. to Eberhard Brisger. 7 June 1540 2471
2672 Landgrave Philip to Luther and Melanch thon. June 9, 1540 2472
2673. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 10 June 1540. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 363.
2674. To Joh. Schlaginhaufen. 12 June 1540... 2474
2675 Melanchthon to Luther. 14 June 1540 2474
2676. To Brück. "Report from M. Eisleben fal scher Lehre" 2c. First half of June 1540. St. Louis ed. vol. XX, 1648.
2677. to Anton Lauterbach. 15 June 1540 2475
2678: Prince John Frederick to Luther. 16 June 1540 2476
2679. to Melanchthon. 18 June 1540 2477

Columne

2680. landgrave Philip to Luther and Melanch thon. 20 June 1540. (Regest.) 2480
2681. the Hessian preachers to Luther 2c. 23 June 1540 2480
2682. to Hieronymus Weller. 24 June 1540 2482
2683 To Duchess Catharina of Saxony. 25 June 1540 2483
2684. to Eberhard von der Tannen. 27 June 1540 2484
2685. to Georg Rörer. 2 July 1540. (Regest.) 2485
2686. to his wife. 2 July 1540 2485
2687. to Joh. Lang. 2 July 1540 2486
2688. To his wife. 10 July 1540 2487
2689. To his wife. 16 July 1540 2490
2690 Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther. 18 July 1540. (Regest.) 2490
2691. misgivings of Luther 2c. and the churfürstlichen Counsels. 19 or 20 July 1540 2491
2692. concerns of Luther about the double marriage of the landgrave. 20 July 1540 2496
2693 To Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 24 July 1540 2497
2694. to his wife. 26 July 1540 2501
2695. landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther. 27 July 1540. (Regest.) 2502
2696. to Justus Menius. 10 Aug. 1540 2503
2697. duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther and Melanchthon. 13 Aug. 1540. (Regest.) 2504
2698. King Gustav of Sweden to Luther. 16 Aug. 1540. (Regest.) 2504
2699 Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther. 18 Aug. 1540. (Regest.) 2504
2700. to Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 22 Aug. 1540. (Regest.) 2505
2701. to Conrad von Krajek. 24 Aug. 1540. (Regest.) 2505
2702. to the Council of Riga. 26 Aug. 1540 2505
2703. to Justus Menius. 27 Aug. '1540 2506
2704. to Anton Lauterb ach. 27. aug. 1540 2507
2705 Justus Menius to Luther. Aug. or Sept. 1540 2508
2706. landgrave Philip to Luther and Melanch thon. 1 Sept. 1540 2508
2707. to Hieronymus Weller. 3 Sept. 1540 2509
2708. To Dr. Caspar Güttel. 3 Sept. 1540 2510
2709. to Georg Solinus. 13 Sept. 1540 2511
2710. to Conrad Rehlinger, citizen of Augsburg. 17 Sept. 1540. 2512
2711. to Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 17 Sept. 1540. (Regest.) 2513
2712. to Chancellor Brück. Somewhat after 17 Sept. 1540 2513
2713 Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther. 4 Oct. 1540. (Regest.) 2515
2714. to Duke Albrecht of Prussia. 10 Oct. 1540 2515
2715. to Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 10 Oct. 1540. (Regest.) 2517
2716. to Joh. Weinlaub and Jakob Stratner, together with Bugenhagen and Melanchthon. 12 Oct. 1540 2517
2717 Melanchthon to Luther. 19 Oct. 1540 2519
2718. to Elector Johann Friedrich, common with Jonas. 23 Oct. 1540 2520
2719. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther 2c. 25 Oct. 1540 2522

Columne

2720. to Elector John Frederick. 30.Oct.1540 2523
2721 Burchard Mithobius to Luther. 1 Nov. 1540. (Regest.) 2523
2722. Melanchthon to Luther, Jonas and Bugenhagen. 4 Nov. 1540 2524
2723. cruciger to Luther, Jonas and Bugen hagen. 4 Nov. 1540 2525
2724 Cruciger to Luther. 6 Nov. 1540 2527
2725 Bucer to Luther, 8 Nov. 1540 (Regest.) 2528.
2726. to Spalatin. 10 Nov. 1540 2528
2727. to Anton Lauterbach, jointly with Bugenhagen. 11 Nov. 1540 2529
2728. Melanchthon to Luther. 14 Nov. 1540 2530
2729. to Melanchthon. 18 Nov. 1540 2531
2730. to Melanchthon. 21 Nov. 1540. St. Louis

Ed. vol. XVII, 406.
2731. duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther. 21 Nov. 1540. (Regest.) 2532
2732. to Melanchthon. Nov. 24, 1540, St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 408.
2733. to Anton Lauterbach. 27 Nov. 1540 2532
2734. Melanchthon to Luther. 2 Dec. 1540 2534
2735. to Justus Jonas. Beginning of Dec. 1540. (Fragment.) 2534
2736. to Jakob Stratner. 6. Dec. 1540 2535
2737. to Melanchthon. 7 Dec. 1540 2537
2738. to the Electress Elisabeth of Brandenburg. 11 Dec. 1540 2540
2739. Melanchthon to Luther. 17 Dec. 1540. St. Louis ed. vol. xvii, 487.
2740. Melanchthon to Luther. 28 Dec. 1540. St. Louis ed. vol. xvii, 490.
2741. to Justus Jonas. Without date 1540 2540
2742. written in a book. Without date 1540 2541
2743. history of the martyrdom of Dr. Rob. Barnes 1540 2542
2744. to the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Jonas and Bugenhagen. Beginning of January 1541 2550
2745. to Frederick Myconius. 9 Jan. 1541. St. Louis ed. vol. x, 1790.
2746. to Jakob Stratner. II. January 1541. St. Louis ed. vol. x, 1616.
2747 To Spalatin. 12 Jan. 1541 2552
2748. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 24 Jan. 1541 2554
2749. Elector Joachim of Brandenburg to Luther. 4 Feb. 1541. (Regest.) 2555
2750. concerns about Bucer's "Directory." In Feb 1541 2555
2751. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 9 Feb. 1541 2557
2752. to Elector Joachim of Brandenburg. 13 Feb 1541 2558
2753. to elector Johann Friedrich, common with Jonas 2c. 20 Feb. 1541... 2559
2754. to Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg. 21 Feb. 1541 2560
2755. to Michael Cölius. 9 March 1541 2561
2756. to Prince Wolfgang zu Anhalt. March 12, 1541. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 559.
2757: Elector John Frederick to Luther. 13 March 1541 2562
2758. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 20 March 1541 2563
.

Columne

2759. to Justus Menius. 25 March 1541 2564
2760 Melanchthon to Luther. 29 March 1541 2565
2761. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 31 March 1541. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII. 560.
2762. to Melanchthon. Before 4 April 1541 2567
2763. to Melanchthon. 4 April 1541 2569
2764 Melanchthon to Luther. 4 April 1541 2570
2765. to chancellor Brück. Between the 4th and April 7, 1541, St. Louis ed. vol. xvii, 666.
2766. Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. April 8, 1541 2572
2767. to the Elector Johann Friedrich. 10 April 1541 2572
2768 Melanchthon to Luther. 11 April 1541 2574
2769. to Melanchthon. 12 April 1541 2575
2770 Melanchthon to Luther. 14 April 1541.... 2577
2771. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther^ 15 April 1541 2578
2772. to Melanchthon. 18 April 1541 2579
2773. To Duke Albrecht of Prussia. 20 April 1541 2580
2774. to Melanchthon. 20 April1541 2581
2775 Cruciger to Luther and Bugenhagen. 22 April 1541 2583
2776. to Justus Jonas. 25 April1541 2585
2777. to Elector John Frederick. 25 April 1541 2587
2778. to Dr. George Major. 25 April 1541 2588
2779. to Melanchthon. 29 April 1541 2589
2780 Melanchthon to Luther. 30 April 1541.... 2589
2781. elector Johann Friedrich to the to the Consistorium deputies. 30 April 1541 2590
2782. to Caspar Cruciger. 1 May 1541 2592
2783. to Justus Jonas. 3 May 1541 2593
2784. To Melanchthon. Probably 6 May 1541.... 2594
2785. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther 2c. 9 May 1541 2596
2786. to the captain and council at Breslau. 9 May 1541 2598
2787 To Elector John Frederick, together with Bugenhagen. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVII, 668.
2788. to Elector John Frederick, together with Bugenhagen. 16 May 1541 2600
2789 Melanchthon to Luther. 19 May 1541 2600
2790. to Ehrenfried vom Ende. 20 May 1541.... 2602
2791. to Justus Jonas. 22 May 1541 2602
2792. To George, Prince of Anhalt. 25 May 1541. St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1306.
2793. King Gustav of Sweden to Luther. 1 June 1541 2605
2794. to Elector John Frederick, together with Bugenhagen. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVII, 673.
2795. To Elector Johann Friedrich. 6 June 1541. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 675.
2796. advertisement of several princes to Luther... 10 June 1541. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 676.
2797 To Prince George or John of Anhalt. June 12, 1541. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 1302.
2798 To the Princes John and George of Anhalt. June 12, 1541, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVII, 678.
2798a. Kilian Windisch to Luther. 12 June 1541 2608

Columne

2799. to Melanchthon. 17 June 1541 2610
2800. duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther. 18 June 1541. (Regest.) 2612
2801. to elector Johann Friedrich, common with Bugenhagen. 21 June 1541. 2613 2802. to Melanchthon. 22 June 1541 2614
2803. to elector Johann Friedrich, common with Bugenhagen. 24 June 1541. St. Louis ed. vol. xvii, 683.
2804. to Melanchthon. 25 June 1541 2616
2805. to Melanchthon. 29 June 1541 2617
2806. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 29 June 1541. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 684.
2807. To Wenc. Link. June or July 1541 2618
2808 To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with the other theologians. About the beginning of July 1541. (Missing letter.) 2619
2809. To Hieronymus Welker. July 4, 1541 2619 2810. To the Council of Goerlitz. July 5, 1541 2620
2811. Elector John Frederick to Luther, Bugenhagen 2c. 9 July 1541. (Regest.)... 2621
2812. to the Elector Johann Friedrich. 10 July 1541 2622
2813 Prince John Frederick to Luther. July 11 1541 2623

2814. to the von Starschedel, together with the deputies of the consistory. 12 July 1541 2624
2815. to Justus Jonas. 16 July 1541 2625
2816. To Wolfg. Fabricius Capito. 20 July 1541. (Not from Luther.) 2628
2817 Melanchthon's brief history of the Convention at Regensburg. 23. July 1541. (Is not a Letter.) 2628
2818. to Elector John Frederick. End of July 1541 2629
2819. Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. 31 July 1541 2629
2819a. Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther and Bugenhagen. On. Aug. 1541 2630
2820. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 3 Aug. 1541 2631
2821: Elector John Frederick to Luther. 4 Aug 1541 2633
2822. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 4 Aug. 1541. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 686.
2823. the sequestrators in grow 2c. to Luther and Brück. 7 Aug. 1541 2634
2824. Au Georg Weiß. 14 Aug. 1541 2635
2825. open letter of recommendation for a Clergyman. 16 Aug. 1541. (Regest.) 2636
2826. to Veit Dietrich. 17 Aug. 1541 2636
2827. To Wenc. Link. 17 Aug. 1541 2637
2828. to Hieronymus Baumgärtner. 19 Aug. 1541 2638
2829. to Sebastian Steude. 24 Aug. 1541 2639
2830. to Elector Johann Friedrich and Duke Johann Ernst, together with Bugenhagen. St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2128.
2831. to Justus Jonas. 30 Aug. 1541 2640
2832. to Justus Jonas. 3 Sept. 1541 2642
2833. to the dukes Johann Friedrich and Jo hann Wilhelm of Saxony. September 6, 1541 2643
2834. To Wenc. Link. 8 Sept. 1541 2645

Columne

2835. George, Prince of Anhalt, to Luther. 13 Sept 1541 2647
2836. to Prince George of Anhalt. 17 Sept. 1541 2648
2837. to Duke Moritz of Saxony. 17 Sept. 1541 2649
2838. to his housewife . 18 Sept. 1541 2650
2839. to Justus Jonas. 25 Sept. 1541 2650
2840. to Anton Lauterbach. 25 Sept. 1541 2651
2841. to Hieronymus Baumgärtner. 3 Oct. 1541 2652
2842. to King Gustav I of Sweden. 4 Oct. 1541 2653
2843. to Duke Albrecht of Prussia. 4 Oct. 1541 2654
2844. to chancellor Sebastian Heller. 4 Oct. 1541 2655
2845. To Augustin Himmel. Before 23 Oct. 1541 2656
2846. Ewald von Brandenstein, Pastor Johann Grey 2c. to Luther. 22 Oct. 1541. (Regest.) 2657
2847. to Augustin Himmel. 23 Oct. 1541 2657
2848. to Lippold Klitzing. 28 Oct. 1541 2658
2849. To Jakob Stratner, Hosprediger in Berlin. 28 Oct. 1541 2659
2850. Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther, Bugenhagen 2c. Towards the end of Oct. 1541. (Regest.) 2660
2851. to Ewald v. Brandenstein, Joh. Grau and Joh. Kunholt. 31 Oct. 1541 2660
2852. concerns about the Naumburg bishop's elect. 1. Nov. 1541 2661
2853. concerns about the Naumburg bishop's elect. 9 Nov. 1541 2662
2854. to Friedr. and Bonaventura Cotta. 10 Nov. 1541 2663
2855. to Anton Lauterbach. 10 Nov. 1541 2663
2856. to Justus Jonas. 10 Nov. 1541 2665
2857. to Eberhard Brisger. 12 Nov. 1541 2666
2858. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 17 Nov. 1541 2667
2859. to the princes of Anhalt, Johann, Georg and Joachim. 26 Nov. 1541 2668
2860. to Anton Lauterbach. 28 Nov. 1541 2670
2861. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 4 Dec. 1541 2670
2862. to Justus Jonas. 18 Dec. 1541 2671
2862a. Letter of consolation for godly women who have suffered wrongly in child distress. Dec. 25, 1541. St. Louis ed. vol. x, 730.
2863: Elector John Frederick to Luther. 26 Dec 1541 2674
2864. To Friedrich von der Grüne, Zeugmeister. Towards the end of 1541 2676
2865. to Count Albrecht of Mansfeld. 28 Dec. 1541 2677
2866 To Duke Moritz of Saxony. Without date 1541 2682
2867. to Joh. Bugenhagen. Without date 1541. St. Louis ed. vol. xiv, 392.
2868. postscript to a concern of Melanchthon. Maybe 15412683
2869. to Franz Groß. 1541 or later 2684
2870 Luther's answer to the book of Nebulo Tulrich. End 1541 or beginning 1542 2688
2871. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 1 Jan. 1542 2694

Columne

2872. Luther's Testament. 6 Jan. 1542 2695
The electoral confirmation of the same. 11 April 1546 2698
2873. to Nic. von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg. 6 Jan 1542 2699
2874. to Justus Menius. 10 Jan. 1542 2700
2875 To the princes Johann, Georg and Joachim of Anhalt. 11 Jan. 1542 2701
2876. to Spalatin. 12 Jan. 1542 2702
2877. concerns for the estates of the Nauman Abbey burg. 19 Jan. 1542 2703
2878. to Wolfgang Stein. 21 January 1542.

St. Louis ed. vol. x, 2222.
2879. to Justus Jonas. 23 Jan. 1542 2707
2880. to Nic. von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.
After 20 Jan 1542 2708
2881. Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.
31 Jan 1542 2711
2882. to Bishop Nic. von Amsdorf. Feb. 6, 1542. 2713
2883. to the preachers at Nordhausen. II. Feb.
1542. St. Louis edition, vol. X, 744.
2884. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 15 Feb.
15422715
2885. to Justus Jonas. 16 Feb. 15422716
2886. to Georg Schud. 16 Feb. 1542 2718
2887. to Count Albrecht of Mansfeld. 23 Feb.
1542. (Unauthentic letter.) 2718
2888. to Justus Jonas. 24 Feb. 1542 2719
2889. admonition to the university, the council 2c.
at Wittenberg. Perhaps Feb. 1542 2722
2890. to Nicolaus von Amsdorf. 5 March 1542.
St. Louis ed. vol. xvii, 117.
2891. to Anton Lauterbach. 10 March 1542 2723
2892. to Justus Jonas. 10 March 1542 2725
2893. to Justus Jonas. 13 March 1542 2727
2894. to the counts Philip and George of Mans
field. 14 March 1542 2729
2895. Oswald Myconius to Luther. 17 March
1542. (Regest.) 2732
2896. to Jonas" housewife. 26 March 1542 2732
2897. to Elector John Frederick. 26 March 1542 2733
Luther's Directory concerning the Turkish Tax 2735
2898. to Jakob Probst in Bremen. 26 March 1542 2736
2899. to Elector John Frederick. 1 April 1542 2738
2900 To Prince John Frederick and Duke Moritz. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVII, 1440.
2901. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 7 April 1542 2740
2902. landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther and
Melanchthon. 8 April 1542 2742
2903. to the chancellor Brück. 8 April 1542 2743
2904 Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther.
April 9, 1542. (Regest.) 2744
2905. to the Elector Johann Friedrich.
9 April 1542 2744
2906. to the landgrave Philip of Hesse.
10 April 1542 2746
2907. to chancellor Brück. 12 April 1542 2747
2908. To Nicholas of Amsdorf. 13 April 1542.
St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 1446.
2909. to Anton Lauterbach. 18 April 1542 2748
2910. ordination certificate for Balth. Hausmann.
19 April 1542 2749
2911. to Hieronymus Weller. 19 April 1542 2750

2912. to Elector John Frederick. April 1542. 2751 2913. To Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt. 28 April 1542 2752
2914. to Justus Jonas. 30 April 1542 2753
2915 To Justus Menius, 1 May 1542 2754
2916 To Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 5 May 1542 2754
2917. to Anton Lauterbach. 5 May 1542 2755
2918. to Anton Lauterbach. 7 May 1542 2756
2919. to the widow of M. Joh. Cellarius. 8 May 1542. St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2034.
2920. to Justus Jonas. 15 May 1542 2757
2921. to Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg. 17 May 1542 2758
2922. to the locksmith Joh. Schulteis. 23 May 1542 2760
2923. to an unnamed person. 23 May 1542. St. Louis ed. vol. x, 1814.
2924. to Prince Johann of Anhalt. June 9, 1542 2762
2925. to Duke Albrecht of Prussia. June 9. 1542 2762
2926. to Albrecht, Philipp and Joh. Georg, Gra fen at Mansfeld. 15 June 1542 2763
2927. to Daniel Cresser(Greser, Greiser). 16 June 1542 2766
2928. To Prince George of Anhalt. 26 June 1542. St. Louis ed. vol. xix, 1340.
2929. to Anton Lauterbach. 5 July 1542 2767
2930. faculty certificate for Heinrich Schmedstädt. 10 July 1542 2768
2931. To Spalatin. 13 July 1542 2770
2932. To Melchior Frenzel. 13 July 1542 2771
2933. To Nic. von Amsdorf. 13 July 1542 2772
2934. To Justus Jonas. 23 July 1542 2773
2935. To Wenceslaus Link. 25 July 1542 2775
2936. To Anton Lauterbach. 25 July 1542 2776
2937. To Prince Johann of Anhalt. 3 Aug. 1542 2777
2938. To Justus Menius. 11 Aug. 1542 2778
2939. To Justus Jonas. 18 Aug. 1542 2780
2940. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 23 Aug. 1542 2781
2941. to Marcus Crodel. 26 Aug. 1542 2782
2942. Anton Lauterbach. 27 Aug. 1541 2783
2943. to Marcus Crodel. 28 Aug. 1542. (Regest.) 2785
2944. To Spalatin. 29 Aug. 1542 2785
2945. To Justus Jonas. 3 Sept. 1542 2786
2946. To Justus Jonas. 5 Sept. 1542 2787
2947. To Marcus Crodel. 6 Sept. 1542 2788
2948. To Prince Wolsgang of Anhalt. 18 Sept. 1542 2789
2949. to Justus Jonas. 23 Sept. 1542 2790
2950. expert opinion on a disputed matrimonial matter, much light Sept. 1542 2792
2951. to Johann Augusta. 5 Oct. 1542 2792
2952. to Jakob Probst. 9 Oct. 1542 2793
2953. to Elector John Frederick. Oct. 1542. (Missing letter.) 2794
2954. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 28 Oct. 1542 2795
2955. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 29. Oct. 1542 2797
2956. to Leonhard Beier. I. Nov. 1542 2799
2957. to Justus Jonas. 6 Nov. 1542, and mocking notes. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 1930, No. 35a and 35b.
2958. to Anton Lauterbach. 10 Nov. 1542 2800
2959 To Spalatin, 10 Nov. 1542 2801
2960. to Elector Johann Friedrich. In Nov. 1542 2802
2961. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 19 Nov. 1542 ... 2804
2962. to the council of Altenburg. 20 Nov. 1542 2805
2963 To Nic. von Amsdorf. 23 Nov. 1542 2806
2964. the brothers of the church in Venice 2c. to Luther. 26 Nov. 1542. (Regest.) 2807
2965 To the Council of Regensburg. 27 Nov. 1542 2807
2966 To Johann Forster. 27 Nov. 1542 2808
2967 Joh. Brismann to Luther. 29 Nov. 1542. (Regest.) 2809
2968. to Hans von Ponnecken. 10 Dec. 1542 2810

2969. Paul Speratus, bishop of Pomesania,
to Luther. 11 Dec. 1542. (Regest.) 2810
2970. duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther and
Melanchthon. 15 Dec. 1542. (Regest.) 2810
2971. To Justus Jonas. 21 Dec. 1542 2811
2972. To Justus Jonas. 25 Dec. 1542 2812
2973. To Marcus Crodel. 26 Dec. 1542 2814
2974. To his son John. 27 Dec. 15422815
2975. To Sebastian Heller, Chancellor. 28 Dec. 15422815
2976. To Justus Jonas. 29. Dec. 1542 2816
2977. To Nic. von Amsdorf. Without date15422818
2978. to the Princes of Brunswick, Franz
Otto and his brothers. Without date 1542 2819
2979. Luther's house bill. Without date 1542 2820
2980. concerns about emergency baptism. Without date
1542. St. Louis ed. vol. x, 2130 and 730.
2981. to Laurentius Rudel. 4 Jan. 1543 2828
2982. to Spalatin. 4 Jan. 1543 2829
2983. To Chancellor Brück. 6.Jan. 1543. St. Louis
Ed. vol. XIX, 1342.
2984. to Marg. Eschat. 11.Jan. 1543. St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 1756.
2985. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 13 Jan. 1543 2830
2986. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 15 Jan.
1543 2832
2987. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.
23 Jan 1543 2833
2988. to Martin Gilbert. 24 Jan. 1543 2834
2989. to Justus Jonas. 26 Jan. 1543 2835
2990. to Georg von Harstall and the council of
Creuzburg. 27 Jan. 1543 2835
2991. To Caspar Zeuner, superintendent at
Freiberg. 9 Feb. 1543 2840
2992. to Elector Johann Friedrich. lO^Febr.
1543 2841
2993 Veit Dietrich to Luther. 16 Feb. 1543 2843
2994. to Albrecht, Duke of Prussia. 17 Feb.
1543 2844
2995. faculties certificate for Johann Marbach.
20 Feb 1543. 2845
2996. To all pastors of the superintendency.
Wittenberg, together with Bugenhagen. In February 1543, St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 2284.
2997 To Pancratius, preacher at Danzig. 7 March 1543 2847
2998. to JustusJonas 7 March1543 2849
2999. To Count Wolfgang von Gleichen. March 9
1543 2849
3000. to JohannRiemann . 14. March 1543 2850
3001. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 17 March
1543 2851

3002 To Prince George of Anhalt. March 19, 1543 2851
3003 Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg to Luther 2c. In the spring of 1543. (Regest.).... 2852
3004. to Anton Lauterbach. 2 April 1543 2853
3005.to Prince George of Anhalt. 5 April 1543 2854
3006. to Georg Held. 5 April 1543 2855
3007. to Frederick Myconius. 5 April 1543 2856
3008. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 6 April 1543 2857
3009. ordination certificate for Nicolaus Gallus. 17 April 1543 2858
3010. Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. 20 April 1543 2861
3011. To Hieronymus Baumgärtner. 23 April 1543 2862
3012. to Justus Jonas. 4 May 1543 2863
3013. To Duke Albrecht of Prussia. 7 May 1543 2864
3014 To Justus Menius. 8 May 1543 2865
3015 Hans Jörg, Count of Mansfeld, to Luther. 9 May 1543 2866
3016. to Veit Dietrich. 11 May 1543 2867
3017 To the students of Wittenberg. 13 May 1543. St. Louis edition, vol. X, 686.
3017a. Melanchthon to Luther. 19 May 1543 ... 2868
3018 To Johann Pfeffinger, Pastor in Leipzig. 28 May 1543 2870
3019. to the council of Torgau. 8 June 1543 2871
3020. to Veit Dietrich. 13 June 1543 2872
3021 To the Venetian Brothers. 13 June 1543 2872
3022. to Justus Jonas. 18 June 1543 2878
3023. To Wenc. Link. 20 June 1543 2879
3024. to Simon Wolferinus. 4 July 1543. St. Louis ed. vol. XX, 1604.
3025. to Spalatin. 13 July 1543 2880
3026. Nic. von Amsdorf. 14 July 1543 2881
3027. to Johann Hess. 17 July 1543 2883
3028. to Simon Wolferinus. 20 July 1543. St. Louis ed. vol. XX, 1607.
3029. to his brother-in-law Bastian Müller. 26 July 1543 2884
3030. to the landgrave Philip of Hesse. 2 Aug. 1543 2885
3031. to Hermann Bonn. 5.Aug. 1543 2886
3032 Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther. 11 Aug. 1543. (Regest.) 2887
3033. to Duke Albrecht of Prussia. 14 Aug. 1543 2888
3034. Au Duke Albrecht of Prussia. 14 Aug. 1543 2888
3035. to Dietrich von Maltzan. 16 Aug. 1543.... 2889
3036. to Nic. von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg. 18 Aug. 1543 2890
3037. to Dietrich von Maltzan. 18 Aug. 1543.... 2892
3038. to Eberhard Brisger. 29 Aug. 1543 2893
3039. the Venetian brothers to Luther. Aug. 30, 1543. (Regest.) 2894
3040. to Christoph Froschauer. 31 Aug. 1543. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2169.
3041. to Matthias Romaschi. I. Sept. 1543 2894
3042. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. 6 Sept. 1543. (Regest.) 2895
3043. to Wolf Heinze. 11. Sept. 1543. St. Louis Ed. vol. x, 2042.
3044. to a city council (at Halle [?]. 13 Sept. 1543 2896
3045 Dorothea, Countess of Mansfeld, to Luther. 14 Sept 1543 2897
3046. to Joachim Mörlin. 25 Sept. 1543 2897
3047 Nicolaus Baserinus to Luther. 25 Sept.
3048. to the Churf. Johann Friedrich. 30 Sept. 1543 2900
3049. to Justus Jonas. 30 Sept. 1543 2901
3050. to Anton Lauterbach. 30 Sept. 1543 2902
3051 The theological faculty of Leipzig to that of Wittenberg. Oct. 5, 1543 (Regest.) 2903
3052. duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther. 6 Oct. 1543 2903
3053 The Wittenberg Theologians to the Theol.

Facultät at Leipzig. 7 Oct. 1543 2903
3053a. Caspar Schwenkfeld to Luther. 12 Oct. 1543. (Regest.) 2906
3054. faculty certificate for Hieronymus Nopus. 15 Oct. 1543 2906
3055. faculty certificate for Friedrich Bachofer. 18 Oct. 1543 2909
3056. to Daniel Cresser. 22 Oct. 1543 2911
3057. To Electress Elisabeth of Brandenburg. 22 Oct. 1543 2912
3057a. Elector John Frederick to Luther. 27 Oct. 1543 2913
3058 To Prince George of Anhalt. 29 Oct. 1543 2913
3059. to Anton Lauterbach. 3 Nov. 1543 2915
3060. to Nic. von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg. Nov 7 15432916
3061. to Veit Dietrich. 7 Nov. 1543 2918
3061a. To Caspar Schwenkfeldt's messenger. November 8, 1543. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, 1664.
3062. to Anton Lauterbach. 17 Nov. 1543 2919
3063. to the princess Margaretha von Anhalt. 22 Nov 1543 2920
3064. To Dr. Joachim Mörlin. 22 Nov. 1543 2921
3065. to Spalatin. 23 Nov. 1543 2922
3066: Prince John Frederick to Luther. 2 Dec. 1543 2923
3067. to the Churf. Johann Friedrich. 3 Dec. 1543 2925
3068. duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther. 6 Dec. 1543. (Regest.) 2926
3069. To Dr. Johann Hess. 10. Dec. 1543 2926
3070. to Spalatin. 10 Dec. 1543 2929
3071. to Joh. Mathesius. 14 Dec. 1543 2930
3072. to Justus Jonas. 16 Dec. 1543 2931
3073. to Elector John Frederick, together with Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.20 Dec. 1543 2933
3074. concerns about the Brunswick matter. 20 Dec. 1543 2934
3075 Spalatin to Luther. 25 December 1543. (Regest.) 2937
3076. to the council of Halle, together with Bugenhagen and Melanchthon. 25 Dec.
3077. To Dr. Nicolaus Medler. 27. Dec. 1543 2939
3078. to Nic. von Amsdorf, bishop of Naumburg. 27 Dec. 1543 2940
3079. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther 2c. 30 Dec. 1543. (Regest.) 2941
3080. to Christoph Jörger. 31 December 1543.
St. Louis ed. vol. x, 196.

Index to Luther's letters, arranged in chronological order.

Columne

3081. concerns about a council of the cities in the Brunswick matter, together with Bugenhagen. In Dec. 1543 2942
3082. to the Elector Johann Friedrich. Without Date 1543 2945
3083. to the preachers (Anton Otto and Johann Spangenberg) at Nordhausen. Without date 1543 2945
3084 To Eberhard von der Tann. 10 Jan. 1544 2947
3085. to Elector John Frederick. 22 Jan. 1544. St. Louis edition, vol. X, 700.
3086 To the Consistory of Wittenberg. Soon after 1544, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 694.
3087 Concerns about the sins of the elect. 25 Jan. 1544. St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 1706.
3088. to Peter Walzdorf, Mayor in Arn CITY. 25 Jan. 1544 2948
3089. to Nic. von Amsdorf, bishop of Naumburg. 26 Jan 1544 2949
3090. to Joh. Göritz, Judge at Leipzig. 29 Jan. 1544 2950
3091 King Christian of Denmark to Luther. 29 Jan. 1544. (Regest.) 2952
3092. to Spalatin. 30 Jan. 1544 2952
3093. to Dr. Joachim Mörlin. 6 Feb. 1544 2953
3094. to Anton Lauterbach. 9 Feb. 1544 2955
3095. to Elisabeth, widowed electress of Brandenburg. 10 Feb. 1544 2957
3096. to Spalatin. "12 Feb. 1544 2957.
3097 Friedr. Myconius to Luther. 18 Feb. 1544, (Regest.) 2958
3098. to Friedr. Myconius. 23 Feb. 1544 2959
3099. to Nic. von Amsdorf, bishop of Naumburg. 8 March 1544 2960
3100. to Spalatin. 8 March, 1544. St. Louis ed. vol. XIV, 408.
3101. to Anton Lauterbach. 12 March 1544 2962
3102. to an unnamed person. 14 March 1544. (No letter.) 2962
3103. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 26 March 1544 ?! 2963
3104. to the Electress Sibyl. 30 March 1544 2964
3105. to Spalatin. I. April 1544 2965
3106 To King Gustav in Sweden. 12 April 1544 2966
3107 To King Christian in Denmark. 12 April 1544 2967
3108. to Justus Jonas. 17.April 1544 2968
3109. to the clergy at Eperies in Hungary. 21 April 1544 2969
3110. to the Electress Sibyl. 28 April 1544 2971
3III To Duke Johann Ernst of Saxony. 29 April 1544 2972
3112 Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther. 8 May 1544 2973
3113 To Johann Honter. II. May 1544 2974
3114. to the princes Barnim and Philipp von Pomerania. 14 May 1544 2976
3115. To Dr. Johann Magenbuch. 15 May 1544 2983
3116. to Nic. von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg. 16 May 1544 2984
3117. to Martin Gilbert. 18 May 1544 2985
3118. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 23 May 1544 2986

Columne

3118a. To Prince George of Anhalt. 28 May 1544 2987
3119. to the Princely Pomeranian Councils. 30 May 1544 2987
3120. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 3 June 1544 2991
3121 King Gustav of Sweden to Luther. June 3 1544 2992
3122. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 4 June 1544 2996
3123. to Georg Spenlein. 17 June 1544 2997
3124. to Anton Lauterbach. 20 June 1544 2999
3125. to the chancellor Brück. 21 June 1544 3001
3126. to the chancellor Brück. 21 June (?) 1544 ... 3002
3127. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 23 June 1544 3003
3128. to the council of Kiel. 7 July 1544 3004
3129. To Hieran. Baumgärtner's wife. 8 July 1544. St. Louis ed. vol. X, 1926.
3130. to Mrs. Dorothea Jörger. 13 July 1544 3005

3131. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 21 July 1544 3006
3131a. To the Chancellor Brück. July or Aug. 1544 3007
3132. to the council of Mühlhausen. Aug. 2, 1544 3009
3133. to Johann Lang. 4 Aug. 1544 3010
3134. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 7 Aug. 1544 3012 3135. testimony of Luther and Melanchthon for a Hungary. 11 Aug. 1544 3012
3136. to Spalatin. 21 Aug. 1544. St. Louis Ed. vol. x, 1728.
3137. to Prince George of Anhalt. 23 Aug. 1544 3013
3138. to Prince Johann von Anhalt. 27 Aug. 1544 . . 3014
3139. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 27 Aug. 1544 3015
3140. to an unnamed parish priest (Cor. datus). 1 Sept. 1544. see no. 3163.
3141 To Mrs. Dorothea Jörger. 5 Sept. 1544 3017
3142 Bucer to Luther. 9 Sept. 1544 St. Louis. Ed. vol. XVII, 2172.
3143. to the Churf. Johann Friedrich. 19 Sept. 1544 3018
3144. to Simon Wolferinus. 19 Sept. 1544 3019
3145. ordination certificate for Johann Reibitz. 24 Sept 1544 3020
3146. ordination certificate for Christoph Longo lius. 27 Sept. 1544... 3022
3147. to Joachim Mörlin. 2. Oct. 1544 3023
3148. ,/ the city council of Amberg. 4. Oct. 1544 3024
3149. to Georg Schulzen's widow/ 8. Oct. 1544. St. Louis ed. vol. x, 2034.
3150th Concerns about the transfer of the empire tags. 23. until 24. Oct. 1544 3026
3151. to unnamed parents. 25 October 1544. St. Louis ed. vol. x, 2048.
3152 To Marcus Crodel. 26 Oct. 1544 3028
3153. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 30 Oct. 1544 3029
3154. to ChristophStraße . 1 Nov. 1544 3030
3155. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 8 Nov. 1544 3031
3156. to Balthasar Alterius. 12 Nov. 1544. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2174.
3157. to Christoph Piscator. 13 Nov. 1544 3033
3158. Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. 22 Nov 1544 3034
3159. Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. 23 Nov 1544 3035
3160. To Friedrich Myconius, pastor in Gotha. 1 Dec. 1544..... 3036

3161. to Anton Lauterbach. 2. Dec. 1544 3038
3162. Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther. 3 Dec 1544 3039
3163. to Conrad Cordatus. 3. Dec. 1544 3042
3164. to Jakob Probst. 5 Dec. 1544., 3043
3165. Bernh. Zettler to Luther. About 12 Dec. 1544 3044
3166. to Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 13 Dec. 1544. (Regest.) 3046
3167. to George Hosel. 13 Dec. 1544. St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 2048.
3168. to Churf. Johann Friedrich. 16 Dec. 1544 3047
3169. to Churf. Johann Friedrich. 22 Dec. 1544 3048
3170. Matthias Ramassy 2c. to the Wittenbergers. Theologians. 24 Dec. 1544. (Regest.) 3048
3171 Prince John Frederick to Luther. 29 Dec 1544 3049
3172 Bugenhagen to Luther and Melanchthon. End Dec. 1544 3050
3173. to the Churf. Johann Friedrich. Without date 1544 3054
3174. to Antonius Corvinus. Without date 1544 3054
3175. Bible inscription for Nicolaus Omeler. Without Date 1544 3055
3176. to the Churf. Johann Friedrich. 1 Jan. 1545 3055
3177. to Conrad Cordatus. 4 Jan. 1545 3057
3178 King Christian of Denmark to Luther. 5 Jan. 1545. (Regest.) 3058
3179 Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther. 8 Jan. 1545. (Regest.) 3058
3180. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 9 Jan. 1545 3058
3181. concerns. The "Wittenberg Reformation". 14 Jan. 1545. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1133.
3182. to Churf. Johann Friedrich. 14 Jan. 1545. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 1160.
3183. doubts as to whether a lawsuit against the pope to be hired. 14 Jan. 1545 (Regest.)-. 3060
3184. To Wenc. Link. 17 Jan. 1545 3060
3185. to Churf. Johann Friedrich. 18 Jan. 15453062
3186. to the City Council of Amberg.20 Jan. 15453066
3187. to Justus Jonas. 26 Jan. 1545 3067
3188. to Caspar Beyer. 27. Jan. 1545 3068
3189. landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther 2c. About Feb. 1545. (Regest.) 3069
3190 Luther and Melanchthon to the landgrave. March 6, 1545. (Regest.) 3070
3191: Concerns about the "Wittenberg Reformation". St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVII, 1163.
3192. To Prince George of Anhalt. 9 March 1545. St. Louis ed. vol. X, 1982.
3193 To Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg. 9 March 1545 3070
3194. landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther. March 12, 1545. (Regest.) 3072
3195. to Martin-Gilbert. 14 March 1545 3072
3196 Prince George of Anhalt to Luther 2c. March 19, 1545. (Regest.) 3073
3197. to the Churf. Johann Friedrich. 20 March 1545 3073
3198. to Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 21 March 1545V. . 3074
3199 Marg. Staupitz to Luther. 26 March 1545 3075
3200. to Churf. Johann Friedrich. 27 March 1545 3076
Columne
3201: Concerns about the continuation of the Schmalkaldic League. March 1545, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVII, 1174.
3202. Heinrich von Einsiedel to Luther. April 9. 1545. (Regest.) 3077
3203 To King Christian of Denmark. 14 April 1545 3077
3204.to Nic. von Amsdorf. 14 April 1545 3078
3205.to Christoph Jörger. 17 April 1545 3080
3206.to Caspar Heidenreich. 24 April 1545 3081
3207.,/Friedrich Myconius. 24 April 1545 3081
3208 Joachim Mörlin to Luther. 25 April 1545 3082
3209. to Heinrich von Einsiedel. 30 April 1545 3083
3210. To Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg. 2 May 1545. (Regest.) 3084
3211. To Duke Albrecht. Prussia. 2 May 1545 3084

3212. To Nic. von Amsdorf. 2 May 1545 3085
3213. to Georg Buchholzer. 2 May 1545 3087
3214. to Churf. Johann Friedrich. 6 May 1545 3088
3215. to Churf. Johann Friedrich. 7 May 1545 3088
3216. to Prince George of Anhalt. 7 May 1545 3089
3217. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 7 May 1545 3090
3218. to the council of Halle. 7 May 1545 3092
3219. To Nic. von Amsdorf. 8 May 1545 3093
3220 Georg Buchholzer to Luther. 9 May 1545 3095
3221 To Elector Johann Friedrich. 11 May 1545 3097
3222. Prince Johann Friedrich to Luther.
12 May 1545 3098
3223. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther 2c.
18 May 1545 3099
3224. to Churf. Johann Friedrich. 22 May 1545 3100
3225 Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.
23 May 1545. (Regest.) 3100
3226. to mayor and council of Hammelburg.
26 May 1545 3100
3227 To Prince George of Anhalt. 29 May 1545 3102
3228. Prince John Frederick to Luther.
29 May 1545 3102
3229. to Churf. Johann Friedrich. 2 June 1545 3103
3230. to Andreas Osiander. 3 June 1545 3104
3231. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 3 June 1545 3105
3232. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 15 June 1545 3106
3233. to Churf. Johann Friedrich. 25 June 1545 3107
3234. to the Churf. John Frederick. 2 July 1545 3108
3235. to Duke Philip of Stettin, Pomerania 2c.
July 2 1545 3110
3236.to Anton Lauterbach. 5 July 1545 3111
3237. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 9 July 1545 3113
3238 To George, Prince of Anhalt. 10 July 1545 3115
3239.to Johann Lang. 14 July 1545 3117
3240.To Justus Jonas. 14. or 15 July 1545 3119
3241. duke Barnim of Pomerania to Luther 2c.
Mid July 1545 3120
3242. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 17 July 1545 3122
3243. to Elector Johann Friedrich. 17. or
18 July 1545. (Missing letter.) 3123
3244 To Prince George of Anhalt. 22 July 1545 3123
3245 To his wife. 28 July 1545 3125
3246. the University of Wittenberg to the Chur
princes. 1.Aug.1545 3126
3247. ordination certificate for George of Anhalt.
2 Aug. 1545 3129
3248 Chancellor Brück to the Elector. 3 Aug.
1545 3131
3249. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.
5 Aug. 1545 3132

3250. To Dr. Ratzeberger. 6 Aug. 1545 3133
3251. to an unnamed person. 8 August 1545.
St. Louis ed. vol. x, 1748.
3252. to the council of Torgau. Aug. 18, 1545.... 3134
3253. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 19 Aug. '1545 3135
3254. to pastor and council at Zwickau. 6 Sept.
1545 3136
3255. permission certificate for the churchwardens in
Kirchhain. 7 Sept. 1545 3138
3256. University program. 12.Sept. 1545 3139
3257. to the bailiff and council of Baireuth.
15 Sept 1545 3140
3258. to Veit Dietrich. 23 Sept. 1545 3141
3259. Luther 2c. to the Council of Brunswick.
25 Sept. 1545. (Regest.) 3142
3260. Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.
3 Oct. 1545 3142
3261. Here. Baumgartner to Luther. 6 Oct.
1545. (Regest.) 3144
3262.to Augustin Himmel. 14 Oct. 1545 3144
3263.to Georg Mohr. 16 Oct. 1545 ... 3145
3264.to Anton Lauterbach. 19 Oct. 1545 3146
3265.to Nic. von Amsdorf. 21. Oct. 1545 3147
3266. to Justus Jonas. 26 Oct. 1545 3149
3267. elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.
26 Oct. 1545 3150
3268. Conrad Cordatus to Melanchthon. 27 Oct.
1545 .. 3151
3269. to Churf. Johann Friedrich, together with the other theologians. 29 Oct.
1545 3152
3270. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 5 Nov. 1545 3155
3271 To Churf. Johann Friedrich. 8 Nov. 1545 3156
3272 To Nic. von Amsdorf. 16 Nov. 1545 3157
3273 Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther 2c.
21 Nov 1545 3158
3274. to King Christian of Denmark. 26 Nov.
1545 3159
3275. to Churf. Johann Friedrich. Towards the end
Nov. 1545. (MissingLetter .) 3160
3276. Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.
End Nov. orFirst Dec. 1545 3160
3277. To Count Albrecht of Mansfeld.
6 Dec. 1545 3161
3278. to Churf. Johann Friedrich, jointly
with the other theologians. 12 Dec. 1545 ... 3162
3279. Elector John Frederick to Luther and Melanchthon. 14 Dec. 1545 3163
3280. to Christoph Jörger. 14. Dec. 1545 3164
3281 Brück to the Elector Johann Friedrich.
15 Dec 1545 3165
3282. to the council of Zwickau, jointly
with the other theologians. 16 Dec. 1545 3166
3283 Brück to the Elector John Frederick.
18 Dec 1545 3168
3284. to the Elector and the Landgrave.
18 December 1545. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1396.
3285. to Prince George of Anhalt. 25 Dec. 1545 3171
3286. to the pastor Schulze. Without date 1545 3172
3287. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 8 Jan. 1546 3173
3288 To the Elector John Frederick, together with the other theologians. 8 or 9 Jan. 1546 3174
3289. to Churf. Johann Friedrich. 9 Jan. 1546 3177
3290. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 10 Jan. 1546 3178
3291. to Nic. von Amsdorf. II Jan. 1546..... 3179
3292. concerns about the Strasbourg Rathschlag.
Second half Jan. 1546 3181
3293. to Jak. Probst. 17 Jan. 1546. St. Louis
Ed. vol. XVII, 2177.
3294. to Nic. von Amsdorf. 19 Jan. 1546 3183
3295. to Churf. Johann Friedrich. 20 Jan. 1546 3184
3296. Calvin to Luther. 21 Jan. 1546. (Regest.) 3185
3297. to his housewife. 25 Jan. 1546 3186.
3298. George Major to Luther and the others
Theologians. 28 Jan. 1546 3186
3299 To Prince George of Anhalt. 29 Jan. 1546 3188
3300 Melanchthon to Luther. 31 Jan. 1546 3189
3301.to Melanchthon. 1 Feb. 1546 3190
3302.To his housewife. 1 Feb. 1546 3191
3303.to Melanchthon. 6 Feb. 1546 3192

3304.To his housewife. 6 Feb. 1546.... 3194
3305.To his housewife. 7 Feb. 1546 3194
3306 Melanchthon to Luther. 8 Feb. 1546 3196
3307 To Prince George of Anhalt. 10 Feb. 1546 3197
3308 To his housewife. 10 Feb. 1546 3198
3309. Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.
10 Feb 1546 3199
3310. George Major to Luther and the others
Theologians. 10 Feb 1546 3200
3311. to Melanchthon. 14 Feb. 1546 3202
3312. to his housewife. 14 Feb. 1546 3203
3313. Note. 16 Feb. 1546, St. Louis edition,
Vol. XXII, 13.
3314. concerns and treaty in the Mansfeld
Dispute. 16 Feb 1546 3204
3315 Johann Brenz to Luther. 17 Feb. 1546 ... 3211
3316 Melanchthon to Luther. 18 Feb. 1546 3212
3317. Joh. Aurifaber to Michael Gutt. 18 Feb.
1546 3212
3318. King Christian of Denmark to Luther.
3 March 1546 3213
3319. King Christian of Denmark to Luther's
Wittwe. 29 Dec. 1546 3214
3320. to an unnamed person. Without year and day 3215
3321. To a prince. Without year and day.
(Fragment.) 3216
3322. to a good friend. Without year and day 3217
3323. To an unnamed person. Without year and day.
(fragment.). . 3218
3324. Memorandum. Without year and day 3218
3325. to a city councillor. Without year and day 3220
3326. To an unnamed person. Without year and day.
(Fragment.) 3221
3327. To unnamed. Without year and day 3222
3328. To Marcus Crodel. No year or date 3222
3329. To an unnamed person. No year and
Tag. (Fragment.) 3223
3330. To Valerius. Without year and day 3224
3331. To a good friend. Without year and
Tag. St. Louis ed. vol. XIV, 784.
3332. to an unnamed person. Without year and day 3225
3333. concerns about twins with together.
grown bodies. Without year and day 3228
3334. concerns of the dance. Without year and day 3228
3335. To Johann Schlaginhaufen, pastor in
Köthen. 10 March 1534 3229

Index of letters contained in this volume.

B. Arranged alphabetically by name.

(The number indicates the number of the letter).

I. Letters of Luther to:

Formula of absolution. 2628.
Nobility, to one of (Riedtesel). 2040.
Agricola, Johann. 2012. 2079. 2297. 2321. 2410.
Aqricola's wife, Elisabeth. 2309.
Altenburg, an den Rath zu. 2962.
Alterius, Balthasar, and comrades in Venice 2c. 3156. Amberg, to the council of. 2472. 2482. 3148. 3186.
Amsdorf, Nicolaus von. 1954. 2024. 2029. 2037. 2067. 2117. 2245. 2287. 2480. 2498. 2873. 2880. 2882. 2890. 2901. 2908. 2933.2955. 2963.2977.2985. 3008. 3026. 3036. 3060.3078. 3089.3099.3116. 3118. 3120. 3122. 3127.3131. 3134.3139.3180. 3204. 3212. 3217. 3219.3231. 3232.3237.3242. 3253. 3265. 3270. 3272.3287. 3290.3291.3294.
Souvenir. Written in someone's memory. 2614. Anhalt. George, Prince of. 1964. 2170. 2207. 2211. 2216. 2253a. 2256a. 2258a. 2281a. 2291. 2436. 2442. 2452. 2468. 2469. 2471. 2496. 2537. 2570. 2666. 2670. 2792. 2797. 2798. 2836. 2859. 2875. 2928. 3002. 3005. 3058. 3118 a. 3137. 3192. 3196. 3216. 3227. 3238. 3244. 3247. 3285. 3299. 3307.
Anhalt, Joachim, Prince of. 1984. 2008. 2056. 2059. 2062. 2063. 2064. 2065. 2096. 2097. 2134. 2211. 2216. 2258 a. 2325. 2436. 2442. 2452. 2468. 2570. 2645. 2670. 2859. 2875.
Anhalt, Johann, Prince of. 1965. 2008. 2092. 2211. 2216. 2258a. 2370. 2374. 2379. 2452. 2476. 2479. 2570. 2666. 2670. 2797. 2798. 2859. 2875. 2924. 2937. 3138.
Anhalt, Margaretha von, Wolfgang's mother. 2412.
Anhalt, Margaretha von, Johann's wife. 2380. 3063.
Anhalt, Wolfgang, Prince of. 1978. 2228. 2413. 2756. 2913. 2948.
Aquila, Caspar, pastor at Saalfeld. 2114.
Poverty certificate. 2129.
Augsburg, to the clergy at. 2145. 2268.
To preacher zu. 2176.
To Rath at. 1996. 2015. 2144. 2148. 2177. 2243. 2269. 2456.
Augusta, Johann, priest at Leitomischl. 2951.
Baireuth, Amtmann und Rath zu. 3257.
Baumgärtner, Hieronymus. 2828. 2841. 3011.
Baumgärtner's wife. 3129.
Concerns about a religious peace to be established.

Four concerns about the Emperor and Pope's courtship of a Conciliar. 1987.
For the comparison to Cassel. 2094.
Why loneliness is to be fled. 2107.
Ueber Bucers Vergleichsvorschläge. 2116.
Whether secular princes are guilty of punishing Anabaptists with the sword. 2245 a.
About the Concil at Mantua. 2267.
About the Concil at Mantua and the resistance. 2324.
On the power of the authorities in ecclesiastical matters. 2330.
To the clergy of Erfurt, whether the true church is in Erfurt. 2331.
Ueber das ausgeschriebene Concilium. 2343.
About Musa's attack. 2494.
Of the opposition. 2502.
Ueber die Reformation der Universität Leipzig. 2535.
Concerns to the Elector: it is necessary to abolish the fair in Meissen. 2552.
Postscript to a Concern of the Wittenberg Theologians. 2552a.
Concerns for the day at Schmalkalden. 2622.
Concerns of Luther and the Electoral Councils about the double marriage of the Landgrave, 2691.
About the double marriage of the landgrave. 2692.
On Bucer's "Directory;". 2750.
On the election of the bishop of Naumburg. 2852 . 2853
Postscript to a Concern of Melanchthon. 2868.
for the estates of the Naumburg chapter. 2877
On a disputed matrimonial matter. 2950.
On emergency baptism. 2980.
Ueber die braunschweigische Angelegenheit. 3074.
Ueber den Rathschlag der Städte in der braunschweigischen Angelegenheit. 3081.
On the sins of the elect. 3087.
Ueber die Verlegung des Reichstags. 3150.
"The Wittenberg Reformation." 3181.
Whether a suit should be brought against the pope. 3183
Concerns about the "Wittenberg Reformation". 3191.
Whether the Schmalkaldic League should be continued. 3201
On the Strasbourg Council's proposal of a universal reformation. 3292.
Concerns and contract in the Mansfeld dispute. 3314.
About twins with fused bodies. 3333
Of the dance. 3334.
Whether the Protestants of other Imperial States may take subjects into protection and alliance, and to what extent they may enter into alliances with the Imperial Cities. In the Postscript of this volume, No. XI. Beier, Caspar. 3188.
Beier (Bayer), Christian, chancellor of Chursaxony. 2060. Beier, Leonhard. 2018. 2022. 2033a. 2036. 2053. 2089.

2112. 2188. 2261. 2500a. 2956.

Bernburg, Rath zu. 2533a.
Berndt, Ambrosius. 2427.
Bernhard, pastor in Dünkelsbühl. 2187.
Besserer, Bernhard, pastor in Ulm. 2528.
Bible inscription for Nic. Omeler. 3175.
Bible inscriptions, explanations of Bible passages, which are included in the collections under the letters, have been added to the "Interpretation of Many Beautiful Proverbs" 2c., St. Louis Edition, Vol. IX, 1756 ff, in the appropriate place.
Bock, Heinrich, ordination certificate for. 2657.
Bonn, Hermann, in Lübeck. 3031.
Messenger. See Schwenkfeld and Zeugniß.
Brandenburg, Elisabeth, widowed Churfürstin zu. 2738. 3057. 3095.
Brandenburg, George, Margrave of. 2244.
Brandenburg, Joachim II, Elector. 2609.2616.2752. 2754. 2921. 3193. 3210.
Brandenstein, Ewald von. 2851.
Brauer, Wolfgang, pastor at Jessen. 2199a.
Brunswick, Elisabeth, Duchess zu. 2463. 2625.
Brunswick, Franz Otto, Frederick and Henry, Princes of Brunswick-Luneburg. 2978.
Brunswick, Rath zu. 3259.
Bremen, Rath zu. 2001.
Breslau, Hauptmann und Rath zu. 2786.
Brisger, Eberhard, pastor in Altenburg. 2019. 2098. 2598. 2671. 2857. 3038.
Brismann, Johann. 2235.
Brück, Dr. Gregory, chancellor. 2101. 2319. 2581. 2615. 2676. 2712. 2765. 2903. 2907. 2983. 3125. 3126. 3131a.
Bucer, M., in Strasbourg. 2221.2349. 2395.2587. 2588.
Book, written in a book. 2742.
Büchholzer, Georg, provost in Berlin. 2609a. 3213.
Bugenhagen, Dr. Johann. 2406. 2631. 2637. 2867.
Bullinger, Heinrich. 2433.
Burkhard, Franz, churfürstlicher Vicekanzler. 2208. 2227. 2232. 2280. 2386a. 2404. 2405a. 2411. 2421.
Capito, Wolfgang. 2237. 2365. 2816.
Cario, Dr. Johann. 2126.
Castner, Lorenz, and comrades at Freiberg. 2213.
Cellarius, Johann, pastor in Dresden. 2606.
Cellarius, Johann, widow. 2919.
Coburg, Mayor and City Council zu. 2546.
Cölius, Michael. 2755.
Composer, to one. 2113.
Cordatus, Conrad. 2358. 2601. 3140. 3163. 3177.
Corvinus, Antonius. 3174.
Cötta, to Frederick and Bonaventure, cousins. 2854.
Cresser, Daniel. 2927. 3056.
Creuzburg, Stadtrath zu. 2990.
Crodel, Marcus, schoolteacher in Torgau. 2941. 2943. 2947. 2973. 3152. 3328.
Cromwell, Thomas. 2229.
Cruciger, Dr. Caspar... 2637. 2782.
Cyner, see Zeuner.
Denmark, Christian III, King of. 2316. 2451. 3107. 3203. 3274.
Memo. 3324.
Dietrich, Veit. 2203. 2826. 3016. 3020. 3061. 3258.
Dölen, Bernhard von, priest in Sitten. 2240. 2459.
Ebert, Andreas, preacher at Frankfurt. 2265.
Einsiedel, Heinrich von. 2038. 3209.
Letter of recommendation. For an oriental clergyman. 2072.
Letter of recommendation. For Theob. Diedelhuber. 2131.
Letter of recommendation. For a Moor. 2438.
Letter of recommendation. For a clergyman. 2825.
End, Ehrenfried vom. 2790.
Eperies, to the clergy of. 3109.
Inheritance contract between the Luther siblings. 2073.
Erfurt, to the clergy of Erfurt. Concerns whether the true church is in Erfurt? 2331.
Erfurt, Preacher to. 2004.
Permission certificate for the churchwardens in Kirchhain. 3255.
Eschat, Margaretha. 2984.
Eßlingen, Stadtrath zu. 2179.
Faculty certificate for Heinrich Schmedstädt. 2930.
Faculty Certificate for Johann Marbach. 2995.
Faculty Certificate for Hieronymus Nopus. 3054.
Faculty Certificate for Friedr. Bachofer (Baking Oven). 3055.
Fesel, Johann. 2382.
Fischer, Johann. Ordination certificate. 2648.
Forster, Johann. 2255. 2270. 2474. 2966.
Fox, Edward, bishop of Herfordshire. 2432.
Fragment. To a city councillor. 3044.
Fragment. To a prince. 3321.
Franciscus, a Moor. Letter of recommendation. 2438.

Frankfurt, Prediger zu. 2190.
Frankfurt, Rath und Gemeinde zu. 1958.
Frankfurt, Rath zu. 2191.
Freiberg, Rath zu. 2135.
Frenzel, Melchior, pastor in Ronneburg. 2932.
Friend, Aegidius. 1972.
Friend, to a good one. 2057. 3322. 3331.
Froschauer, Christoph, printer in Zurich. 3040.
Prince, an unnamed. 3321.
Gallus, Nicolaus, ordination certificate for. 3009.
Gerbel, Nicolaus, legal scholar in Strasbourg. 2194.
Gerich (Gericke), Cyriacus, pastor in Köthen. 2464.
Gilbert, Martin, priest in Marienberg. 2988. 3117.
3195.
Gleichen, Wolfgang, Count von. 2999.
Gluenspieß, Philipp. 2461.
Göritz, Johann, Judge at Leipzig. 3090.
Goerlitz, Rath zu. 2810.
Grey, Johann. 2851.
Groß, Franz, pastor in Mittweida. 2869.
Green, Friedrich von der. 2864.
Gübe, Benedict, eldest of the Bohemian brothers. 2127.
Gülden, Johann. 2137.
Guldschmidt, Stenzel. 2199.
Güttel, Dr. Caspar. 2503. 2646. 2708.
Halle, Rath zu. 3076. 3218.
Hammelburg, Mayor and City Council zu. 3226.
Hanover, city council. 2122.
Hausmann, Nicolaus. 1951. 1983. 2002. 2009. 2021.
2035. 2042. 2043. 2046. 2049. 2082. 2086. 2205.
2215. 2288. 2418. 2423.
Hausmann, N. N. 2414.
House bill of Luther. 2979.
Heidenreich, Caspar. 3206.
Heinze, Wolf, organist at Halle. 3043.
Held, George. 1963.3006.
Heller, Sebastian, Chancellor of Anspach. 2430. 2434.
2491. 2844. 2975.
Herford, Anna von Limburg, Aebtissin zu. 2031.
Herford, Rath zu. 2084.
Herzenberger, Dr. Franz. 2584.
Hess, Johann, in Breslau. 2025. 3027. 3069.
Hesse, Eoban. 2369.

Hesse, Landgrave Philip of. 2083. 2094a. 2115. 2478.
2610. 2642. 2693. 2700. 2711. 2715. 2906. 2916.
3030. 3166. 3190. 3198. 3284.
Hessian Council. 2667.
Hessian theologians (Tilemann Schnabel 2c.). 1986.
Himmel, Augustin, pastor at Colditz. 2027. 2124.2381.
2605. 2845. 2847. 3262.
Hirsfelder. See Raide.
Court preacher, to one. See Stratner.
Honold, Hans, in Augsburg. 1994a.
Honter, J., preacher at Kronstadt in Transylvania. 3113.
Hosel, Georg, mountain scribe in Marienberg. 3167.
Huberinus, Caspar, in Augsburg. 2176. 2181. 2299.
Hügel, Andreas, priest at Amberg. 2513.
Hymmel. See heaven.
Jezel, Jew. See Josel.
Jonas, Dr. Justus. 2054. 2093. 2095. 2154. 2160. 2161.
2163. 2165. 2183.2185.2189. 2247. 2277.2278.
2285. 2339. 2341.2342.2354. 2415. 2417.2425.
2431. 2435. 2437.2545.2551. 2560. 2561.2567.
2571. 2575. 2613.2631.2637. 2735. 2741.2776.
2783. 2791. 2815.2831.2832. 2839. 2856.2862.
2879. 2885. 2888.2892.2893. 2914. 2920.2934.
2939. 2945. 2946.2949.2957. 2971. 2972.2976.
2989. 2998. 3012.3022.3049. 3072. 3108.3187.
3240. 3266.
Jonas' housewife. 2896.
Jöppel, Balthasar, organist to Duke George of Saxony. 2055.
Jörger, Christoph. 3080. 3205. 3280.
Jörger, Mrs. Dorothea. 1950b. 1973. 2013. 2051. 2125.
2168. 2263. 3130. 3141.
Josel, Jew, at Roßheim. 2397.
Isny, Mayor and Council zu. 2326.
Kiel, Rath zu. 3128.
Kilmann, Wenceslaus. Ordination certificate. 2558.
Kitzingen, Rath zu. 2032.
Klitzing, Lippold von, Amtshauptmann zu Jüterbock.

Krech, Wolfgang. 2253.
Kohlhase, Hans. 2091.
Krajek, Conrad von. 2701.
Cruciger. See Cruciger.
Kunholt, Johann. 2851.
Kymäus, Johann, in Homburg. 2522.
Lang, Johann, preacher at Erfurt. 2106. 2655. 2687. "3133. 3239.
Langer, Johann, preacher in Coburg. 2388.
Lautensack, Paul. 1962.
Lauterbach, Anton. 2110. 2139. 2212. 2327. 2604. 2633.
2658. 2660. 2669.2677.2704. 2727. 2733.2840.
2855. 2860. 2891.2909.2917. 2918. 2929.2936.
2942. 2958. 3004.3050.3059. 3062. 3094.3101.
3124. 3161. 3236.3264.
Leipzig, Evangelical Christians to. 1968.
Leipzig, theological faculty of. 3053.
Leipzigers who persecuted for the sake of the Gospel. 1989.
Leisnig, Rath zu. 2045. 2283.
Leupold, Simon, Mecklenburg Councillor. 2652.
Limburg, Anna von, Aebtissin zu Herford. See Herford.
Link, Wenceslaus, preacher in Nuremberg. 1994. 2007.
2078. 2128 a. 2218. 2548. 2591. 2807. 2827. 2834.
2935. 3023. 3184.
Lischnerin (Lißkirchen), Barbara. 2123.
Longolius, Christoph, ordination certificate for. 3146.
Lonicer, Johann, pastor in Marburg. 2118.
Loser, Johann von, Hereditary Marshal of Saxony. 1957.
Luther, Dorothea. 2608.
Luther, John the Son. 2023.2327.2974.
Luther, Käthe, Luther's wife. 2076. 2347. 2686. 2688. 2689. 2694. 2838. 3245. 3297. 3302. 3304. 3305. 3308. 3312.
Lübeck, M. Johann, pastor in Cottbus. 2506.
Magenbuch, Dr. Johann. 3115.
Moravian brothers, to the elders of the. 2308. 2426.
Mainz, Albrecht, Archbishop zu. 2147. 2202 a.
Major, Dr. George. 2778.
Maltzan, Dietrich von. 3035. 3037.
Mansfeld, Albrecht, Count zu. 2292. 2662. 2865. 2887. 2926. 3277.
Mansfeld, George and Philip, Counts of. 2894. 2926.
Mantel, J., formerly church servant at Wittenberg. 2599.
Mathesius, Johann, priest. 3071.
Matthias. See Weller.

Mechler, Aegidius, preacher in Erfurt. 2345.
Mecklenburg, Henry V, Duke of. 2071. 2313.
Mecklenburg, Magnus, Prince of. 2534.
Medler, Nicolaus, pastor. 2608a. 3077.
Melanchthon, Philip. 2162. 2195.2346.2489.2505. 2515. 2518. 2521.2631. 2634.2641.2679.2729. 2730. 2732. 2737.2762. 2763.2769.2772.2774. 2779. 2784. 2799.2802. 2804.2805.3301.3303. 3311.
Menius, Justus. 1999. 2041. 2050. 2074. 2133. 2152. 2159. 2366. 2511. 2538. 2654. 2696. 2703. 2759. 2874. 2915. 2938. 3014.
Metsch, Hans von, Landvogt. 2475.
Metzler, Mrs. Katharina. 2553.
Meyer, Jakob, Mayor of Basel. 2344.
Mohr, Georg, pastor at Borna. 3263.
Moiban, Ambrosius, priest in Breslau. 2025. 2532.
Mörlin (Maurus), Joachim, Pastor at Arnstadt. 3046. 3064. 3093. 3147.
Mühlhausen, Rath zu. 3132.
Müller, Bastian, Luther's brother-in-law. 3029.
Müller, Caspar, Mansfeld chancellor. 2087. 2206.
Myconius, Friedrich, priest at Gotha. 2061. 2070. 2080. 2198. 2361. 2368. 2511. 2745. 3007. 3098. 3160. 3207.
Nandelstadt. See ordination certificate.
Nassau,, Philip III, Count of. 2448. 2454.
Naumburg, Rath zu. 2384.
Nordhausen, Preacher zu. 2200 a. 2883. 3083.
Nuremberg, Geistlichen zu. 1993. 2629.
Nuremberg, Rath zu. 1969. 2005. 2314.
Omeler, Nicolaus, Bible inscription for. 3175.
Ordination certificate for Jak. Stigel to Saalseld. 2383.
Ordination certificate for Antonius Otto to Hainichen. 2470.
Ordination certificate for Joh. Nandelstadt to Schmölln. 2555.
Ordination certificate for Wenc. Kilmann after Passerin. 2558.
Ordination certificate for Jakob Fischer to Rudolstadt. 2648.
Ordination certificate for Heinrich Bock to Reval. 2657.
Ordination Certificate for Balth. Hausmann to Kreischau. 2910.
Ordination certificate for Joh. Reibitz to Kollenbei (?). 3145.
Ordination certificate for Christoph Longolius to Löbejün. 3146.
Ordination certificate for Georg von Anhalt, as bishop in Merseburg. 3247.

Oschatz, Rath zu. 2574.
Oschatz, chased Christians out. 1955.
Osiander, Andreas. 2006. 3230.
Otto, Antonius, ordination certificate for. 2470. Otto, Antonius, preacher at Nordhausen. 3083. Oettingen, Ludwig, Count of. 2569.
Pack, Otto von, Amtmann in Torgau. 2058. Pancratius, preacher in Danzig. 2997.
Pauli, Benedict, mayor in Wittenberg. 2493. parson, to one (Cordatus). 3140. 3163. Pfeffinger, Johann, pastor at Leipzig. 3018.
Piscator, M. Christoph, pastor in Jüterbock. 3157.
Pomerania, Barnim, Duke of. 2353.
Pomerania, Barnim and Philipp, Dukes zu. 3114.
Pomerania, Philip, Duke of. 3235.
Pomerania, Councils of Barnim and Philip. 3119.
Ponnecken, Hans von, churf. sächsischer Kämmerer. 2968.
Prussia, Albrecht, Duke of. 2429. 2453. 2481. 2549. 2586. 2714. 2773. 2843. 2925. 2994. 3013. 3033. 3034. 3211.
Probst, Jakob, pastor in Bremen. 1422. 2158. 2465. 2509. 2898. 2952. 3164. 3293.
Raide, Balthasar, pastor in Hersfeld. 2204.
Rath, Hessian. 2667,
Councils, electoral. 2661.
Ratzeberger, Dr. Matthäus, churf. personal physician. 3250. Regensburg, city council. 2069. 2965.
Regius (Rhegius), Urban, preacher in Augsburg. 2200. Rehlinger, Conrad. 2710.
Reineck, Hans, foreman in Mansfeld. 2231. Reißenbusch, Wolfgang, preceptor in Lichtenberg. 2390. Reval, Rath zu. 1990.
Rewa, Franz von, Count of Thurocz. 2568.
Riedtesel, Johann, churf. Director zu Weimar. 2040. 2174. 2230.
Riemann, Joh., pastor in Werdau. 2486. 2566. 3000. Riga, Rath zu. 2702.
Romaschi, Matthias, priest in Hermannstadt. 3041. Rörer, Georg. 2685.
Roßwein, Rath zu. 2663.
Rothenburg an der Tauber, Rath zu. 1956.
Rudel, Laurentius, preacher in Amberg. 2981.
Rühel, Christoph. 1981. 1992.
Ruhel, Dr. Johann. 2033. 2068. 2510. Saalfeld, Rath zu. 2295. 2312. 2512. Saxony, Catharina, Duchess zu. 2565. 2683.
To Henry, Duke of. 2246. 2254. 2306. 2563.
To Johann Ernst, Duke of. 3111.
To Johann Friedrich, Churfürst, Herzog zu. 1959. 1987. 2000. 2030. 2039. 2075. 2090. 2100. 2109. 2121. 2139a. 2141. 2142. 2150. 2153. 2157. 2169. 2172a. 2202. 2209. 2222. 2223. 2224. 2239. 2275. 2276. 2304. 2329. 2332. 2359. 2363. 2367.2373.
2386. 2389. 2398.2400. 2401. 2403.2408.2420.
2441. 2457. 2460.2483. 2501. 2525.2526.2539.
2540. 2541. 2552.2556. 2573. 2578.2579.2580.
2589. 2590. 2593.2594. 2617. 2620.2621.2627.
2630. 2644. 2653.2665. 2668. 2673.2718.2720.
2744. 2748. 2751.2753. 2758. 2761.2767.2777.
2787. 2788. 2794.2795. 2801. 2803.2806.2808.
2812. 2818. 2820.2822. 2830. 2858.2861.2871.
2884. 2897. 2899.2900. 2905. 2912.2940.2953.
2954. 2960. 2961.2986. 2992. 3001.3048.3067.
3073. 3082. 3085.3103. 3143. 3153.3155.3168.
3169. 3173. 3176.3182. 3185. 3197.3200.3214.
3215. 3221. 3224.3229. 3233. 3234.3243.3269.
3271. 3275. 3278.3284. 3288. 3289.3295.
Saxony, Johann Friedrich and Joh. Wilhelm, Dukes zu. 2833.
Saxony, Moritz, Duke of. 2837. 2866.
To Sibyl, Electress of. 3104. 3110.
Sastrow, Nicolaus. 2647.
Scarab, George. 2625a.
Schalling, Martin, preacher at Strasbourg. 2192.
Schenk, Dr. Jakob. 2419.
Schlaginhaufen, Johann. 2020. 3335. 2416. 2674.
Schnabel, Tilemann, Preacher in Hesse. 1986.
Schneidewein, Mrs Ursula. 2544. 2557.
Schnepf, Erhard. 2130.
Schott, Hans. 2559.
Schreiner, Johann, pastor at Grimma. 2364. 2499.
Schud, George. 2886.
Schulteis, Johann, Schösser. 2922.
Schulze, Severin, pastor at Belgern. 3286.
Schulze, widow of Georg Schulze. 3149.
Schwalb, Hans. 2446.
Sweden, Gustav I, King of. 2529. 3106.
Swizerland, the reformed. 2393.
Swiss places, assembly of the deputies of the. 2447.
Schwenkfeld's messenger. To the same. 3061a.
Seiler, Dr. Gereon, physician in Augsburg. 2180.
Selmenitz, Frau Felicitas von. 2108.
Sieberger, Wolfgang. 2104.
Siegen, Rath zu. 2650.
Soest, to the preachers zu. 2186.

Solinus, Gregor, Diaconus in Tangermünde. 2709.
Spalatin, George. 1966. 1976. 1979. 1980. 1991. 1995.
1998. 2044. 2047. 2048.2105. 2120.2128.2166.
2217. 2248. 2249. 2289.2323. 2351.2536.2554.
2572. 2583. 2595. 2649.2726. 2747.2876.2931.
2944. 2959. 2982. 3025.3065. 3070.3092.3096.
3100. 3105. 3136.
Spangenberg, Johann, pastor in Nordhausen. 2607.
3083.
Woodpecker, Nicolaus. 2485.
Spengler, Lazarus, city writer in Nuremberg. 2016.
Spenlein, Georg. 3123.
Spiegel, Asmus. 2619.
Stadtrath, to one. See Creuzburg and Kiel.
Starschedel, to the von. 2814.
Stein, Wolfgang, court preacher in Weimar. 2878.
Steude, M. Sebastian, preacher in Joachimsthal. 2829.
Stiefel, M. Michael. 1985.
Stigel, Jakob. See ordination certificate.
Strasbourg, War Councils of the City. 2477.
Strasbourg, Preacher to. 2175. 2193.
Strasbourg, Rath zu. 2242.
Street, Christopher. 3154.
Stratner, Jakob, court preacher in Berlin. 2716. 2736.
2746. 2849.
Tann, Eberhard von der. 2684. 3084.
Taubenheim, Hans von, Rentmeisler in Torgau. 2301.
2387.2497.2542.
Testament of Luther (first) 2348. (second) 2872.
Thonwerd, Briccius. 2186. see Soest.
Thun, Peter. 2253.
Thurn, Count von. See Rewa.
Torgau, Rath zu. 2372. 3019. 3252.
Letter of consolation for women who have been unjustly afflicted with child distress. 2862a.
Ulm, preacher to. 2178.
Ulm, Rath zu. 2311.
Circular letter to all parish priests. 2514.

Unnamed. 1977. 2172. 2184. 2422. 2458. 2603. 2923. 3102. 3151. 3251. 3320. 3323. 3325. 3326. 3327. 3329. 3332.
University Program. 3256.
Unruh, Anton, Judge at Torgau. 2443.
Ursinus, Clemens, pastor at Bruck (an der Leitha). 2531.
Valerius. 3330.
Venice. Evangelical Brethren in Venice and its environs. 3021.
Visitators in the Thuringian District. 2520.
Walzdorf, Peter, Mayor in Arnstadt. 3088.
Weinlaub, Johann, churf. brandenburgischer Rath. 2716.
White, Georg, valet. 2824.
Welier, Jerome. 2266. 2272. 2490. 2500. 2597. 2635. 2682. 2707. 2809. 2911.
Weller, Matthias. 2081. 2113.
Wenden, Simon von. 2473.
Wickmann, Johann. 2385.
Wiedemann, Wolf, Mayor of Leipzig. 1971.
Wilskamp (Viscampius), Gerhard, of Herford. 2085.
Wittenberg, Mayor zu. 2612.
Wittenberg, Consistorium zu. 3086.
Wittenberg, parish of. 2444.
Wittenberg, pastors of the superintendency. 2996.
Wittenberg, Rath zu. 2523.
Wittenberg, students to. 3017.
Wittenberg, University, City Council and Citizenship, Ber reminder to. 2889.
Wittenberg Reformation. See Concerns.
Wolferinus, Simon, pastor in Eisleben. 3024. 3028. 3144.
Wolfhardt (Lycosthenes), Bonifacius. 2349.
Newspaper, new newspaper from the Rhine. (Mockingjay.) 2937.
Zeitz, dean and canons to. 2651.
Slip op. 2523.2594.3313.
Slip of paper, laid in. 2481.
Testimony for a messenger that he is still alive. 2352.
Testimonial for a Travelling Hungarian. 3135.
Zeuner, Caspar, Superintendent in Freiberg. 2991.
Zwickau, pastor and council to. 3254.
Zwickau, Rath zu. 2290. 3282.
Gemini, Gabriel. 2052. 2151. 2173. 2507. 2727.

II. letters to Luther from:

Agricola, Johann. 2298. 2376. 2392. 2488.
Amsdorf, Nicolaus von. 2034. 2484.
Anhalt, George, Prince of. 2281. 2466. 2487. 2495. 2835. 3196.
Anhalt, Joachim, Prince of. 2136.
Augsburg, Preacher to. 2138a. 2167a. 2260.
Augsburg, Rath zu. 2010. 2167. 2233. 2257. 2455.
Baserinus, Nicolaus. 3047.
Baumgärtner, Hieronymus. 3261.
Belgern, Rath zu. 2626.
Bohemian Brethren. See Moravian Brethren.
Brandenburg, Elisabeth, Electress. 2273.
Brandenburg, Joachim II, Elector of. 2749. 3003.
Brandenstein, Ewald von. 2846.
Brenz, Johann. 3315.
Brismann, Johann. 2967.
Brück, Gregorius, Chancellor. 2099.
Bucer, Mart. 2259. 2286. 2336. 2394. 2530. 2725. 3142.
Buchholzer, Georg, provost of Berlin. 3220.
Bugenhagen, Dr. Johann. 3172.
Bullinger, Heinrich. 2424. 2461a.
Calvin. 3296.
Capito, Wolfgang Fabr. 2250. 2258. 2284. 2336. 2357.
Cordatus, Conrad. 2303. 2307. 2317. 2322.
Corvinus, Antonius. 2088.
Cruciger, Dr. Caspar. 2723. 2724. 2775.
Dalenbrock, Michael. 2255.
Denmark, Christian III, King of. 2356. 3091. 3178. 3318.
Dietrich, Veit. 2993.
Draco, Joh. 2026.
Ebert, Andreas. 22'64.
Einsiedel, Heinrich von. 3202.
Eßlingen, Rath zu. 2155.
Ferdinand, King. 2340.
Förster, Johann. 2167a.
Princes. Advertisement of several princes. 2796. .
Güttel, Dr. Caspar. 2640a.

Hausmann, Nicolaus. 1952.
Hesse, Landgrave Philip of. 2082a. 2119. 2240. 2639. 2664. 2672. 2675. 2680. 2690. 2695. 2699. 2706. 2713. 2902. 2904. 3032. 3179. 3189. 3194. 3273.
Hessian preachers. 2681.
Karg, Dr. George. 2407.
Link, Wenceslaus. 2550.
Moravian brothers. 2251. 2294. 2391.
Major, Dr. George. 3298. 3310.
Mansfeld, Countess Dorothea von. 3045.
Mansfeld, Count Hans Jörg von. 3015.
Mecklenburg, Duke Albrecht of. 1997.
Mecklenburg, Duke Magnus in front 2492.
Melanchthon. 2146. 2182. 2197. 2305. 2350. 2517.2519. 2524 . 2643. 2717. 2722 . 2728. 2734. 2739. 2740. 2760. 2764. 2768. 2770. 2780. 2789. 3017a. 3300. 3306. 3316.
Menius, Justus. 1953. 2705.
Meyer, Jakob. 2293.
Mithobius, Burchard. 2721.
Mörlin (*Maurus*), Joachim. 3208.
Myconius, Frederick. 2516. 3097.
Myconius, Oswald. 2318. 2445. 2895.
Nuremberg, the clergy to. 2632.
Nuremberg, Rath zu. 1967. 2003. 2011.
Oettingen, Ludwig, Count of. 2564.
Osiander, Andreas. 2256.
Ottinger, Conrad. 2028.
Plötzkau, parish of. 2618.
Plötzkau, Kloster zu. 2274.
Pomerania, Duke Barnim von. 3241.
Prussia, Duke Albrecht zu. 1982. 2066. 2338. 2439. 2450. 2467. 2508. 2562. 2636. 2697. 2731. 2800. 2970. 3052. 3068. 3112. 3225.
Ramassy, Matthias. 3170.
Councils, the Electoral Saxon. 2138. 2262. 2659.
Reutlingen, Rath zu. 2286a.
Roth, Stephan. 2132. 2140.
Rudolph, Anton. 2236.
Saxony, Elector Johann Friedrich zu. 1975. 2102. 2103. 2111, 2143, 2149, 2171, 2196, 2201, 2210. 2214. 2219. 2220.2225.2226. 2238. 2241. 2271. 2279. 2296. 2300.2320.2328. 2333. 2355. 2371. 2378. 2396. 2»99.2102.2405. 2409. 2449. 2543. 2547. 2576. 2585.2592.2596. 2600. 2602. 2611. 2623. 2624. 2640.2656.2678. 2719. 2757. 2766. 2771. 2781. 2785. 2811. 2813. 2819. 2819a. 2821. 2850. 2863. 2881. 2987. 3010. 3042. 3057a. 3066. 3079. 3158. 3159. 3162. 3171. 3222. 3223. 3228. 3249. 3260. 3267. 3276. 3279. 3309.
Schenk, Dr. Jakob. 2375.

Carpenter, Johann. 2638.
Schnitze, Severin. 2362.
Sweden, King Gustav I of. 2698,2793,2842,3121.
Swiss Confederates. 2234.
Swiss places. 2428.
Schwenkfeld, Caspar. 3053a.
Seiler, Dr. Gereon. 2167b.
Sequestrators in Saxony. 2823.
Spalatin. 3075.
Specatus, Paul, bishop in Pomesania. 2969.
Staupitz, Margaretha von. 3199.
Strasbourg. 2334.
Strasbourg. the clergy in. 2335.
Strasbourg. the theologians in. 2156.
Torgau, Rath zu. 1974.
Ulm, the clergy to. 2302.
Ulm, Rath zu. 2164.
Vadian, Joachim. 2282. 2315.
Venice, the evangelical brothers in. 2964. 3039.
Wiedemann, Wolf. 1970.
Windisch, Kilian. 2798a.
Zettler, Bernhard. 3165.
Zurich, the clergy of. 2577.

III. foreign letters from:

Aurifaber, Johann, to Michael Gutt. 3317.
Brück to the Elector Johann Friedrich. 3248. 3281. 3283.
Bugenhagen, Dr. Johann, to Spalatin. 1960.
Cordatus to Melanchthon. 3268.
Cruciger to Caspar Börner. 2622a.
Denmark, King Christian, to Luther's widow. 3319.
Dietrich, Veit, to Justus Menius. 1961.
Jonas to Spalatin. 2014.
Leipzig, the theological faculty of Leipzig to that of Wittenberg. 3051.
Luther, Catharina, to Taubenheim. 2533.
Nuremberg, Rath zu, an die theologische Facultät zu Wittenberg. 2310.
Saxony, Elector Johann Friedrich, to Spalatin. 2377.
Weller, Joh. P., to Brismann. 2017.
Wittenberg, the University of, to the Elector. 3246.
Zeuner, Caspar, to the Bishop of Meissen. 2504.

IV. other documents:

Luther's response to the book of Nebulo Tulrich. 2870.
Luther's History of the Martyrdom of Dr. Robert Barnes. 2743.
Melanchthon's short history of the convent at Regensburg. 2817.
Preface to the printing of the advertisement of the emperor and the pope to the protesting estates because of a Christian council. 1988.

Postscript on all parts of Walch's collection of Luther's writings.

Columne

I. Johann Aurifaber's stories about what happened to Luther from year to year.
1. john aurifaber's report, what happened to luther in 1518 3236
2 Spalatin's account of Luther's plot with Cardinal Cajetan 3241
3. the story which is superior to the action of Carl von Miltitz with Luther at Altenburg 3246
4 Joh. Aurifaber's history of the disputation held in Leipzig in 1519. St. Louis ed. vol. XV, 1189.
5. Joh. Aurifaber's report, what happened with Luther's teachings mainly in the years from 1520 to 1529 3247
6 Spalatin's Narrative of What Occurred at the Diet of Augsburg in Anno 1530 3267
7. john aurifaber's report, what happened with Luther and his teachings in the years from 1531 to 1545 3282
II. Luther's writing against Jakob Hochstraten.
13 July 1519 3313
III. Duke Carl of Münsterberg to Luther.
29 June 1522 3316

Columne

IV. Prince Frederick to King Louis of Hungary. 1523 3316
V. Luther's writing against the blind and mad damnation! of the 17 Articles, proceeding from the wretched, disgraceful University of Ingolstadt. 1524 3318
VI Elector Frederick to Duke John of Saxony. 30 April 1525 3334
VII Thomas Münzer to Christoph N. at Eisleben. 1525 3334
VIII. Concerns how to lift the peasant revolt in its source by abolishing the mass and employing good parish priests. 1526 904
IX. Report of Bugenhagen and Jonas on Luther's severe attack of illness on July 6, 1527. 985
X. Concerns about the Nuremberg religious peace, joint with Jonas. 29 June 1532. 1755

XI. Concerns as to whether the Protestants of other imperial states may take subjects into protection and alliance, and how far they may enter into alliance with the imperial cities. 1534 3336
XII. Concerns why loneliness is to be fled. 1534 1948

XIII Luther's Preface to the Scripture: Was auf dem Reichstag zu Nürnberg Anno 1522 bis 1523 von wegen päbstlicher Heiligkeit an kaiserliche Majestät 2c. lutherischer Sachen halben belanget und darauf geantwortet worden ist. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIV, 418.
XIV History of the Martyrdom of Dr. Robert Barnes. 1540 , 2542
XV The 29th Psalm, interpreted by Dr. Joh. Bugenhagen. Of unborn children, and the children that cannot be baptized. 1541 3338
XVI. epitaph for Magdalena Luther. 1542 3373 XVII Guelph's lying account of Luther's death. 1545 3374
XVIII Letter from the University of Wittenberg to the Elector. 1 Aug. 1545 3126
XIX Treaty in the County of Mansfeld. 16 Feb 1546 3204
XX. Luther's Will of 6 Jan. 1542 together with the Electoral Confirmation. 11 April 1546 2698
XXI Dr. Jonas to the Elector, of Luther's death. 18 Feb. 1546 3378
XXII Report of Dr. Jonas and LI. Mich. Cölius of Luther's departure from this life. 1546 3381
XXIII Prince Johann Friedrich to the Counts of Mansfeld. 18 Feb. 1546 3392
XXIV The Count of Mansfeld's answer to the preceding letter. 19 Feb. 1546 3393

Columne

XXV Churfürst Johann Friedrich to an unnamed person in Wittenberg. 21 Feb. 1546 3894
XXVI Bugenhagen, Cruciger, and Melanchthon to the Elector. 5 March 1546 . 3395
XXVII Dr. Augustin Schurfs Program on the Corpse of Luther. 21 Feb. 1546 3396
XXVIII. Of LI. Michael Cölius Funeral Sermon of Luther at Eisleben. 20 Feb. 1546 3397
XXIX Dr. Johann Bugenhagen's Sermon at the Burial of Luther. 22 Feb. 1546 3414
XXX. Philip Melanchthon's Speech at Luther's Corpse. 22 Feb. 1546 3423
XXXI. of Dr. Justus Jonas Funeral Sermon of Luther at Eisleben. 19 Feb. 1546 3435
XXXII Luther's Epitaphium (at Eisleben?).... 3450
XXXIII Luther's epitaph on his tomb at Wittenberg 3455
XXXIV Melanchthon's History of the Life of Luther. 1546. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIV, 456.
XXXV. Catharina's, Luther's widow, letter to King Christian of Denmark. 6 Oct. 1550 3456
XXXVI Luther's Opinion of Augustine's Words: *Accedat verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum* 3457
XXXVII The twelve evangelical counsels of the papists. 1540 3459

Addendum to the collection of letters in this 21st volume.

Columne

1789a. To Johann Fesel in Coburg. 29 April 1531 3462
1791. to Barbara Lißkirchen, née Welker, in Freiberg. 30 April 1531 3462
1792a. To the Council of Reval. May 3, 1531. ... 3463 1792b. Elector John of Saxony to Luther. 4 May 1531 3464
1799a. To Joh. Brenz. End of May 1531 3465
1799b. To the Chancellor Brück. End of May (?) 1531 3465 1816a. To the council of Memmingen. 2 July 1531 3465 1819. to Spalatin, Brisger and Eberh. Schaubis. July 5 1531 3466
1820. To Hieron. Nopus at Zwickau. 10 July 1531 ... 3466
1823b. To Joh. Brenz. 28 July 1531 3466
1842a. To Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 22.Sept. 1531 3467
1848a. To Matthias Knutzsen and his housewife in Husum. 21 Oct. 1531 (?) 3467
1857a. Concerns about a religious peace. Nov. or Dec. 1531 3468
1860. To Justus Jonas. 1532 3468.
1861. to an unnamed princess. 1531 3468
1867. to the abbot Friedrich Pistorius in Nuremberg. berg. 17 Jan. 1533 3468

Columne

1869a. Luther's Testimony on the "Apology of the Frater's Life at Herford". 31 Jan. 1532 3469
1874a. To Albrecht, Duke of Prussia. 13 Feb. 1532 3469
1878a. To Albrecht, Duke of Prussia. Feb. or beginning of March 1532 3470
1887a. Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther. 6 April 1532. 3470
1888a. The Aebtissin of Herford, Anna von Limburg, to Luther. 14 April 1532 3472
1888b. Gerhard Wilskamp to Luther. 14 April 1532 3474
1890a. To Jakob Montanus in Herford. 22 April 15323475
1892. To Thomas Zink in Hofheim. 22 April 1532 3475
1916a. To the Council of Reval. 7 Aug. 1532 3475
1927a. To Christian II, the captive king of Denmark. 28 Sept. 1532.... 3476
1932a. To Gerh. Wilskamp in Herford. 19 Oct. 1532 3478
1935. to Laurentius Zoch, Magdeburg Chancellor. 2 Nov. 1532 3478
1943a. To the Council of Danzig. 13 Dec. 1532. ... 3478
1948a. Book inscription. 1532 (?) 3480

Columne

1958a. Die Wittenberger Theologen an den Nach zu Bremen, nebst Bedenken über die Wiederherstellung der Ceremonien im Dom. 27 feb 1538 3480
1962a. To Paul Lautensack at Nuremberg. 24 March 1533 ... 3482
1963. To Georg Funk in Dessau. 28 March 1533 3482
1966a. To the Churprince Joachim of Brandenburg. March? 1533. (Fragment.) 3483
1966b. Petition of the Leipzig Protestants to Duke George. 5 April 1533 3483
1972a. The Diacones and Citizens of the City of Hamburg to Luther and Melanchthon. 28 April 1533 3485
1980a. The deacons and citizens of Hamburg to Luther 2c. 3 June 1533 3487
1980b. Gerh. Wilskamp to Luther and Melanchthon. 5 June 1533 3488
2004a. Duke Albrecht v. Mecklenburg to Luther. 1 Oct. 1533 (Regest.)... 3489
2007a. Gerh. Wilskamp to Luther. 10 Oct. 1533 3489
2029a. Gerh. Wilskamp to Luther and Melanchthon. 6 Jan. 1534 3491
2058a. To Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony. June 5 1534 3492
2071. to Duke Henry V of Mecklenburg. July 4 1536 3493
2077a. Paul Speratus to Luther, Melanchthon 2c. Aug. 31, 1534. (Regest.) 3493
2077b. Book inscription for Lazarus Spengler. End of August 1534 3494
2081a.. Gerh. Wilskamp to Luther. 9. Oct. 1534. (Regest.) 3494
2083a. To Prince Johann von Anhalt. 20 Oct. 1534 3495
2085a. To Anna of the Lady of Wendishayn. 13 Nov 1534 3495
2094b. To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 17 Dec. 1534' 3496
2101a. Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther. 29 Dec. 1534. (Regest.) 3497
2102a. To Urban Rhegius in Celle. 30. Dec. 1534 3497
2111 Prince John Frederick to Luther. Jan. 12 , 1535, 3498
2113. to Matthias Weller in Freiberg. 18 Jan. 1535 3498
2120a. To Spalatin. 28 Feb. 1535 3498
2121a. To Wenc. Link. 2 March 1535 3498

Columne

2123a. To Caspar Müller, Chancellor at Mansfeld. March 18 1535 3498
2127. to Benedict (Gübe? Baworinsky?), archipresbyter of the Bohemian Brother. 18 April 1535 3500
2127a. To Stenzel Guldschmidt. 19 April 1535 3500
2140a. Elector John Frederick to Luther. July 6, 1535. (Regest.) 3500
2141a. Luther, Cruciger, Major 2c. au die Pre diger at Nordhausen. Mid-July 1535.... 3500
2169a. To the Chancellor Brück. 12 Sept. 1535 3501
2169b. The preachers at Ulm to Luther. 13 Sept. 1535. (Regest.) 3502
2172*. The Council of Lüneburg to Luther. 26 Sept. 1535 3502
2172a. To the Elector Johann Friedrich. 28 Sept 1535 3503
2181a. Elector John Frederick to Luther.

2183a. To Friedrich Myconius in Gotha. 20 Oct. 1535 3505
2183b. The preachers at Frankfurt a. M. to Luther. 20 Oct. 1535. (Regest.) 3505
2184. to Agnes Lauterbach in Leisnig. 25 Oct. 1535 3505
2184a. The Council of Frankfurt a. M. to Luther. 27 Oct. 1535 3506
2186. to Brixius of Norden and the preachers at Soest. Before 2 Nov. 1535 3513
2187. to Bernhard Wurzelmann at Dinkelsbühl. 2 Nov 1535 3513
2199b. To Anton Lauterbach in Leisnig. 29 Dec. 1535 3514
2200a. Bible inscription for Georg Vogler, chancellor. 1535? 3514
2210a. To Cardinal Albrecht at Mainz. End of Jan. or beginning of Feb. 1536 3514
2215. To Nic. Hausmann at Dessau. 11 March 1536 3515
2216a. To Elector John Frederick. 16 March 1536 3515
2223a. Margrave George of Brandenburg to Luther. 5 April 1536. 3516
2234. the confederates au Luther 2c. 1 May 1536 3516
2238a. Bucer to Luther. 17 May 1536 (regest), and postscript of Luther to Melanchthon ... 3517
2241a. To Margrave George of Brandenburg.

Second part of Luther's letters.

No. 1950a.

Without date 1532.

Outlines of a consideration about a religious peace to be established.

Melanchthon drew up the articles, Luther wrote his opinion underneath.

From the Ooä. ?alatinu8, p. 17b. (So De Wette in the estate, without time determination.) Printed by Seidemann- De Wette, vol. VI, p. 137, who places it in the year 1532.

Ph. M. 1. From peace throughout the kingdom unto a concilium.

Placet. Dr. M. L.

Ph. M. 2. that the Lutherans should remain as they are now, but that they make no further innovation.

Item, that they revile not again pope, emperor, princes, and lords.

Dr. M. L. Because the Lutherans should remain as they are, it follows that they should keep their doctrine, but that they should not otherwise revile the opposite. This we will gladly do, provided they also remain as they are, and do not revile our doctrine.

Ph. M. 3. That nothing be taken from the spiritual goods of the clergy.

Dr. M. L. *placet*. God willing, that this part should not harm either our or their clergy.

P. M. 4. of renewal of the land peace.

M. L. hoc transit *per se*.

P. M. 5 *De* utraque *specie*. That they, to quiet the people, would let go out through the whole realm, to take one or two forms.

M. L. If the secular authorities do not want to force anyone to either one or both forms, then we are well satisfied. But that we should approve with teaching. It is impossible to give one form to be right. Let them take it upon their consciences. P. M. 6. And where the imperial Maj. thought a little more.

Dr. M. L. That Ferdinandus Roman King, he is well worth. For if she had been pure, she would not have been his wife, he says.

(Wittenberg.) **No 1950b.** 1 January 1533.

To Mrs Dorothea Jörger.

Luther has not yet received the 500 gülden which Mrs. Jörger wanted to send for the support of poor students of theology. He sends the desired will form.

From v. Hormayr's Taschenbuch 1845, p. 190, in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. XXIX, and in De Wette- Seidemann's vol. VI, p. 138.

To the noble, virtuous woman Dorothea Jörgerin, widow at Keppach, my favourable good friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Noble virtuous woman! As you wrote to me the next time and the same time about the 500 fl. you enclosed in God's honor, I let you know that I had certain faithful people from Nuremberg in Linz demand it in response to your first letter and sent your handwriting along with it for greater faith. But what has come in between, I do not know. One has nothing to say to them in Linz about money or gold. Have we therefore sent your manuscript back in vain, or to Nuremberg to the city syndic, Mgr. Lazarus Spengler, from whom I certainly have it, either there at Nuremberg, or to be invested elsewhere; for my discretion is that it should not be distributed individually, but annually, and that two persons should be helped with it and ordered to study in theology. But all this according to your good pleasure. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. On the new year's day 1533.

Send you herewith a note or form, as Mgr. Michael Stiefel reports, that you shall desire. Want to take it for good.

Your willing

Dr. Martinus Luther.

A Notel on the Form of a Christian Will for the Noble Lady Dorothea Jörgerin, Wittwe.

In the name of our dear Lord Jesus Christ, Amen. I, Dorothea Jörgerin, Lord Wolfgang Jörger, blessed knight, widow of the estate, make and establish my will or last will, for the confession of my faith and for the testimony of my life, in the following manner:

First, I confess that I also want to remain (with God's help and grace) that I believe in God the Father, Creator of heaven and earth, and in Jesus 2c. *usque* in *finem*. By this faith my dear Lord Jesus Christ has graciously taught me that I know how I am redeemed from sins, death and hell by his blood and death alone, and have not been able to pay for the lesser sins by my works or merits, but the more I have done to redeem sin or indulgence, the more I have angered God and despised his Son. And I am sorry that I have lain so long and deep in my own works of righteousness and other sins and blasphemies against my Lord Jesus Christ, blinded and deceived, but I am glad and thankful to him from the bottom of my heart for eternity, that he has delivered and relieved me from so many great errors in which I have been placed, and still daily protects me from the false breeds and spirits. And upon such faith and knowledge I have received from him, as a sign and assurance of such forgiveness of sins and redemption from death, the two seals or consorts of baptism in my childhood, and moreover the holy sacrament of his body and blood, that I might be assured and not doubt, that he is my gracious God and that I am in grace before him through his dear Son, our Lord, and not through my merit or good works, for I heartily and earnestly reject and renounce the blasphemy of the Anabaptists and the deceivers against these two holy sacraments, together with all error that strives, ever strived, or may strive against this faith of mine, for such faith is the faith of all the saints and of all Christendom, and so I believe with them, and they (with) me, and have all been made holy and blessed by the same faith with me, and I with them, and there is no other name nor faith in which one can be made holy and blessed, but apart from this faith all is sin and condemned, it is called and glorified however holy it may be. In this: I commend my soul and spirit into the hands of my Lord Jesus Christ, and pray with my heart that he may strengthen me therein, and keep me steadfast and undefiled until the day of his coming, for I will leave such a confession behind me, and I will be saved.

Then I will depart from this pitiful land and come to the end of my days, helped by my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ with the Father and the Holy Spirit, blessed and praised be one God for ever and ever, amen.

On the other hand, I command, leave and provide, as much as is due to my motherly office, the same Gospel and faith to my dear children, so that God may now graciously and abundantly bless us, and I ask and admonish them out of all motherly faithfulness (so that I may also gladly hand them over to my God as my spiritual children), that they seek Him above all things, the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, They should remain steadfast in the Gospel, promote and increase it with all their heart, both among themselves and among their people and wherever they can, and be careful that they do not prefer mammon to not partaking of and enjoying the holy blood of Christ, for everything that is deprived of the blessing that the blood of Christ sprinkles upon us through His holy Gospel is eternally cursed and maligned in the sight of God.

Thirdly, I also entreat and admonish them, and command them in accordance with their motherly duty, to hold fast to brotherly love and unity, and not to allow one to be moved to ill-will, discord, or disfavor against the other, but whether there be cause for displeasure by words or deeds, For God, who does not lie, says Himself that brotherly love and unity are the greatest treasure on earth, and He wants to give happiness and salvation there, as He promises in Psalm 133. For there is no good nor wealth so great that it does not finally dissolve where the brothers are divided, as Christ himself says that a kingdom perishes when it is divided among itself. Again, the good is not so small when it is lived with one accord; it must grow and be multiplied. All this is the reason why God promises blessing, happiness and salvation in the above Psalm where brothers live together. This he also does and keeps. Again, he gives a curse, misfortune, and destruction where people live disunited, hopeful, and proud among themselves.

Fourthly, although my dear daughters have granted themselves against my dear sons...

But because I have the power to ordain in the life of them, it is my will and opinion (to avoid future cause for impatience or disagreement as much as I can) that these same maternal goods be divided equally.

Doctor Martinus' handwriting.

No. 1951.

(Wittenberg.) 2. January 1533.

To Nikolaus Hausmann in Dessau.

Luther apologizes for his long silence, sends his sermon held at Wörlitz and reports news.

The original is in Dessau. Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, bl. 165 us in Cod. Ilklnast. 94 Lidi. OukIpN. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 279 (from the Hanische Collection in Kiel) and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 430. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1402.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Nic. Hausmann, the extremely faithful servant of Christ in Dessau, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord! The opportunity to write to you, most esteemed man, has already been snatched from me three times, also very much against my will. For so I have been constantly overwhelmed with writing and other work (*agendo*), as is evidenced both by the books and the prefaces with which we have filled this Leipzig fair. Therefore I ask you for Christ's sake to interpret this delay for the best. My good will towards you is irreproachable and will always be so, even if the execution of it should be somewhat negligent. For I wish to be most favourable and serviceable to you. Having therefore finished writing the books this morning, I have set aside this evening to finish the letters which are to be sent to Leipzig and Nuremberg. When these are finally finished, I will take the time to write more extensively to you and to the Prince, the noble Lord George, Provost of Magdeburg, and I will make up for the delay by the quantity of what I have written, which I hope will be good and pleasant.

I wish you happiness that your indisposition is overcome and better health restored. Christ keep thee in health and as a praying man for me.

The sermon I preached at Wörlitz has been printed, and I am sending it herewith. For I believe that you already have the other books that have recently been published, because I am firmly convinced of the diligence of Magister Georg, indeed, I have tested them, but if there is anything that you do not yet have, then show it to me, I ask you to do so. Christ, as one hears here, has his enemy,1) the: Schreier at Leipzig, just killed in the pulpit, and in the midst of his blasphemy.

In Hamburg a canon who particularly hated the gospel killed himself, and at the same time a sacramentarian in the same city plunged himself into a vain well, and although the water was not deep enough, and people ran to the well and called on Christ, he nevertheless willingly bent backward and suffocated himself, despising the means of help that were let down for him. His speech was quite like that of Judas: I have deceived many, therefore there is no hope. So shall your enemies perish, O Lord, since they knowingly and deliberately make no end nor measure of their lust, and run against God with their necks erect.

You will commend me to your very good and sincere princes, to whom, when I have gained leisure, I will write in confidence. Christ be with you. My Lord Käthe greets you respectfully and asks that you will assist her by your prayers, since she is close to childbirth. On the second of January, 1533, yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1952.

Dessau. January 5, 1533.

Nikolaus Hausmann to Luther.

Hausmann reports on his recovery, thanks Luther for his New Year's gift, sends the Emperor's letter to the Pope, which is to be kept secret, concerning the appointment of a council, wishes Luther's wife a happy birth 2c.

From the original at Dessau with Burkhardt, p. 211.

1) Johann Kos, also called Coser and Cosus, from Römhild.

Grace and peace in Jesus Christ, who was born and circumcised for us, my venerable Father Martin! I, too, have not been able to write, since I had become dull through the illness that weighed down my head, but I have resumed preaching, although I have not been completely restored, irritated by the people's desire, and in the hope that my stomach will become better. For I feel great relief from the medicine of Doctor Augustin; may the Lord Jesus prosper the remedies used. I have certainly obeyed the Doctor in all things, the whole prescribed prescription, and I would have recovered health in no way but by the medicine taken, so much were the powers of the stomach exhausted, I know not by what intemperance; perhaps the sudden change of food and difference of drink gave some occasion, but it was the will of the Lord, who was pleased to kill the body thus, and to grind it to excess, that I might learn to 1) watch daily, and expect the Lord when he comes to the wedding. For no man can understand the power of the word of the cross, except he be thus afflicted and afflicted. Through this affliction one attains to patience.

So that I may not be ungrateful for the gift I have received, venerable father, for the new year, I am sending the letter of the Imperial Majesty, Carl V, to the pope, concerning the meeting of a council, which Doctor Türk, the chancellor of the bishop of Magdeburg, has communicated to my princes, but with this condition, that the letter should not be published, not without cause. I have not been able to read or improve it because of the weakness of the main. You will forgive the writer if he should have erred somewhere. You will keep this copy with you, but it should also be shown to the most illustrious gentlemen, namely Philip, Doctor Jonas and Pommer and perhaps other faithful people, also Cruciger. Our princes fear danger. But indeed, you know, the princes have not yet seen the wise man, Sirach. But I am much inflamed with love to read the controversy of German affairs. The news has frightened many, venerable father. Greet all the aforementioned men of high renown in the Lord, and in Christ be well with your pregnant wife, whom I wish the happiest possible delivery through the blessing of Christ, Amen. I

1) Instead of *distam* we have assumed *discam.*

I will not cease to pray for her. You may send my regards to your Catharina. You will inform the excellent Doctor Augustin of my state of health with Christian greetings. I could not answer Hieronymus Weiler now; the godly man will not be annoyed. Do not let it trouble you to greet all your acquaintances. Your letters will be very pleasant to the lords princes, but do not hesitate to take time for them; nothing will be more pleasant and dearer to the provost. He will become more fiery to resist Duke George and all adversaries. The princes send you their most respectful and friendly greetings. From Dessau, on the day before the Feast of the Appearance of God (*Theophaniae*) [5 Jan.] 1533.

Reverend Father,

Your student Nicolaus Hausmann.

No. 1953.

(Eisenach.) Early 1533.

Justus Menius to Luther.

Menius testifies to his joy at the completion of Luther's Summaries on the Psalter.

From the original in the Wolfische Sammlung of the Hamburg Stadtbibliothek, I, fol. 154, printed in Kolde's S. 183.

To his venerable and exceedingly dear father in Christ, Dr. Martin Luther, preacher of the church at Wittenberg 2c.

Grace and peace in Christ! I give thee the greatest and eternal thanks, my most dear Father in Christ, that thou hast at last completed for us the Summaries of the Psalter, 2) and I beseech God, our Father, without ceasing, that what he has deigned to bestow upon us through thee, his servant, according to his immeasurable goodness, he may also make available to us, that is, that he may not, through so great a quantity of spiritual and truly heavenly goods, make this so precious treasure seem small to us. O we blessed and in truth children of God, to whom it has been granted on earth in the flesh, in sin, when we are still wandering in darkness and in the shadow of death, to indeed not only behold the divine and heavenly love and the light of the highest majesty, that is, the highest wisdom and the truth of the highest God, but to carry it in our own hearts no differently than in a lamp.

2) This gives the approximate time for this letter, because the Summaries on the Psalter went out on New Year's Day 1533. See St. L. Ausg., Vol. IV, 124.

Glory and praise and thanks be to the most high and best Father which is in heaven for ever and ever, Amen, who also will preserve thee and other his saints unto the everlasting glory of his name. The grace of the Lord JEsu Christ be with thee, and pray for me a sinner. Greet all my friends and gentlemen. J. Justus Menius.

No. 1954.

Wittenberg. 14 January 1533.

To Nicholas of Amsdorf.

Luther recommends a petitioner and reports news.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 166, in Schütze, vol. II, p. 281 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 432, who also compared *Cod. Helmst. 94 Bibl. Guelph.* compared.

Grace and peace in Christ! This Johann Busmann reports that he was assured by some of your citizens, my dear Amsdorf, that if I applied to you on his behalf, your common chest (*gazophylacium*) would support him without difficulty with some gift in order to undertake his studies here in Wittenberg. Whether this is true, success will teach. I would like him to be helped, but I do not know where this will come from. We are not only overwhelmed, but also oppressed by poverty, both tangible and imagined, both relative and in and of itself, 1) and according to all kinds of categories. You help, if you are able, for I do not want you to be weighed down in any way, or to do anything reluctantly.

There is no news, at least not news that is new to you, since you live in that part of the world. The Lord has silenced the blasphemous better man, Johann Kos of Leipzig. It is said that the pope prepared poison for the emperor; namely, because he could do nothing by force and cunning, he turned to his arts. For it is said that he also did away with four Cardinals by poison, in order to put his Florentines in their place; namely, he is anxious to bequeath the Pabbacy to his Mediceans. And it is thought that no man

2) Because he is the governor of Christ. "Well," that day will come which is thus challenged by those people, thus summoned by the godly. Fare well in Christ and pray for me. January 14, 1533, at Wittenberg. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1955.

(Wittenberg.) January 20, 1533.

To the Christians chased out of Oschatz.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1956.

No. 1956.

(Wittenberg.) January 26, 1533.

To the mayor and council of Rothenburg an der Tauber.

Intercession for a poor student.

Manuscript in Gotha, *Cod.* 402. *fol.* and at Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 94. Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 201; in the Jena edition (1568), vol. VI, p. 2; in the Altenburg edition, vol. VI, p. 122 ; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 563, and again in the Supplement, p. 72 (in the latter place as addressed to the Nuremberg council, according to *Cod. Helmst.*); likewise twice in Walch, vol. XXI, 358 and Col. 364; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 435 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 3.

To the honorable and wise gentlemen, mayor and council of Rothenburg an der Tauber, my favorable gentlemen and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honourable, wise, dear gentlemen and good friends! Although I am a stranger to E. W. and unknown by name, I am nevertheless compelled to write to you for the sake of your city child, Georgen Schnell, and have been asked to do so, not by himself, but by other good people who wish him well. Therefore I ask, E. W. want to hold this writing to my credit, and that is the opinion:

It is your city child, of whom you have no shame, learned and pious, my daily house-

1) tam concretiva quam abstractiva, tam relativa quam absoluta, et omnium praedicamentorum modis.

2) sanctissimus Clemens et clementissimus Sanctus, a play on words that cannot be rendered in German.

and table companion, of which I must give him good report and testimony. Because he is now poor and has nothing, my diligent request is that E. W. mean how now everywhere there is a great miserable lack of learned people (or what still wants to become), that many schools and parishes unfortunately lie desolate, and the people without God's word become wild and beastly, and yet for God's sake help promote the young people, considered that a clever man can help many thousands.

Therefore, because you also owe it to your city child to help, I hope that my request will be all the more amicable, that E. W. will be helpful to his studio, for example with a fief or whatever else God has bestowed. Truly, it is not badly invested, as I know him, and will be of use and honor to your city. And if there be none else to recompense it, there is he to whom such a benefit is pleasing; and his name is Jesus Christ, who hath well deserved it for us, that we should further his kingdom and glory.

I hope, however, that E. W. will not give so great, much less even greater, an admonition; you will know well how to show yourselves Christian. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. 1533. 26. Januarii. Dr. Martin Luther.

No. 1957.

(Wittenberg.) 29 January 1533.

To Hans von Löser, hereditary marshal.

Luther asks him to raise his newborn son from the baptism.

In Christian Junker, Güldenes und silbernes EhrenGedächtniß Luthers, p. 252, without citation of the source; in the Innocent News 1711, p. 572 and 1717, p.723, *ex Msto.;* from it in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p.564; in Walch,vol. XXI, 362; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 436 (who compared a copy certified by the notarius in *Cod. chart. 398 Bibl. Guelph.* compared) and in the Erlauger edition, vol. 55, p. 4.

To the strict, honourable Hans Löserer, hereditary marshal of Saxony, my favourable (gst.) lord and kind, dear godfather 2c.

Grace and peace in Christ. Dear Lord and Godfather! As I have asked before, I ask again for the sake of our Lord Christ that E. Gestrengen may humble himself in honor of God, and of my

I hope that it will seem beneficial and helpful to me to have a young son, whom God has given me this night from my dear Käthe, so that he may come from the old kind of Adam to the new birth of Christ through the holy sacrament of baptism, and become a member of Christianity; whether perhaps God the Lord wants to raise up a new enemy of the Pope or Turk in him. I would like to have him baptized at vespers, so that he will no longer remain a pagan and I will be the more secure. Let Ew. Gestrengen come in lightly, and help to perform such a sacrifice, in praise of God. I am willing and ready to make that sacrifice. Hereby beholden to God and yours, amen. In the night at 1 o'clock, Wednesday after St. Paul's [29 Jan.] 1533.

Your Grace

willing servant of Martin Luther.

No. 1958.

(Wittenberg.) January 1533.

To the council and the municipality of Frankfurt a. M.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 2007.

No. 1959.

(Wittenberg.) March 9, 1533.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther asks for the supply of M. Paceus in Leisnig.

The original can be found in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji, fol. 163, N. 1*. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 71, No.120; in Walch,vol. XXI,360; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 437 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 5.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Mr. John Frederick, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, 2c., my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most gracious Prince and Lord! After E. C. F. G. has graciously put me off next to Wittenberg on my humble plea and request for *M. Paceum, Diaconum,* now at Leißneck, 1)

1) See Luther's letter to the Elector of Oct. 18, 1532.

He recently wrote to me that there is a way in which the poor man can be provided for, and he complains quite piteously how he is weak in body and suffers great poverty and hardship with his wife and six small children: for this reason, husband and wife plead and ask without ceasing for God's help. If, then, in the weakness of his body, the diaconate and the church provide nothing for him, and this gracious Christian almsgiving is the just great need, I humbly ask that, since this message will soon be coming here again, E. C. F. G. will graciously inform me in writing what gracious answer and final decision should be given to the reported Paceo, 1) so that the poor sick man may be helped, and the church in Leißneck may be more comfortably supplied with another deacon by E. C. F. G. Visitatores. Please ask E. C. F. G. for a gracious answer. May God the Lord always graciously preserve and strengthen E. C. F. G.. Given on Sunday Reminiscere [March 9] *Anno Dni*. 1533. C. F. G.

servile
Martin Luther.

No. 1960.

Wittenberg. 10 March 1533.

Bugenhagen to Spalatin.

Luther's judgment on the period to be observed after the death of a spouse until remarriage.

Copy in *Cod. Goth. No. 185, fol. 510* and *Lib. arcan. Consiliorum etc. 20. 2, fol. 148* in Wolfenbüttel. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 183.

Hail! Forgive me, dearest Spalatin, for the brevity of this letter. I am about to leave for the visitation. Our dearest father, Dr. Martin, has sometimes earnestly exhorted in his sermon to public respectability and Christian decency, that no one should enter into a new marriage after the death of a spouse, as some did in those days, immediately after two or three months. We, as much as there is in us, gladly observe this respectability and exhort that it be observed, but sometimes some of them fall short.

1) On Tuesday after Easter (April 15) the councilors were ordered to give Paceus 60 fl. annually from the monastery of Buch, but quarterly, so that he would be frugal with the money and not, as he had done in the past, be able to handle it inefficiently. (Burkhardt, p. 212.)

Cases occur which make something else advisable, as there is need, poverty, conscience, and there we allow what God permits. But now and then, when we have to be careful to avoid annoyance, we advise, lest we also fall short of public respectability, not that they should do everything, but that they should refrain from some of the ostentation of weddings. This is very free with us, as they say, but, as I have said, we would rather have that respectability observed, for the sake of many causes which you know very well. But that this should be constrained by law is not ours to do. The rest I command your understanding. Wittenberg, Monday after Reminiscere [March 10] 1533.

No. 1961.

Wittenberg. . 23 March 1533.

Veit Dietrich to Justus Menius.

(Regest.)

Dietrich reports that Luther had been suffering very much, but was now restored to some extent. Today he went out again for the first time, but he did not preach yet, after he had suffered a whole month or longer with his head. However, he still complains of faintness and weakness. Dietrich has not yet seen anything of Menius' writings against Wicel. It is said that he is preparing new attacks, but Jonas will probably meet him. 3)

The original is in *Cod. Seidel. Berol.* no. 23, printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 184.

No. 1962.

Wittenberg. 24 March 1533.

To Paul Lautensack at Nuremberg.

(Regest.)

Expert opinion on a manuscript of the same, from the printing of which Luther dissuaded.

From Jos. Heller, Geschichte der protestantischen Pfarrkirche zum heil. Stephan in Bamberg, 1830, p. 19, reprinted in Krafft, Theol. Arbeiten des rhein. wissensch. The above regest is found in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 85.

No. 1963.

Wittenberg. 28 March 1533.

To Georg Held.

Luther writes to this man, who still had much attachment to the papacy, with much mildness and instructs him to seek right knowledge in prayer with God.

2) Instead of: *alii casus, qui aliquid suadent* we have assumed: *aliqui casus, qui aliud suadent*.

3) Jonas, "Wilch die rechte Kirche, Und dagegen wilch die falsche Kirche ist". Wittenberg, G. Rhaw. 1534.

From the Hanische Sammlung at Kiel at Schütze, vol. 11, p. 282, and vol. II, p. 260, from Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 158 (under the year 1532 to Georg Funk); at *Strobel- Ranner*, p. 218 and at De Wette, vol. IV, p. 438 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1404.

To the man to be highly honored in the Lord, Mr. Georg Held, Christ's disciple, his brotherly friend.

Grace and peace in Christ! The very good man, Nicolaus Hausmann, has told me of your sincere godliness in the Lord, dearest brother, even though it is still weak and still very attached to the reputation of the pope and council; therefore I am not surprised at you. For I too, having lived as an Augustinian for almost twenty years, have been so entangled and completely immersed in the same opinion as you, through long custom and habit, that if God had not torn me out of it by obvious force (of which Nicolaus told you), I could perhaps never have been dissuaded from it by words, although everything was exceedingly certain to me. It was so difficult to put the word into practice and to dare to do what I had taught as certain. How much less is it to be wondered at that you, who (as I hear) in so many years have become accustomed to this way of life, and have not (as I have) been forced to daily assert the word of God against it, are so minded. Therefore do not despair, but do this: pray with all your heart that the Lord Jesus may grant you to see this divine dialectic, which teaches that Christ is something other than Moses, the Pope, and the whole world, yes, something other and greater than our conscience, which is nevertheless more valid than Moses and the Pope. For if we must believe Moses and your conscience, which torments and accuses us by the law: how much more must we believe him, the Lord over all things, Christ, who said, "Believe," and again, "In vain do they serve me with commandments of men." There may be innumerable popes here, and innumerable conciliarities, what are they against Christ ? certainly a drop against the sun. But this thou shalt by and by gain by prayer, for it is too great to be grasped suddenly by a mind that is far accustomed to other things, and that for a long time. I speak as one who has

Therefore I believe thee easily. But I exhort thee that thou continue diligently both in praying and in doing, and the Lord will be with thee. I desire that the same things that I say or write to you be read and said to Mr. Roseler, and I desire that you greet him with your words and with my heart. Fare well in Christ, who may make you stronger day by day, Amen. On the Friday after Lätare [28 March] 1533.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1964.

Wittenberg. 28 March 1533.

To George, Prince of Anhalt.

Luther expresses to him his joy at having accepted and loved the gospel.

In *Sculteti Annal.*, p. 399; in *von der Hardt, Hist. litter. Reform.*, P. V, p. 184; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 220 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 440.

Grace and peace in Christ! I can justly call you both the most venerable bishop (let alone provost) 1) and the most illustrious prince, dear and noble sir, since I see that you alone in the whole realm, especially in such a position and of such standing, sincerely love and faithfully promote the word of Christ. And it has often been a wonder to me when I have considered this, and I am compelled to acknowledge it as a most peculiar gift of God that you have of your own free will begun to teach this doctrine among the people who are your subjects. I do not flatter and caress (God knows), but I praise and extol the grace of Christ that shines forth and shines in you so wonderfully. At the same time I pray and hope with all my heart that He who has begun His great work in this bosom will also complete it, even though at times weakness appears in this work, and it is greatly afflicted and hindered by Satan, the world, and the devil through various attempts. But He says, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." But when the world is overcome, then is the prince of the world overcome also, even as when

1) The prince was governor of Magdeburg (De Wette).

When a kingdom is conquered, the king is also conquered. Now that the king of the world is conquered, so also are fine rages, wrath, sin, conscience, death, hell, and all things conquered, on which this mighty one relied as on his weapons. Therefore, thanks be to God, who has given us this victory. That E. F. G. may live and boast in this victory until that day, I ask and implore with great longing of heart from our Father in heaven. To this I command E. F. G., as diligently as I can. May E. F. G. give me credit for this boldness in writing to her, for I could not refrain from expressing my gratitude to God through this short letter, and at the same time wishing her good fortune for the gift of God, which I have recognized as having taken root in the breast of such a great prince. Wittenberg, Friday after Lätare (28 March) 1533.

E. F. G. most devoted Martin Luther.

No. 1965.

(Wittenberg.) March 28, 1533.

To John, Prince of Anhalt.

Luther exhorts him not to let himself be turned away from the Gospel by old papist habits and the letters of some great princes.

From Beckmann's Anhalt History, vol. V, p. 171, in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 441; in the Erl. Ausg., vol. 55, p. 6 (as to Joachim, Prince of Anhalt) and (after the original) vol. 56, p. 188.

To the "most illustrious", "highborn prince and lord", Herr Johanns, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien, Lord of Bernburg, my gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! Magister Nicolaus Hausmann, E. F. G. preacher, has shown me how E. F. G. is heartily inclined to the Gospel, and yet becomes difficult, perhaps not only because of former custom, but also because of some great princes writing and leading away. Now it is ever the truth that such two things (old custom and present temptation of great men) do move stronger Christians, neither of whom E. F. G. may be, violently; but nevertheless we must

We will learn by and by (whether we can do it quickly and suddenly or not) that Christ is more, and God the Father wants to hear him above all things. A council or pope may have the Holy Spirit and order something by his inspiration, but Christ also has no devil (John 8), I will keep silent that he has the Holy Spirit without measure (John 1), but all holy apostles, prophets, church, concilia must have only one part and first fruits of the Holy Spirit, Romans 8, 1 Corinthians 12. If then all the prophets, apostles, church, ooneilis, should set something, and Christ should be opposed or opposed to it, then Christ, who has the Spirit without measure, and gives it out himself, should be considered more than his saints, who, being so profoundly unequal to him, do not give the Holy Spirit, but must receive it in part. Therefore I beseech the Father of all mercy, that he will let E. F. G. alone learn this little piece, and well consider, that Christ and his word is higher, greater, more, and more certain, than a hundred thousand holy fathers, ooncülia, churches, popes 2c., for they are called in the Scriptures All sinners and erring sheep, Ps. 119. Therefore let E. F. G. be bold, and fear not the world's rulers, Christ is greater than all devils, rather also than all princes; to the same I commend E. F. G. into his grace and mercy, Amen. Friday after Imetare (28 March) 1533.

E. F. G. williger

Dr. Martinus Luther.

No. 1966.

(Wittenberg,) March 29, 1533.

To Spalatin.

Luther asks him to intercede with the sequestrators for a poor woman, and wishes him: luck to a new marriage blessing.

Handwritten in 6oct. a, fol. 226. printed at p. 235 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 442.
German at Walch, vol. XXI, 1244.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at Altenburg and visitator of the churches, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace in Christ! Poor Elisabeth von Reinsberg cries out to me that she is full of the girls' school at Altenburg.

and has nothing to live on; moreover, she has complained to the prince, but she has been referred to the sequestrators. Therefore she begs that I may write to you, that both in your name and in mine you may [address] the sequestrators (for I do not know what that tangle [*chaos*] *of* men is, or what they are called). 1) Therefore I ask you to come to her aid with the sequestrators in writing and orally, as much as you can. For what else and more can I do? Farewell, and at the same time I wish your wife and you happiness for the conception of the new fruit. Christ bless you, amen. Saturday after Lätare [March 29] 1533. Yours Dr. Mart. Luther.

No. 1967.

(Nuremberg.) April 8, 1533.

The Council of Nuremberg to Luther and Melanchthon.

The general confession and absolution has been challenged and omitted by some preachers, therefore the council requests Luther's and Melanchthon's expert opinion on it.

The concept is in the district archives at Nuremberg in the letter book of the council. Printed by Kolde, ^.nalseta, p. 185.

Mr. Martin Luther, Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, and Magister Philippo Melanchtoni, etc., of Wittenberg, in whole and in particular.

Worthy and highly learned! In our city of Nuremberg and other spots of our jurisdiction, this (and in our opinion not un-Christian) practice has been held for some time in the churches, so that on feast days the common sermon has been preached in the pulpits, likewise over the altar before the communion of the body and blood of Christ, that the preacher or verger has made a common open confession and after the end of the same has proclaimed absolution or release to the assembled people 2c. but which some of our ecclesiastics, half of us unknowing, have done and let fall, and have also indicated to us, on our notes therefore, that such common absolution is not useful, but rather harmful, and that only private absolution is good and wholesome. This has been refuted by the other preachers and wise theologians, and our citizens and dependents, and a large number of them, but especially we of the Council of the Holy Roman Empire, have opposed it.

1) So Walch correctly added to the gap that was in the text.

The same discontinuation of the common absolution is highly complained of, for reasons that many pious Christian persons, who are not convenient to go to the holy sacrament every Sunday or week and to receive the private absolution, are highly disconcerted by the common public absolution from the pulpits and the altar as a joyful, joyful message, in which pardon of their sins and God's gracious mercy would be proclaimed to them, and have received not a little doubt and disquiet of their consciences by such a dismissal and refutation of the common absolution, moreover, that according to the great number of people in our city, and with the few parishes found therein, it is not yet well possible to examine each person before receiving the holy sacrament and to communicate the private absolution. In addition to this, we are also told that in the Electorate of Saxony, common absolution is still tolerated and used as a salutary thing, which gives many in our country even greater cause to complain so much more about the disgusting opposition. But since we are not inclined to do or permit anything in these and other cases that might interrupt the honor of the divine word, weaken the faith, and violate Christian love and unity, our most humble request is to your dignity that they give us their advice and discretion in this case, But before that, for what Christian reason the common absolution is not good, but rather harmful, and therefore should be most reasonably omitted rather than used, let us know in writings of good will, so that in this we may all the more quiet our own and ourselves, and do everything that is according to God's word and Christian, and allow nothing troublesome. This we want to earn for your dignity quite willingly. Date Tuesday (Erchtag) April 8, 1533.

No. 1968

Wittenberg. 11 April 1533.

To the Protestant Christians of Leipzig.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1820.

No. 1969.

Wittenberg. 18 April 1533.

To the council of Nuremberg, together with Melanchthon.

Answer to the letterof the Council of April 8: that public absolution is not to be punished and is to be rejected.

The original is said to be in the library at Nuremberg, as stated by De Murr, I, p. 209, but could not be found by *Ranner.* Handwritten in *Cod. Gallij*, II, p. 235 and in *Cod. Palatin*. 435, p. 5. printed according to the original given to him by the priest Nopitsch in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 444 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 8. according to the manuscripts in the *Corp. Ref., vol.* II, 648.

To the honorable and wise, mayors and council of the city of Nuremberg, our favorable lords.

God's grace through our Lord Jesus Christ. Honorable, wise, favorable sirs! To E. W. Questions we have discussed among ourselves, and we do not know how to punish and reject the public common *absolutio*, for this reason, for the preaching of the holy gospel itself is fundamentally and actually an *absolutio, in* which forgiveness of sins is proclaimed to many persons in common and publicly, or to one person alone, publicly or secretly; Therefore the *absolutio* may be used publicly in common, and also especially in secret, as the preaching may be done in common or secretly, and one may comfort many in common, or one especially alone; For though not all believe, yet the *absolutio is* not to be rejected; for all *absolutio,* whether it be common or particular, must be understood to require faith, and to help them that believe; as the gospel itself preacheth forgiveness to all men in all the world, and excludeth none from this *absolutio*; but it nevertheless requires our faith, and helpeth not them that believe not, and yet must remain the *universalis.* But that it may be considered here, that no one will desire the private *absolutio, if the* common one is had and let remain, to this we say, that it has the form in right concern, that the consciences nevertheless need this special consolation; For consciences must be taught that the consolation of the gospel is to each one in particular, and for this reason the gospel must be applied to each one in particular by word and sacrament, as you, as men of understanding, know that every conscience in particular disputes whether this great grace, which Christ beckons, also belongs to it. So it is easy to understand,

1) So the *Corp. ref.*; De Wette: "how far."

That the private *absolutio* ought not to be dropped beside it, and this *applicatio* 2) also shows more clearly the understanding of the gospel and the power of the keys; for very few people would know how to use the common *absolutio,* or take it up, if they did not remember this *applicatio* beside it, that they ought also to take up the common *absolutio* as if it were every special one, and that this very thing is the gospel's own office and work, certainly to forgive sins by grace. For these reasons we hold that the common *absolutio is* not to be rejected, nor is it to be dismissed, and that one is nevertheless to receive the private *applicatio s[ive] absolutio in* addition. God graciously preserve E. W. at all times. We are always ready to serve E. W. willingly. Date Wittenberg, Friday after Easter Day [April 18] Anno 1533.

Dr. Martinus Luther.
Philip Melanchthon.

No. 1970.

((Leipzig.) April 25, 1533.

Wolf Wiedemann, mayor of Leipzig, to Luther.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XIX, 1822.

No. 1971

Wittenberg. 27 April 1533.

To Wolf Wiedemann, Mayor of Leipzig.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XIX, 1822.

No 1972

(Wittenberg,) April 28, 1533.

To Aegidius Freund, locksmith at Torgau.

Luther warns him not to proceed too quickly with the captured Hans Zeile.

Printed in Lingke, Luthers Geschäfte in Torgau, p. 90; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 446 and in the Erlanger Ausg. vol.55, p. 11.

2) In the original: "erhell". This resolved De Wette by: "receives", the *Corp. ref.* by: "brightens".

3) *Corp. ref.*: "these"; De Wette: "this Applicatio not remembered".

To the honorable and wise, Mr. Egidien Freund, castle owner at Torgau.

G. u. F. through Christ, our Saviour and Mediator, Amen. Honorable and wise, favorable lord and friend! It is not hidden from you that the wrongdoers who are captured are not immediately brought to the gallows, but that they are first heard whether they have done what they are accused of doing. I have no doubt that you will not deal with the prisoner Hans Zeilen and condemn him until you have carefully examined his actions and heard his witnesses. If the matter be as his brother tells me, you shall be judge and part. Therefore it behoveth you to ride in the matter cleanly, and to take it into consideration. The judges have a judge over them, who judges them justly, and rewards the good, and punishes the evil. I hope you also fear this judge of yours, and will do what is right and good, since I have long known you to be a good and honorable man. Hiemit GOtt befohlen. Date Monday after Mis. Cathedral. [28 April] 1533.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 1973.

Wittenberg. 6 May 1533.

To Mrs Dorothea Jörger.

About the five hundred florins which Mrs. Jörger has set aside for poor students (see the letter of March 7, 1532), and about another matter.

Printed in Raupach, Evang. Oesterreich, 1st cont., p. 64; in Moseder, Glaubensbekenntniß, p. 88; in De Wette, Vol. I V, p. 447 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 55, p. 11.

Grace and peace. Honourable, virtuous woman! Your letter of the five hundred florins, which you should have received in Linz on Easter next year, has come too late for me. Nevertheless, at your request, I have asked Martin Seldener in Nuremberg through Mr. Lazarum Spengler and reminded him that he still wants to demand and receive it with a prescription, as is proper, to send us to Nuremberg. Although I would have liked to have seen it, when I wrote earlier that you would have brought it in yourselves, in all certainty you would have been able to do so.

1) In the editions: "yours".

[Because I also note from your writing that it pleases you greatly to give such alms by hand to poor students, because to invest on interest: where you remain on the opinion, I do not like it badly.

If a preacher has troubled you because of your son and a judge, as Michel 2) has told me, you should not be troubled or misled. Let them come into law with one another; the matter does not concern your person; justice will separate them, and your conscience may not be troubled with it. Hiemit GOtt befehlt together with your dear children and all yours, Amen. *Date* Wittenberg, *May* 6, 1533.

Your willing

Dr. Martinus Luther, still half ill.

No. 1974.

Wittenberg. 6 May 1533.

To the council of Torgau.

Intercession for M. Johannes Dachau.

The original is at the Wartburg; only the signature is in Luther's hand. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 213.

To the honourable and wise, mayor and council of Torgau, my (my) favourable lords and good friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear gentlemen and good friends! M. Johannes Dachau, your city child, has asked me to do this writing to you, and indicated that you would be inclined to extend his stipend, which he has had up to now, if he would send me a letter. Since, in my opinion, it is not badly conceived, and has no other obstacle, except that it is ordered to extend "one" for several certain years, I think that in such a case it would be possible to extend it to him for a while, in order to improve and complete his studies, especially since it is not against you and you are inclined to do so. For this reason, I ask you to grant him my intercession, his hope and your 4) comfort.

2) Michael Stiefel.

3) In Burkhardt, as we think, wrongly interpung: "yhm, dass sein" 2c.

4) In Burkhardt: "a", as we assume, read from: "eur".

after, let enjoy. Hereby commanded to the dear God. I have had to do with someone else's hand write, for the sake of my head, that you want to turn to the best. Date Wittenberg, on May 6, 1533.
Dr. Martinus Luther.

No. 1975.

Weimar. 12 May 1533.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector expresses the hope that Luther will not try to induce the subjects of Duke George, whom he had won over, to rebellion, and calls upon Luther to answer for this accusation of Duke George. Luther complied with this request in June or July by writing: "Verantwortung der aufgelegten Aufruhr von Herzog Georgen, sammt einem Trostbrief an die Christen, von ihm aus Leipzig unschuldig verjagt," St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 1826 and Vol. X, 1932.

The original concept is in the Gesammtarchiv zu Weimar, *Reg. N, p. 74. 6. Num. 20.* Printed by Burkhardt, p. 213.

By the grace of God, John Frederick. Our greeting first, venerable, reverend, dear devotee! We have received a letter from our prayer, Duke Jörgen of Saxony, in which his love indicates at the beginning that his love should let happen that you comfort those whom you have brought to your hand and souls, 1) as you could, that it be done only without (to) his love and their harm and turmoil, as now such a letter of his love, of which we send you, also what we have given to his love again in reply, enclosed copy, further states. If you should now have the opinion to move our prayer's people or others by your letter to some uproar, that would be in no way to tolerate us from you, you could also easily consider that we would not refrain from taking due punishment against you for it. But we want to make sure that this is not your mind, therefore you will know how to carry out and answer for the same charge and assessment, according to your need, against the aforementioned our cousin and other men, also that your innocence is noted, by your letter, so that if such responsibility does not rest on your part, we would also have to consider it as if you were guilty of the things. We will not let you go unreported. Date Weimar, Monday after Cantate [May 12] Anno Dom. 1533.

1) Burkhardt: "comforted".

No. 1976.

(Wittenberg,) May 12, 1533.

To Spalatin.

Luther asks that a priest who has lost almost all his possessions through fire may be helped to receive the gift promised to him by the prince and the visitators.

The original is in Dessau. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* u, fol. 227. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 236 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 448. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1247.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Georg Spalatin, bishop and servant of the churches of Christ in Meissen, his extremely dear [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! This pastor of Dobrun, my dear Spalatin, has obtained a gift from our prince as well as from the visitators, which the sequestrators are to present to him. Therefore we send him to you, and ask that you help according to your office and see to it, as much as you can, that he receives what he has asked for and obtained. For there are no sequestrators with us, and he has lost almost all that is his by the conflagration of his parish. Therefore, it now falls to you (since the Prince so desires) to compensate for the conflagration with this gift, namely, with that with which he was given by the Prince, so that the poor man will not be forced to wander about without a certain residence, and to leave the parish, leaving it orphaned without a successor. Give my regards to your Käthe, of whom I hear that she is pregnant. Therefore, I wish her luck and ask for a happy delivery. Farewell in Christ. May 12, 1533. Yours, Martin Luther.

N o. 1977.

(Wittenberg,) May 13, 1533.

To an unnamed person.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1754.

No. 1978.

(Wittenberg,) May 15, 1533.

To Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt.

Luther proposes Simn Haferitz as preacher to Koswigk.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 980; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 564; in Walch, vol. XXI, 361; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 449, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 13, and again, corrected from the original, vol. 56, p. 190.

To the most illustrious Prince and Lord, Lord Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien and Lord of Berneburg, my gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime Prince, gracious Lord! The parish of Koßwig has (as I have heard) been disposed of by the fatal departure of the previous pastor. Where E. F. G. has not yet conferred or provided the same, my humble request is that E. F. G. would grant and confer it on this Simon Haferitz, letter pointer. For he is an almost skilful man, and exceedingly eloquent, now recently driven out of Grosse-Salze, and in misery. And though he may have erred somewhat in Münzer's time, he is well armored, that I think he should have done enough penance. So I would also like to know him in the vicinity 1) of us; who knows where we might need him once, as he is to be needed. The Lord would show himself graciously, that will please God; and what I can serve the Lord, I am willing and ready. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Thursday after Cantate [May 15] 1533.

E. F. G. williger

Dr. Martinus Luther.

No. 1979.

(Wittenberg,) May 24, 1533.

To Spalatin.

Luther jokingly dissuaded from preaching a new sermon at the castle in Altenburg.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a, fol. 350*. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 236 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 450. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1245.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. M. G. Spalatin, the faithful servant of the Word of the Lord, one of his oldest friends.

"Grace and peace in Christ!" I write, though not very idle, not very healthy either,

1) Coswig or Koswigk is only one German mile away from Wittenberg.

according to the flesh, my dear Spalatin, but I write at last in reference to your question. Receive then the answer to your question: 2) If you are thoroughly tired of the peace and tranquility that God has given you up to now (how easily I believe that you believe this, you can understand much more easily from our old, exceedingly great mutual friendship), then you can safely and freely allow the sermon to be preached in the castle, namely (as he says) for a change, as it is pleasing. Peace so far, and nothing but unrest and one unrest after another. If, therefore, you would rather exchange peace for unrest, so that at last you may also taste this salad, remember that you, you and your colleagues, have people in the castle who sit down against you and plague you very well. By the way, "let them hear and sing in church," so that at least by this service they may serve both God and themselves, by which they are forced to have the Psalms and the Scriptures before their eyes and in their memory; who knows what fruit this will one day produce. My lady greets you reverently, but I greet yours even more reverently, but with the reservation of the right of suspicion and jealousy of both. May 24, 1533.

Your Martin Luther, D., wrote this very cheerfully at breakfast. 3)

No. 1980.

(Wittenberg,) May 26, 1533.

To Spalatin.

Luther asks him to procure for Simon Haferitz the vacant preacher's post in Borna.

The original is in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. Printed by *Buddeus*, x. 237, and in. De Wette, vol. IV, p. 451. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1249.

2) The text is out of order here. *Buddeus* reads: *Si habe quod quaeris*, and makes the assumption that *habes* is to be read instead of *habe,* which De Wette has placed in the text. We conjicirate: *Si habe quod quaeris*, and have translated it accordingly.

3) *schreibavit*.

To M. Georg Spalatin, your most faithful servant of Christ with the Altenburgers, his dearest brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Accept favors and make reciprocal favors, as you do, my dear Spalatin. You like to recommend many poor little priests to us, so we like to recommend such people to you again, where it is necessary 2c. The rumor has now come here (there is nothing quicker) that M. Georg Mohr has left Borna and has made this position vacant. If this is true, then I ask you for Christ's sake to convey the bearer of this letter, Simon Haferitz, there. For there is as yet no vacancy with us, otherwise we would have supplied him gladly and willingly. And there is no reason why you should perhaps shrink from it, if you have either heard something about his former conduct by rumor or remember it. He has become a different man, and has been well tried by many plagues, 1) so that, according to a very good testimony of many people, he has also proved himself with us. Then, however much suspicion may work against him, this will benefit him and us all the more, that he may live among us and near us, so that he may become more accustomed to our customs and habits, and have less opportunity to be deceived by others. For what is it to be wondered at, if one learns to howl among wolves, and, as Paul says, that good customs are corrupted by evil talk. Do therefore as much as thou canst and wilt; but thou wilt as much as thou lovest us. But thou shalt love us as much as we love thee, namely, as a faithful and exceeding high fellow-worker in the word in Christ, who keep thee and make thee blessed to his glory, Amen. Salute thy mistress, the mother and a half, with her fruits. On Monday after Exaudi [26 May] 1533.

Your M. Luther, D.

1) De Wette offers: *exanimatus*, which does not fit into the context, whereas Walch translates: "examined", thus has read *examinatus.*

No. 1981.

Wittenberg. June 9, 1533.

To Christoph Rühel.

Luther expresses his joy at his fine gifts and progress, and exhorts him to continue in fine studies in the fear of God, and to be a fine example to all the youth.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 169. From the von Ludwig collection at Halle in Schütze, vol. II, p. 285 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 452.

To the highly gifted and well-disposed boy, Christoph Rühel, who is engaged in the sciences, his exceedingly dear son in Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I have received your letter, my dearest Christoph, by the hand of your Lord Father, 2) which I have read with immense joy and pleasure, and give thanks to the Lord for the gifts and talents which he has given you, and wish you especially good fortune in this, that you have both a father and a teacher who are well suited for these gifts and talents, since they have produced so much fruit from them by their expense, I pray to our Lord Jesus Christ that he may bestow his rich blessing on your happily begun studies, so that you may become a wholesome example for all your youth, both in learning and in progress. For you are boys who are being prepared to administer the offices in both the spiritual and the temporal, in which we are now laboring, and to prepare for you, as much as we can, the rudders, so that you may hold them comfortably. Only see that, with the help of Christ, you add a very good end to the very good firstfruits, and do not be distracted by any evil example of other bad boys. Hear thy very good Father, who loves thee more than himself, and desires that thou mayest be well advised in every respect. At the same time, give thanks to your dear Creator, who has made you glorious (*glorificavit*) through such parents, through whose

2) Probably Dr. Joh. Rühel, mansfeldifcher Rath.

Help thou to be a great man, if thou wilt. Hail to thee, lad, thus one ascends to the stars. 1) Many would become very great and high men, if they were endowed with such parents, such help, such counsel, as thou hast abundance of. See that thou lackest not in thyself: Christ, thy parents, yea, all good men, will not lack in thee. I entrust you and your brother and all your youth to the mercy of God, who will protect you from all evil examples in deeds, words and gestures (*personarum*), amen. Greetings to your mother, the precious woman, with all yours, Wittenberg, Monday after Trinity [June 9] Anno 1533. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

1982.

Königsberg. 11. 2) June 1533.

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

The Duke thanks Luther for his letter and regrets his sickness, which God may turn to good account. Given the size of the country, it is not possible to prevent the Sacramentarians from creeping in; given the thin population, it is also not advisable to expel them from the country so that the country does not become even more desolate. Brismann and Poliander warn against them and teach against them, and the Duke has ordered that the Sacramentarians should neither teach nor preach in secret or in public. He allows each one to believe for himself what he wants to answer for on the last day. News about the Reformation in Riga and the surrounding area, with the request to send preachers there; repeated request for an interpretation of John 6.

The original is in the Wolfische Sammlung of the Hamburg Stadtbibliothek, *Cod.* I, 65 f. (the inscription comes from a scribe's hand). Printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 187.

To the venerable, our special beloved Lord Martin Luther's, the holy scripture Doctori, for his own hands.

God's grace and peace in Christ. Most reverend and most honored, beloved, love 3) father and friend! of your letter, 4) addressed to me.

1) *Virg. Aen.* lib. IX, v. 641.

2) Kolde has (probably by mistake) "June 12" in the heading, although the date in the letter is "June 11".

3) In the original: "love".

4) Here Kolde remarks: "The same in De Wette IV, 348 ff. under the year 1532 is therefore considerably later.

I am most grateful to E. W., can take from this the special favor you bear me, for in such writing you consider me not a little, and my poor soul not a little; on the other hand also my faithful subjects [half I thank], 5) whom you would like to know together with me in (pey) pure doctrine, therefore not considering your head difficulty and illness. Where I could earn such favor for you to the best of my ability, I owe it and will gladly do so. I also feel heartfelt, faithful, brotherly, even childlike compassion for your sickness and affliction, but I want to plead with God with my sinful prayers, and do not doubt that such sickness and affliction will be enough for you, for us many poor sinners, for the best, not only for salvation, but also for great health, and I ask you not to take too much trouble, so that the divine word will be promoted through you even more, 6) and God will be praised. It is also not without some 7) sacramentaries sneaking into the country, which is also impossible, because [it is] such a wide country, to prevent the sneaking, because not everyone can see in everyone's eyes what his heart is. So also this country is before completely bare of people, by which to worry, if one should chase such people out, would become even more furious. But so that nevertheless - because it is not at all possible or useful to ward off the people - so that nevertheless God's honor is not hindered, I thank God, who lets his word go so abundantly here in the land, and especially my beloved godfathers, Doctor Brismann (prisman) and Mr. Poliander (poleander), are so bravely carrying out their ministry of warning and teaching (thereby hoping entirely to God [that] the devil will not harm) 9) I have also ordered (the new ones) everywhere that such persons may not, either openly or secretly, prevent themselves from teaching or (or) preaching, and each one of them, because

to be set." There can be no doubt that De Wette correctly assigned this letter to the year 1532, since it was already published in that year by Nickel Schirlentz in Wittenberg in a single edition. Only De Wette's dating: "Perhaps April," which we followed in the St. Louis edition, Vol. XX, 1678, may perhaps be too early.

5) Added by us.

6) Original: "geuorder".

7) In Kolde wrongly interpungirt: "Es ist auch nit, an das zumb theil" 2c.

8) "or" put by us instead of: "but" in Kolde. Perhaps "ader" is in the original.

9) These brackets are set by us.

It is not fitting for me to force faith into people, to allow them to believe for themselves, and to wait for their reward on the last day, whether it comes from the Scriptures. Consider also, that there may be among you, even among many classes, many that will not hold fast, though they hold their peace. And if there is too little in this undertaking, because I like to see God's honor promoted, I would like to be told by you what to do further with Christian moderation. And even though good and evil seed (peser somen) must grow here on earth 1), I still want to ask God; please, you also want to do it with your church, so that His omnipotence will let the best (pesten) grow up and dampen the evil with the mouth of His holy word. For the new newspaper you shall know that the Teutonic Order in Liefland (oifland), my brother, Margrave Wilhelm, shall call him Coadjutor, also the chapter of Oesel, and both (peder) monasteries of Riga and Oesel 2) knighthood together with the city of Riga among others, have agreed and united that the holy divine word (far) according to content and ability of both Old and New Testaments shall be preached loud, pure and clear, and preachers shall be appointed and held; God give his grace. Therefore my brother writes to you. So I also ask that you help S. L. with preachers, for although I would like to assign someone to S. L. from time to time, I cannot know what doctrine they are, nor would I like to promote error. For this reason I ask you once again, for the sake of divine honor, to be helpful in this matter, so that S. L. may come to preachers. Command me hereby in your devout prayer, and, if it is possible, that I may receive from you [the] 6th Cap. John, as I have written to you before, I will gladly earn it with all my might for you. Command you and all of us hereby to our one Saviour Christ JEsu; who keep us all in his pure, clean word and right doctrine, Amen. *Datae in urbe* Königsberg (kunigspurgk), the 11th of June Anno 1533.

I pray, if Philippum will announce my service and greeting, command me in his prayer, my dear husband also evenly with like petition (pete) 2c to you both, and to your houses and virtuous wives.

Albrecht, marggraff vnd herczog 2c.

1) In the original: "wash".
2) "Oesel" (osel) an island in the Gulf of Riga.
3) That is: among each other.

No. 1983.

(Wittenberg,) June 16, 1533.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVI, 1878, no. 1215.

No. 1984.

Wittenberg. 19 June 1533.

To Joachim, Prince of Anhalt.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. X, 1808, where this letter is dated May 23, 1534, according to Walch's old edition; also in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 536, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 48. The same letter is found again in Walch's old edition, vol. XXI, 1407, with the date: " *Feria* 5 nach *Viti*" [June 19].

1533] and thereafter in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 416 and in the Erl. Ausg., vol. 55, p. 20. According to the original corrected by Lindner in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 56, p. 189, with the incorrectly solved date: "June 20, 1533" (instead of: "June 19"). Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 461, note 3, adopts the date we have set, which deserves preference over the former if only because there is another letter dated May 23, 1534, namely, that communicated by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 543 under June 26, 1534. See Burkhardt, p. 224.

No. 1985.

Wittenberg. 24 June 1533.

To Michael Stiefel.

Luther tells him that he cannot agree with him in the reckoning of the imminence of the last day.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Gud*. 214 and at Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 172. Printed in the Innocent News 1701, p. 227 and at De Wette, vol. IV, p. 462 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1251.

Grace and peace in Christ! I understand that you are very upset, my dear Michael, that I do not agree with your calculations, although you know very well my sincere love for you. Then I have always said that I do not have different opinions as well as that I do not understand, and I do not believe that you want to force me to say that I understand what I neither understand nor grasp. For what was the use of this false assertion to me or to you? Certainly I did not suppose that you could get so excited 4) about this thing, in which nothing is interested (*indifferent*).

4) Compare Table Talks, Cap. 37, ? 144 and Cap. 51, §§ 1 and 2.

For if this day should come before Michaelmas, thou sinest not, who believest and sayest this; but if it should not come, we sin not, who believe that it may come at any hour. For whosoever believeth that he may come at any hour, believeth also that he may come before Michaelmas. Now if we may be mistaken in what we do not know, and confess that we do not know whether he will certainly come before Michaelmas, as you say, this error is without danger to us, as all your certain knowledge, if you have any, is without danger to you. Why then dost thou trouble thyself thus for the sake of such a thing, which is certain on both sides and without danger? I tell thee that this thy agitation arouses in me the suspicion that Satan may desire thee, that he may behold thee. For he who thus excites thy passion (*affectum*) without cause, may also confound thy understanding, without anything factual lying at the bottom (*sine re*). 2) Therefore I beseech thee, that thou put away this agitation of the mind, and come unto us, and not leave or change our old friendship. Fare well in Christ. Wittenberg, on the day of St. 3) John [June 24] 1533.

No. 1986.

(Wittenberg,) June 26, 1533.

To Tilemann Schnabel and the other Hessian theologians.

Luther gives his advice on the introduction of excommunication to the Hessian clergy assembled at Homburg.
From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 170, in Schütze, vol. II, p. 288 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p.46I.

To the Lord Tilemann Schnabel and the other bishops of Hesse, who are assembled in the castle of Homburg.

Grace and peace in Christ. Worthy and most dear men! Here's to your very-

1) Instead of *certe* we have assumed *certa.*

2) Stiefel is the author of the anonymous writing: "Rechenbüchlin vom End - Christ. Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 624, note 2.

3) Instead of the *S. Johannis* (Burkhardt, p. 214. Seidemann l. c.) De Wette offers: *the 5. Joannis*; Walch: "on the 8th day".

I will reply briefly to your correct and godly letters and requests as much as I have time and leisure. I have experienced your zeal for Christ and Christian discipline with great joy, but in this time, which is so gloomy and not yet sufficiently suitable to accept discipline, I would not dare to advise such a sudden innovation. "Forsooth, we must let the peasants drink a little, and let a drunken man give way to a cartload of hay. "It will do itself good, for we," by law, "may not do it." It is a great thing, not au itself, but for the sake of persons that have power to stir us up troubles, which are not to be restrained, since we are a root in the thirsty land, and are not yet grown up into branches and leaves. In the meantime, I would advise that we begin gradually and in a small way, as we are doing here, first of all to keep from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper those who seem worthy of excommunication; 4) For such an excommunication, which forbids worldly things, we may in no way take upon ourselves, first, because we have no right to it, and it applies only to those who do not wish to be true Christians; secondly, because at this time the great (*major*) ban cannot even be brought within our power, and we should be ridiculous if we undertook it before we had the strength to do it. For what you seem to hope, that the execution may be done by the prince himself, is very uncertain, nor do I want the secular authorities to be drawn into this task, but to be separated from it in every respect, so that the difference between the two regiments may exist rightly and certainly. Receive this my free and certainly brotherly good will for the best, just as I am disposed toward you in love. Christ rule you by his Holy Spirit for ever and ever, Amen. Thursday after the feast of John the Baptist [26 June] Anno 1533.

Your Martin Luther.

4) *adstare baptismati ad lavandos pueros.*

5) Instead of *volunt* we have assumed *nolunt.*

No. 1987.

(Wittenberg,) June 1533.

Four misgivings of Luther and his colleagues about the advertisement of the emperor and the pope to the Elector John Frederick because of a council.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1872, no. 1214.

No. 1988.

(Wittenberg,) After the 30th of June, 1533.

Preface to the printing of the advertisement 2c. in which the above four concerns are included.

This writing is not by Luther. It is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, No. 1212, Col. 1863 f. See the introduction there. We would have passed over the same here, if Burkhardt, p. 214, had not found a reference to it with the heading: "Luther's answer to the papal legate" 2c. with the note: "Orig. by Luther's hand. Printed Altenb. Ausg. VI, 123 (*cf. Seckendorf* III, 42) without date." The Altenburg edition has 1. e. the superscription: "Preface of Dr. Martin Luther to the advertisement of the Emperor and Pope to the protesting estates full because of a Christian Concilii," and also Seckendorf says that to the things (*in illa*, that is, to the documents which concern the advertisement, which are partly included in the St. Louis edition, Vol. XVI, No. 1212 to No. 1216) a very modest preface was made by Luther. But in fact this preface was written for the printing of the documents (but not by Luther), as it indicates itself, so after the completion of the whole trade, which found its conclusion on June 30th by the common answer of the protesting estates to the advertisement.

No. 1989.

(Wittenberg,) June or July, 1533.

To the Leipzigers driven out for the sake of the Gospel.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1932.

No. 1990.

Wittenberg. July 9, 1533.

To the Council of Reval.

(Regest.)

Recommendation of the superintendent Nicolaus Glosse, who has just received his doctorate and been called to Reval.

After the original in the town hall archives at Reval communicated by O. Waltz in the journal for church history, II, 136 f. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 190.

No. 1991.

(Wittenberg,) July 10, 1533.

To Spalatin.

Luther asks him to either reconcile or divorce two spouses.

The original is in the archives at Dessau. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 261. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 238 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 464. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1252.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Magister Georg Spalatin, the servant of the church at Altenburg and servant of Christ, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace! I beg you for Christ's sake, my dear Spalatin, that you take up the matter of this George, and at the same time [with him] summon his wife of Schneeberg to you, and after you have heard both parties, either reconcile them again, or divorce them; or, if this should be too burdensome, that you let what has been heard and acted upon reach us through him, carefully written out. For this long-continued vexation is not to be borne.

We have no news. I wish that your Anna, your flesh, may be well in the Lord. That *exiled* (*exul*) girl, whose father and mother would have been imprisoned in the house as old people (*senes*), has complained to me here and implored for help and counsel. What I will do, since the matter has been so decided, God knows; you will hear everything later. On July 10, 1533. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

No. 1992.

(Wittenberg,) July 14, 1533.

To Christoph Rühel.

The latter had replied to Luther's letter of 9 June, and Luther kindly replied to this.

From the Von Ludewig collection in Halle in Schütze, vol. II, p. 289 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 464 f.

To the well-disposed youth Christoph Rühel, his in Christ exceedingly dear son.

Our kinsman Ambrosius Reuter, who is common in Christ, has handed over your very dear letter to me, and I am glad that you have received

I am glad to hear that my admonition has been so pleasant and agreeable to you, since I know that my admonition also seems useful and beneficial to you. This is what I sought and desired above all things when I wrote, and I still desire it now, and I pray the Lord that he may guide the course of your studies happily. I have not been able to write more now, for the messenger hastened his departure, and I myself sat busy writing. I beg you to interpret it for the best; more at another time. To your father, the worthy man, you will say that I will do my best to see that his wish is granted, and that in a short time. For today, since a book 1) is finished, I shall be freer. Greetings to your most excellent mother together with your brother and all your comrades. Christ be with you, amen. Monday after Margaret [14 July] 1533.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 1993.

(Wittenberg,) July 20, 1533.2)

To the Nuremberg clergy.

Among the clergy at Nuremberg, a dispute had arisen over a general formula of absolution to be read from the pulpit, which Osiander opposed. In this letter, Luther exhorts them to unity.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 159 and at Wolfenbüttel in Cod. Printed in a single edition under the title: *Rev. viri Dr. M. Lutheri missa ad Theologos Norimbergenses (orta quadam inter ipsos dissensione) pia et vere apostolica epistola etc. Lips.1572. 8. Lips.*1572. 8. from the Molius collection in Kiel at Schütze, vol. III, p. 250; at *Strobel- Ranner*, p. 209 and at De Wette, vol. IV, p. 465.

Grace and peace in Christ. Dear men and exceedingly dear brethren in Christ! If I have ever desired and asked of the Lord that a well-sounding and effective speech be put into my mouth, I ask above all things now that this letter of mine may be made effective and sweet in your ears and hearts by the power of the Holy Spirit. It is not to be said with how great pain of my

1) Probably the "Responsibility of the imposed riot of Duke Georgen" 2c. St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1826.

2) This time determination results from the following letter.

I have perceived in your minds that a discord has arisen among you, who in this excellent place are ordained to be angels of peace and salvation. For, to say nothing of the disturbance and harm to your native church, how much trouble do you think will arise from it for other churches? what boasting, what rejoicing, what triumphs will the adversaries on both sides, the Papists and the Sacramentarians and the Anabaptists, catch for themselves from these mischiefs of yours and throw up high! For this morsel, this delight of his wickedness, the hound of hell obtains through you. And, as much as Christ should love me, as much as I can discern and judge from the matter itself and from your letters (for I speak quite freely in such great distress and danger), this discord does not come from this present matter, namely, private and public absolution. It can be perceived, it can be perceived (do not pretend, do not conceal it), that before there were some old impulses among you, and that the sparks are nourished and hidden in the tinder, which now, when a little breeze blows and a small, insignificant occasion is given, endeavor to rise to a conflagration. If in due time, as Isaias [Cap. 50, 4] says, there had been a learned and healing tongue, it would have quenched the same, as Sirach says, with a spout, whereas now, blown out and inflamed by the tongues of many, they are very severely subdued. For if ye had been One Heart and One Soul in the Lord before this, and the bond of love perfect, it would have been impossible that these little offences should count for so much as they, alas! do. For how often does a finger injure an eye, a tooth injure a tongue, a hand injure another! And yet these members, concerned for one another, suffer these insults from one another. And you know very well that the words and deeds of another, however good and praiseworthy they may be, are most grievously eviscerated by a bitter and suspicious mind. For such also are the things of God, whatever and how our opinions or consciences are constituted: so that we may not be able to

consider that which is of death to be useful to life, and that which is useful to life to be deadly. How much more does a sick mind take the words and deeds of another brother in a wrong way (*ad iniquam partem*), especially when they are somewhat reprehensible and obviously faulty? But meanwhile, where is the empress and mistress of these impulses and motions, love? of which it is gloriously extolled by the Holy Ghost [1 Pet. 4:8.], "Love covereth also the multitude of sins;" and again [Jac. 2:13.], "Mercy boasteth itself against judgment;" and again [Luc. 6:37.], "Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven." Will we then, who preach love, mercy, and forgiveness to others, leave nothing of love for ourselves also? will we not bear one another's burdens? will we not do all that mercy may boast against judgment? Or do we delight to hear the [Proverbs] word: *Turpe est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum* [Shameful is it for a teacher when an accusation falls upon himself]? Yes, what is terrible is that we, who are teachers of grace, arouse the wrath of God against ourselves, when we, giving way to our passions, strike by this offense and dangerous and hateful discord the weak brethren for whom Christ died. For this is one of the chief things of original sin, that we demand justice from our brother more than mercy from us, whereas mercy must be demanded from us more than justice from our brother. "It is said, Love shall go for the right and above the right." If then this order cannot be kept, justice must be cut off from the bottom, rather than that justice should be allowed to be equal to mercy, or to contend or quarrel with it, even as Christ abolished our judgment from the bottom, and the handwriting that testified against us, before he would have allowed the same to be equal to or preferred to his love against us. And it is well said: The highest right is the highest unrighteousness. Justice or judgment is absolutely and utterly condemned, both with God and with men, when it goes beyond its limits and wants to rule over or be equal to love or mercy, for law is to serve love, not to rule over it. Otherwise it is one of the four evils that make a country troubled (as Solomon says [Prov. 30:21-23.]), namely, a servant when he becomes king, or a maid when she becomes heir to her wives. Therefore, for Christ's sake, for the sake of all that we have in common in him, and for the sake of our fellowship in him, make diligent and faithful efforts that by patience, humility, and forgiveness among yourselves this evil may be healed among you. At least look at us, and cease from heaping pain upon pain, because you cannot deny that your wound is our wound, and that if you are hindered and afflicted by Satan, we also are hindered and afflicted. For ye are our crown and glory in that so excellent place. Remember how great power of enemies we have to endure, and that from devils and men of every kind. Let us not ourselves be bitten and devoured among ourselves by this exceedingly sad turmoil of spirit, which we ought to hold out our hands to one another in unanimous spirit, since we have to fight even with danger of life against so many, so vigilant, so indefatigable enemies day and night. And since they rejoice when one of us is fallen or wounded, how much will they triumph when they see so great a church cast down by mutually inflicted and more than moderate (*civilibus*) wounds! This is what Satan would like, that we, who have hitherto remained unconquered by all his gates, should now, without his hand, and while he sleeps, fall by our own hands and inward wars. May the Father of all life and comfort prevent this, amen.

Therefore, if the Spirit does not give you something better, my advice would be that you distinguish sharply between this matter and your peace. And although there is no danger to the Church, if you leave this matter subdued (God grant, extinguished) for a time, until at a safer and better time, and with minds fortified in peace and united by love, you may discuss it according to all your pleasure

But at this time, when the minds are so excited, it is a poison to dispute about it, or to touch this sore or ulcer. Then, when the public absolution, which was the end desired by this disputation, has asserted itself and triumphed, follow the example of the Athenians, and let a pardon and forgetting (amnesty) take place, since here again there is no danger to the church. And this you clearly owe, lest you prefer this matter to peace and to the love of yourselves and of all men. Imagine that Christ himself is bodily present in your midst, and learn from his countenance which of the two is to be preferred in this matter. He will doubtless thus address your hearts, even with his eyes: What do ye, dearest children, whom I have redeemed by my blood, born again by my word, that ye should love one another? You know that this is the mark of my disciples. Lay this thing down, or cast it upon me, and I will watch. There is no danger in this thing resting or even dying. There is no harm to my church if public absolution prevails, but there will be danger if you disagree and bite among yourselves. Here you will not only cut my unstitched skirt, but you will cut and tear my body in pieces. Do not grieve the Spirit, by whom you were sealed for the day of salvation [Eph. 4:30]. Deprive not the holy angels in heaven of their joys. Trouble not and vex not your brethren, and the whole church. Do not make yourselves ridiculous before my enemies and your enemies. Do not increase Satan's joys and triumphs. You already have enough evil to suffer for my name's sake. Or am I not more to you than all things, all *affectations, all* impulses? Do then some words of a brother, or some unjust grievance, penetrate deeper and hang more firmly than my wounds, my blood, than even the whole Saviour Jesus Christ? Surely this, and far more beautifully and abundantly, shall his exceeding beautiful eyes, redder than wine [Gen. 49:12.], speak unto you, if ye will but let him stand in the midst of you, and, fixing your eyes upon his countenance, speak of the matter.
and be silent to your excitements. For after this silence has come, what will he say but, "Peace be with you; do not be afraid"? Then shall he show you his wounds, and cover your sores and your bruises, and so shall ye all have salvation and joy.

I would write more, but I would much more like to use the oral word with you, since I have the confidence that I would accomplish something with Christ's help. But since you are men to whom God has given the knowledge of His wisdom, I do not despair that you will see the opportunity given by this letter to be wiser than I can write and say. But at the same time, because you are also human, and have not yet risen from death, it will not seem wonderful to you if something human has happened to you, but has nevertheless hitherto been human, and has not ceased to be human, and has not turned into something devilish. It is a human thing to be offended, but it is added [Eph. 4:26.], "Sin not." To be offended is human, but not to be reconciled is devilish; but not to be offended, or not to offend, is angelic, or, which is the same thing, Christian. Since we have not yet reached that point, it is fair that we, as beginners, as it were, and as people who have the beginnings of Christians, if we have not avoided offenses or have not borne them with patience, should both gladly forgive one another and humbly ask forgiveness, wrapping our lives in that petition, "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us." May the Lord Jesus himself, our peace and mercy, make you joyful, that is, may he give you to overcome one another by peace and mercy, and to consume your strife and dissension by the furnace of love, amen.

Your brother and servant

Dr. Martin Luther.

No. 1994.

(Wittenberg,) July 20, 1533.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther exhorts him t kindness and clemency against Osiander and his party.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 172 and at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod*. From the Kraft collection at Husum in Schütze, vol. II, p. 290, and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 473.

To the worthy and highly venerable man, Wenceslaus Link, the faithful and sincere servant of the word in the church at Nuremberg, fine and exceedingly dear brother in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have written a general letter to all of you who are servants of the Word, dearest Wenceslaus, and I have written it from my heart, God is my witness. For I am greatly moved by your so persistent discord, and I beg you to allow me to say what my opinion is. You with your party follow the truth godly and loudly, which brings you enough favor with God and favor with men. The other, 1) I confess, follows his inclination more than enough, as is evident, and I myself do not approve of all that is his; just this I write to him. But because he is a good man, and upright in all things, and has not yet wholly stripped this flesh (as we are among ourselves), and is tempted of Satan! kaun, as we also are: therefore I beseech thee for Christ's sake, that thou mayest at last overcome the thought, and in the love of Christ himself, who said [Matth. 23:11], "He that is greatest shall be least among you," mayest thou put on the form of the least, after the example of Christ; begin thou first to greet and address him kindly. Thou knowest that word of Solomon [Prov. 15:1.], "A mild answer quencheth wrath, but a harsh answer setteth up wrath." "A good word finds a good place." Who knows whether his anger and his displeasure may not be soothed by this cur? But thou wilt do this not only according to the right of love, but, if I mistake not, also from the duty of conscience. For, as I suppose from the articles you have sent me, I suspect that you have paid too much attention to his sermons. Not that I say that this is true, but that you did not first admonish him about this matter before it was reported to others. May

1) Andreas Osiander.

he may after all be sophistical (*captiosus*), as one complains, yet grace with God and favor with men must suffice you. What good is it to oppress a brother who has already oppressed himself through displeasure with men and through his offense with God? You stand and are upright; he has fallen and lies down. What is the use of rejoicing and applauding over his fall? for you must rather be anxious that he should be raised up and fortified with you. For I hope that he will not be incorrigible, if he is asked humbly, modestly, and reverently, as is fitting. For if ye continue thus to act harshly against harshly, ye will bring great evil upon us and upon yourselves, because he cannot be so cast away and oppressed without bringing great harm and vexation upon yourselves. Forgive me for writing so freely, but freely in brotherly confidence, for I trust in your honesty and our old love. The Lord be with thee, amen. On Sunday after Margaret [20 July] Anno 1533. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1994a

(Wittenberg,) 21 July 1533.

To Hans Honold in Augsburg.

Thanks for the sympathy in Luther's state of health and for the medicine sent. To Huber's inquiry Luther answers that one should not take the Lord's Supper in the Lutheran way now secretly in the houses, but rather turn to neighboring villages, or one should indicate to the council and the preachers beforehand that one will enjoy it in the Lutheran way.

Handwritten in the Kreis- und Stadtbibliothek in Augsburg. Printed in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. XXXIV and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 143.

To the honorable, prudent Mr. Hans Honold of Augsburg, my favorable master and good friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honourable, prudent, dear sir and friend! I thank you diligently for your faithful care, as you have taken care of my problem and ordered medicine for it, and have also sent me the prescription. It is ever true that I had not meant to overcome such distemper, but had already forgiven myself of life; so very hard was the

I am swindled that I blame not only natural weakness, but also the devil and his arrows, and would have gone away. But God's power has been strong in me over my conceit, and according to His wisdom, to make the living out of the dead, has also refreshed me again through your prayers and those of all the brothers. Our physicians think, where I have the..: Our physicians think that if I can keep open the flow in the left leg, as it has been up to now (in which they work), then it should give solution to the head. I believe that, but I must nevertheless provide myself with the arrows of the archmurderer. Enough of that.

Caspar Huber has written to me for advice as to whether one might not (because the desire, so long departed, is almost great) give and take the sacrament in houses, because one cannot get it publicly, especially in such a way that those who teach there, or have been in office before, are sufficient. Verily, in this alone I am concerned that, because the Zwinglians even rule with you, and the papists lurk, an unpleasantness may come of it, which we do not see now, and because necessity does not demand such a thing, nor are you ever compelled to make such a special communion. Afterwards your consciences might be challenged and grieved because of this undertaking, for it takes strong, courageous Christians to undertake it. But I would like you, where it can be, if there is a town or village nearby where our sacrament is administered, to take it there; if this is not possible, and you would dare to do it, then it would be my advice that you show it to the council and their preachers that you intend to give and take it in houses. Then you would find what they could suffer and what you could do. This is better than that ye should begin it beforehand, and then wait to see what they shall suffer, or what ye shall do. For if you hear that they are willing to suffer, you are more sure of it, and free to do it; but if they are not willing to suffer, you have already made known your faith, and their disfavor is on your neck; and the struggle will be as great before you do it, as it would be after you have done it; and yet you are safe, because you have desired it openly, and have made it known, which is all the better, than that you should undertake it, without having first made it known, behind their knowledge, and against their will. But if ye

If we do so, the matter will take care of itself, and God will work something else, if we ask diligently. Hiemit GOtt befehlt. Amen. *S. Praxedis* [July 21] 1533.

Dr. Martinus Luther.

No. 1995.

(Wittenberg,) July 22, 1533.

To Spalatin.

From Luther's writing against Duke George.

The original is in Dessau. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 239 and, comparing *Cod. Jen. a, fol.* 261, in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 471. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1253.

To the highly famous man, Magister Georg Spalatin, the extremely faithful servant of God at Altenburg, his dearest brother.

Grace and peace! Your M. Brisger returns to you, my dear Spalatin. God would that we could have received him with dignity, as such a man is worthy, but he, as a poor man, will have patience with the poor. There is no news with us. For I believe that you have long since seen my writing against Duke George 1). I commend Brisger to thee, and me also. Pray the Lord for us. Farewell. Quickly and hastily on St. Magdalen's Day [July 22] 1533.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1996.

(Wittenberg,) August 8, 1533.

To the City Council of Augsburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2033.

No. 1997.

Schwerin. 15 August 1533.

Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg to Luther.

The Duke thanks Luthern for a letter and intends to reply orally soon.

The original concept is in the archives at Schwerin. Printed by Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 41.

1) Luther's responsibility because of the sedition imposed on him by Duke George. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 1826.

To the esteemed, our dear special one, Martins Luther, Doctori.

By the Grace of God Albrecht, Duke of Mecklenburg 2c.

Our most cordial greetings beforehand. Dear, dear Particular! We have received your letter, which you have now sent us, and have heard its contents. Now we thank you graciously for the admonition you have given us, and cannot sense or note anything else from it than that you mean well and faithfully with us. We would also have been inclined to answer your letter with the present messenger, but since we will go out without that (by divine grace and bestowal) and come to the place where you are, we are inclined to answer your letter in our own person, which we graciously do not know how to do in response to your letter. For we are inclined to show you mercy. Date Schwerin, on the day of Assumption of Mary [August 15] Anno 2c. 33.

No. 1998.

(Wittenberg,) August 25, 1533.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

Luther recommends the request of a pastor and complains about the great ingratitude against the gospel.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesammtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a, fol.* 227 and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 174. Printed in *Buddeus, p.* 239 and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 473. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1253.

To his exceedingly dear brother in the Lord, M. Georg Spalatin, servant of Christ at Altenburg.

Grace and peace in Christ! This priest, my dear Spalatin, I commend to thee. Thou seest in these his letters what he desires. O on the exceeding shameful ingratitude of our time! What else can we hope or desire but that the right Judge and our Redeemer should come. Everywhere in our land the nobles and the ballers conspire against the gospel, and yet enjoy in the most hopeful manner the liberty of the gospel. What is it to be wondered at, then, that the Papists have persecuted us? "Here God will judge." There is no news. May the Lord be with you. Give my regards to your rib. 1533, the day after Bartholomew [Aug. 25]. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

No. 1999.

(Wittenberg,) August 26, 1533.

To Justus Menius.

(Fragment.)

About Michael Stiefel's prophecy of the last day.

From the former Gudic collection, *fol.* 214, at Wolfenbüttel in Schütze, vol. II, p. 292 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 474.

There is nothing new here, except that Michael Stiefel with his seventh trumpet 1) prophesies to us the last day in this year, about All Saints' Day, while before he predicted to me Michaelmas Day, and there is an uproar, 2) that we are compelled to fear that he may stir up sedition in those briars and marshes. 3) Therefore we call the man to us this day. Pray for us and be well in Christ. 1533, Tuesday after Bartholomew [Aug. 26].

Martin Luther, D.

No. 2000.

(Wittenberg,) August 27, 1533.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for two people who had been promised provision in Zwickan but had not been given it.

The original is in the archives at Weimar. Printed by De Wette, vol. I V, p. 475 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 23.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c., Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave in Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

G. u. Friede. Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! I humbly inform E. C. F. G. that the two good people, those from the Darne (?), for which I asked E. C. F. G. at Wittenberg, and also E. C. F. G. graciously wrote to the sequestrators that they should receive an apartment in Zwickau; but they were well put off by them, and yet nothing came of it. What

I) Compare the letter of June 24 and the passages of the Table Talks cited there.

2) A great many people came to Stiefel; see Melker's letter to Brismann of Nov. 17, 1533.

3) That is, in the Lochauer Haide. In Lochau (now Annaberg) Stiefel was pastor.

I cannot know, and the poor people are hard-pressed, to which now the winter falls and they do not know where to go nor where under. Please, therefore, let E. C. F. G. help the poor people who have been chased away in earnest, according to the promise on which they have relied up to now. E. C. F. G. will graciously take care of their misery and hope. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Wednesday after St. Bartholomew [27 Aug.] 1533.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther, D.

No 2001.

Wittenberg. September 7, 1533.

To the Bremen City Council.

Luther testifies his satisfaction with the church order to be introduced there and exhorts to a better salary of the clergy.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 318; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 2; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 564; in Walch, vol. XXI, 363; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 475 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 24.

Grace and peace. Honourable, honourable, wise, dear sirs! I have received and heard your order through your sent preacher together with ours, which is almost pleasing to us. May Christ our Lord have mercy on it, that it may bear fruit most perfectly, amen. They have also asked me about the punishment which has hitherto been customarily inflicted on evildoers, to which I answered, when I wrote this, that you should use your traditional law and custom, whether it be to hang thieves or to behead murderers 2c. For we do not want to use such ways and courts, except that we advise, where the things are too small, not to follow the strict law and severity too much; for it is also too hard to hang a place from the florin, as often happens, if one may punish differently.

Lastly, since God has given you such faithful preachers, I ask you to strive and think that they may remain with you; but this cannot be unless they have a good time. You see how the spirits of the mob infiltrate, to whom enough is given.

and must give; you have fine men, God help that they remain with you. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Given at Wittenberg on the Sunday [before] 1) *Nativitatis Mariae* [Sept. 7].

Anno 1533. Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2002.

(Wittenberg,) September 24, 1533.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Of Hausmann's sickliness, and of Duke George's writing, which Luther will answer.

The original is in Dessau. Handwritten in Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 174. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 292; by Strobel-Ranner, p. 222 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 476. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1408.

Grace and peace! Your sickness, my dear brother in Christ, is very close to me. Christ will stand by you and not only make you well, but he will also give you the courage to endure everything that is connected with this illness. For he loves thee, because thou lovest him, and speakest for him, and sufferest in this exceedingly wicked, not only exceedingly ungrateful world. Be strong and despise him who hates you and him whom you preach, Christ Jesus. I am so busy by God's grace that I could not write a letter to you this morning through your Aurelius, as I would have liked. Duke George has published a book which is in accordance with his character and purpose. 2) But thanks be to God, who has thus brought this foolish heart to the public. This is what he has earned so far by this constant persecution of the Word that he, as his own accuser and judge, is compelled to shamefully drag himself through before the whole world as a liar, blasphemer and desecrator of God. He will be answered 3) in a judgment not for him but for us.

1) "before" inserted by us, because in 1533 the day of the Nativity of Mary, September 8, fell on a Monday. If the date according to the Eisleben edition should nevertheless be correct, then this letter would belong to the year 1532, in which Mary's birth fell on a Sunday.

2) See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 241).

3) This Luther did by writing: "Little Answer to Duke Georgen's Next Book." See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 1842.

...in a fitting manner. You pray for us. My Lord Käthe greets you reverently and kindly, always remembering you with the greatest honor. May you in turn greet from us in the most reverent manner your very good and exceedingly praiseworthy princes, whose name, by God's grace, grows from day to day into a sweet smell in the blessing and favor of all. God be with you. This I wrote while your Weller sang with me at supper. Wednesday after St. Matthew [24 Sept.] Anno 1533.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2003.

(Nuremberg.) September 27, 1533.

The Nuremberg Council to Luther and the other Wittenberg theologians.

(Regest.)

Since the dispute over absolution was still not over, the council forbade the preachers to preach on this subject and ordered them to submit their opinions in writing. The opinion of the council and the local pastors, rectors and preachers has never been to abolish private absolution or to allow others to do away with it. The dispute revolves solely around whether, in addition to private absolution, general absolution may also be used in a divine and Christian manner, or whether it should be removed from the churches, since, according to Andreas Osiander, it is useless, harmful, and ungodly, and should not be an absolution. Osiander's report arouses the suspicion that the city of Nuremberg is acting contrary to the Augsburg Confession by permitting common absolution, the use of which no one has yet been able to judge to be unjust. Now the city council requested a renewed examination of the question in dispute.

From the letterbook of the Rath *de dato* Nuremberg District Archives reprinted in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 190.

No. 2004.

Wittenberg. 30 September 1533.

To the preachers at Erfurt, together with Melanchthon and Jonas.

The Lutheran clergy in Erfurt were challenged by the papists there about the legality of their vocation. The Wittenberg theologians exhort them to patience.

From Schlegel's collection at Gotha in Schütze, vol. I, p. 389; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 477 f. and in Erl. Ausg., vol. 55, p. 25.

Doctissimis et fidelissimis Christi Praeconibus, Dn. Jo. Lango, Doctori, et Dn. M. Petro [1]) et reliquis. Evangelii ministris Erfurdiae, amicis et fratribus in Christo charissimis. [To the highly learned and exceedingly faithful heralds of Christ, Mr. Joh. Lang, Doctor, and Mr. M. Peter and the rest of the ministers of the Gospel at Erfurt, his exceedingly the dear friends and brothers in Christ].

Grace and peace of God in Christ. Venerable, highly learned, dignified, special favorable gentlemen and friends! In response to your letter, which you confidentially sent to us in all good faith, and also in response to verbal reports, which he 2) Aegidius 3) further reported to us according to the content of your writing and instruction, we have, as much as God has granted us in His haste, consulted with you and considered these matters, and have considered these matters, and inform you that, after you have confidentially asked and requested our advice and concern, we do not consider it good or know how to advise you that you should leave the place in part or in whole. For what he tells Aegidius *de vocatione* [of the appointment], which may grieve you, nothing shall err you. For your vocation was done on oath with the knowledge of the magistrate, councillors, and guardians, who ratified it and promised to administer it, as it is to be proved where necessary, or, if it has now been denied by the repugnant out of hatred, it is certainly true before God that your consciences are free and safe. And even if the papist part of the council or *hostes Evangelii* [the enemies of the gospel] now deny or dispute your vocation, it is not the whole council or congregation, but only some who are opposed to the gospel. Nevertheless your profession exists, which is done openly, not in an assassin-like manner. Nevertheless you are true shepherds of Christ's sheep, who love your doctrine and preaching, know the voice of the true Shepherd of Christ in you, and follow the same. Let us suppose that an ungodly father had 30 or 40 children, all of whom were *elect*.

1) M. Petrus will probably be Peter Bamberger.
2) "He" put by us instead of: "the".
3) Aegidius Mechler.

If the father, who by *divine* right of the fourth commandment has power over them, 1) were in the magistrate's office, forbidding them the gospel, they would, contrary to the father's will, choose for them a preacher and shepherd; although the like is not at all true. Until now the ordinary magistrate has not forbidden you to preach, nor have they exercised any power over you, even though they, as the papists among them, persecute you in part, and would gladly do you harm by all kinds of subsidies and evil deceptions; even though they make your wages meager and meager enough, even though they completely despise the dear Lord Christ in you, and cause you to suffer hunger, misery, and hardship. Behold, dear lords and brethren, what a wicked world it is now, and that such contempt is shown even to the pious, faithful! And that such contempt is so common even to pious, faithful pastors and preachers, that it is like an ugly, horrible sight to behold and hear of the last times and of the last fury and wrath of Satan. But, sirs, it is true that in the apostles' time, and soon afterward, all the wicked vipers and enemies perished, but Christ and the gospel remained.

Therefore, dear lords and brethren, we have heartfelt sympathy for your concern and present affliction, and by what means we may be able to be of comfort or help to you, you and your church at Erfurt shall find us willing. If you have had patience so far through God's grace and strengthening, and have also suffered with the Gospel, have patience for another year or a little while. God the Lord will strengthen you with rich divine consolation against all that you suffer for the sake of the Gospel, and we with you and with many others. God will give the unthankful, as well as the persecutors, their certain, unmissed right reward. You know with what the apostles had to comfort themselves. *Deus est Deus non solum tristitiae, tentationis, afflictionis, sed etiam*

1) Added by us.

2) "Preaching" put by us instead of: "preachers".

3) "Anblick" put by us instead of: "Gubbick", according to Burkhardt, p. 215. Seidemann's conjectures in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 494, are unnecessary.

Deus consolationis, gloriae, pacis etc.. Haec est victoria, inquit Johannes, quae vicit mundum, h. e. haec omnia, tot et tanta mala satanica et pericula et scandala infinita, *fides nostra* [1 Jn. 5, 4.]. Christum, quem non videmus, diligimus et exspectamus; adversarii oderunt Christum et nos. [GOD is a GOD not of sorrow, of temptation, of affliction alone, but also a GOD of comfort, of glory, of peace 2c. "This is the victory," says John (1 John 5:4), "which overcame the world," that is, all this, so many satanic evils and dangers and innumerable aversions, "our faith." Christ we do not see, we love and expect; the adversaries hate Christ and us]. As far as the division of doctrine is concerned, we want to remind our gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, with faithful diligence at the appropriate time, that S. C. F. G. will not refrain from taking up the matter, so that it does not have a reputation or the evil appearance that you report. For S. C. F. G. beyond all doubt bear the unholy Barefoot monk's 4) doctrine and the papists' worship little favor. *Interim valet in Domino* [Meanwhile you were well in the Lord]. *Witenbergae, 3rd post Michaelis* [Tuesday after Michaelmas (Sept. 30)). MDXXXIII.

Mart. Luther.
Philip. Melanchthon.
Justus Jonas, D.

No. 2005.

Wittenberg. October 8, 1533.

To the City Council of Nuremberg.

Reply to his letter of September 27. Opinion on the use of public and private absolution, for the reconciliation of the two parties.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 206; in the Jena (1568), vol. VII, p. 369 b; in the Altenburg, vol. VII, p. 398; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 338; in Walch, vol. XXI, 421 (in all these editions of the year 1539); in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 480; in *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. II, 670; and in the Erl. Edition, vol. 55, p. 27 f.

God's grace through our Lord Christ Jesus. Honorable, honorable, favorable sirs! After the disagreement, so between us

4) Dr. Kling.

I, Dr. Martinus, am heartily sorry for what has happened to the preachers among you, and we ourselves are most inclined to use all our diligence, as much as we can, to calm this disagreement and to prevent trouble, I have not failed to admonish the preachers in general and especially the preachers (although I was not really aware of Mr. Osiandri's opinion at that time) to unity and peace. And because E. W. sent us both writings to look at, we have read and considered them diligently, and I, Dr. Martinus, have written again to Mr. Osiandrum, and informed him of my opinion of this matter. God grant that it may serve for peace and unity, as we hope. For we do not doubt that both parties mean it faithfully and with a good Christian heart, and seek nothing else in this matter but common amelioration.

And to E. W.'s question this is our answer and opinion: Although we consider private absolution to be very Christian and comforting, and that it should be preserved in the church, for the reason we have written to E. W. before and elsewhere, we nevertheless cannot and will not weigh down the consciences so severely, as if there should be no forgiveness of sins but by private absolution alone. For even the saints, from the beginning of the world to the time of Christ, have not had *private absolution,* but have had to take comfort in the common mission, and to build their faith upon it. And though David had private absolution from one case, yet from other sins, before and after, he had to keep to common absolution and preaching, as did Esaias and others. But now that the gospel is revealed, it proclaims the forgiveness of sins in general and in particular.

It is true that Osiander says: "Conscience does not dispute in general whether God is merciful, but in person whether God will be merciful to me. However, even though the sermon and *mission* are common sayings, each one should realize that they are *universal,* and should not exclude himself from them, but should accept them as his own and special word, because God has commanded all 1),

1) "all" put by us instead of: "alone".

To believe his promise. And even though few believe it, he still wants to keep it for all others who rely on it, as St. Paul says in Romans 3:3: *Numquid incredulitas eorum fidem Dei evacuavit*? What would you follow, if there were no forgiveness, without private absolution? How could one advise the stupid consciences, who cannot hear the private absolution as often as they are challenged with terror and fear, not only in venial sins, but also in grave high things? How can they comfort those who are hurried to death in the country or elsewhere, since they do not want to have priests in their hurry? As this may happen in many places where the gospel is persecuted, so that no priest will give absolution to a true Christian. So Christian life and being is such an eternal conflict, in which one seeks forgiveness for and against the horror of sins.

Secondly, we know nothing else to judge before God, but that the common preaching of the gospel also has the work of bringing about the forgiveness of sins in the heart in those who comfort and raise up their frightened consciences with faith; as St. Paul says, "The gospel is a power of God, by which all who believe in it are saved"; item, 2 Corinth. 3, he calls the gospel a ministry of the Holy Ghost, which bringeth life and righteousness; item [Rom. 10:17.], *Fides ex auditu est, auditus per verbum Dei;* all which is spoken chiefly of the *ministerio verbi,* both in common and in particular. And in sum, since the common gospel is God's word, which we are obliged to believe by God's command and commandment: where the same faith is, there must be forgiveness and blessedness. Thus the gospel itself is a common absolution, for it is a promise which all and every one in particular are to accept, by God's command and commandment. Therefore we cannot forbid and condemn common absolution as unchristian, since it serves to remind the hearers that each one should accept the gospel, that it is an absolution, and that it also belongs to him; as your form is set for such a reminder.

But that it is said that one cannot absolve the multitude, in which there are many who ought to be bound more cheaply; nor should one absolve one who does not desire it 2c.: on this it is to be known that there are two things: preaching and jurisdiction. Jurisdiction belongs to public sins; besides these, there are many more secret sins, which cannot be bound and punished in any other way, but generally by the ministry of preaching. So preaching binds all unbelievers, and at the same time gives forgiveness to all believers. Yes, even he who was bound by the jurisdiction, if he were to regain obedience and faith through the preaching, would be forgiven before God, although he must then reconcile himself to the church, as he has also offended it. That this absolution is also *conditional,* it is as otherwise a common sermon; and every absoluteness, both common and private, has the condition of faith; for without faith it does not absolve, and therefore is not a false key. For faith is not based on our worthiness, but is only so much that one accepts absolution and says yes to it.

This is, in brief, our simple opinion, which we do not ascribe to E. W. for the purpose of aggravating anyone or causing greater dissension, but because you desire to know our opinion. For we heartily desire and ask that God grant grace that your church may remain in peace and unity, and increase in the knowledge of Christ and all good fruits. For this reason we ask most kindly that Your Worshipfulness consider acting in this matter in a friendly manner, as we do not doubt that Your Worshipfulness is itself inclined to do so. And this is our concern, since it is agreed on both sides that the private absolution is Christian and to be preserved, that both parts unanimously encourage the people to such private absolution; and because it is difficult for Mr. Osiandro to practice and keep the common absolution, that he would not be urged to do so, but would nevertheless, for the sake of peace, leave the other part, which keeps the common absolution, unchallenged, and on the other hand he would also remain unchallenged by the other part; but that both parts would exhort the people to the private absolution at the same time.

This, we believe, should be a path that would not be burdensome to anyone's conscience and would be conducive to peace. So we also hope that both parties are inclined to peace, as in such matters they seek no other than improvement, and not division and annoyance. Thus Mr. Osiander has a Christian good concern of binding, which belongs to public sins alone; and what we have considered of such excommunication, and ascribed to E. W. before this time, we have not yet heard. W. before this time, which E. W. knows well to remember without doubt. God grant E. W. grace and peace, Amen. Given at Wittemberg, Wednesday after Francisci [Oct. 8] Anno 1539 [1533]. Martinas Luther.

Johann Bugenhagen. Justus Jonas.
Philippus Melanchthon. Caspar Cruciger.

No. 2006.

Wittenberg. October 8, 1533.

To Andreas Osiander.

Luther exhorts him to reconciliation.

From the collection of Caspar Sagittarius at Jena at Schütze, vol. II, p. 293; at *Strobel-Ranner, p.* 224 and at De Wette, vol. IV, p. 483 s. German at Walch, vol. XXI, 1467. as a letter, addressed to Wenc. Link addressed, in *Cod. Helmst*. 94 *Bibl*. *guelph*. Walch has the year 1539.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus, who is our true peace! I have read both your former letter, and afterwards your writing, which was delivered into your counsel, dearest brother in the Lord. I have also read the letters and writings of the other part, and Christ, my glory, is my witness, with how great pain this discord of yours torments me in this exceedingly miserable time of vexations and enmities, under which we, utterly overwhelmed, lie prostrate. But as far as I understand from all your letters and writings, they do not seem to do enough for you, nor you for them. What then? If neither of you thinks that you can be overcome by the other, will you therefore quarrel for ever and ever, and bite each other without end, to the great annoyance of many and godly people? Since ye do this for Christ's sake

You who, overcome by your conscience, cannot give way to them, 1) are worthy of forgiveness; again, those who say that they are overcome by their conscience are also worthy of forgiveness; therefore let this forgiveness be given one to another, and bear one another's burdens according to the law of Christ, and in this way put an end to the discord, that you on both sides henceforth keep silent in public about this question, until in time it is subdued in itself. In the meantime you may hold this opinion with yourself, and, as hitherto, in your church not find yourself weighed down by the use of public absolution; again, those may hold their opinion with themselves, and, as hitherto, use this absolution, until, after the minds are calmed and the former peace is established, a determination may be made on this matter without offence to the minds. You cannot order or do any good with so great an agitation of minds, and it may easily happen that you make a beam out of a mote, if you continue to engage in disputes. Perhaps you will all also make a great disturbance among yourselves, to the delight of Satan and his own, which afterwards will be very difficult to settle. For you seem to me, according to your special talent and learning, to be able to discuss many things very well, but there are people on both sides who are not enough for me either. We are men, and may easily be deceived by our flesh, if we do not hear one another, and depart from our senses. What end may follow, thou knowest well enough. Therefore I beseech thee, for Christ's sake, since it now seems to us that your quarrel can have no other end nor measure, that thou condescend to drop this question which has been raised, and that ye withdraw from the war against one another, as I have advised above, and that, in the meantime, leaving matters unchanged and publicly silent about them, ye press on to that which ye teach together. If you follow this counsel, which I believe to be Christ's counsel, He will give grace and the Lord's blessing.

1) Instead we have assumed *potes.*

of the desired peace. I am sure that you believe how high I place you in my mind, how worthy are the gifts of God that you have, otherwise I would not act so earnestly and diligently in this matter. Therefore, again, my dear brother in our common Lord, do not despise my faithful heart toward you, and strive with me that this spark among you be quenched, lest it grow into a conflagration by which we might be seized at the same time. Our Lord, our consolation, Christ Jesus, rule and guide your hearts in his love and patience, amen. The 8th of October, Anno 1533.

Your Martin Luther.

No 2007.

(Wittenberg,) 8 October 1533.

To Wenceslaus Link.

Luther exhorts him to patience and forbearance against Osiander.

Handwritten in *Cod. chart. 402. f. Goth.*; in Cod. *Closs.*; in Aurifaber, vol. III, fol. 175; and in *Cod*. *Helmst*. 94 *Bibl*. *Guelph*. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 296; in Schelhorn's Ergötzlichkeiten, vol. I, p. 79; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 226, and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 485.

Mr. Wenceslaus Link, Doctor of Sacred Theology.

Grace and peace in Christ! We will answer your council in your matter concerning public absolution, my dear Wenceslaus. I have also written to Osiander himself. Now I beg you, for Christ's sake, that you, together with your comrades, will not close the eyes of your mercy, and regard this man, who is caught up in his opinions, as it were as a sick person, and be careful not to publicly disgrace and condemn him, lest this little spark become a conflagration, but rather, as much as possible, by your modesty and prudence, and at the same time by your patience, still be delivered and healed. Diligence must be taken to see in what way the soul of this brother may be won through you. I would not have believed (you will neither shout this out nor make it public) that you could have won this brother's soul.

I have said that if this man were more irritable, greater annoyances would be poured out, by which, although he would not win, he would still cause trouble and stir up trouble. But, as I have said, if he were more provoked, greater vexations would be poured out, by which, though he would not prevail, yet he would cause disturbances and excite quarrels, which had better be prevented. If, therefore, our counsel pleases you, we hope that in time this matter will quiet itself, and that in the meantime he will draw nearer to us. We shall lose nothing by this patience and modesty, and he, if he does not come to terms, will afterwards do more harm by his obstinacy. This is our opinion. May the Lord Jesus put an end to this and all troubles, amen. In him be well, my dear brother. Salute the Lord Thomas Venatorius, and may he not be unwilling that his propositions (*propositiones* == theses) be deferred. There is cause why this must be postponed until these mists pass. On the eighth of October, 1533, your Martin Luther.

Dr. Pommer gives the advice, and I ask that you do not communicate this letter to your fellow clergymen or anyone else, except Spengler.

No. 2008.

(Wittenberg,) 15 October 1533.

To Johann and Joachim, Princes of Anhalt.

Luther exhorts the princes to hold fast to the Gospel, and gives them rules of conduct for the coming presence of some Catholic princes.

From a copy in the 1587 handwritten chronicle of Anhalt by Bartholomäus Schwanberg in the state archives at Zerbst printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 194.

Guade, comfort and peace in Christo. Sublime princes and gracious lords! We hear here how until Sunday sJ9. October^ the Cardinal, Margrave House, 1) George 2c. are to arrive at Dessau for the day. New

1) "The Cardinal" is Albrecht, Archbishop of Mainz; by "Marggraff Hanns" is probably to be understood his brother, the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg (see Köstlin, M. Luther [3.^, vol. II, p. 295); "Georg" is Duke Georg of Saxony.

we think they will not let it go, and we will press upon E. F. G. with words for the sake of the gospel, and we also care for E. F. G.'s temptations, for which reason we also heartily and faithfully call upon our Lord and Savior, and pray that he will strengthen and sustain E. F. G. in his word and in the work he has begun, amen. About this we know no further to contend with such minds, for they will neither see nor hear. But E. F. G. can, in my small opinion, protect themselves a little with the name of the Concilii, because one appeals to it in all the world; on the other hand, they can speak out on my behalf and say: We do not hear Luther. Thus E. F. G. Pfarrherr 2) is such a sedentary man, whom they cannot condemn. But because no one can guess how the speeches will take place, it is best to let it go, as Christ says [Luc. 21:14. f.]: When you are to stand before princes and lords, "do not worry how you are to speak. I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not withstand." Although such hardened hearts are not worthy to be much talked with, as Solomon saith, Where there is no hearing, pour not out the word; and Christ [Matt. 7:6], "Ye shall not give the sanctuary to the dogs." Therefore short answer, and fallen on other [3]); that is answer for them. E. F. G. graciously grant me my letter. Christ grant E. F. G. his spirit of wisdom and all comfort, Amen. Midweek, St. Gall's evening [15 Oct] 1533.

No. 2009.

Wittenberg. 15 October 1533.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Luther informs him that he has written to the princes of Anhalt about the enemies coming to Dessau, the Catholic princes mentioned in the previous letter. Their deliberations would probably concern the city of Erfurt. Luther exhorts him to confidently despise them and to stand firm against them.

The original is in Dessau. Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 177 and in *Cod. Helmst*. 94 *Bibl. Guelph*
From Börner's collection in Schütze, vol. II, p. 283; in *Strobel-Ranner, p.* 228 and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 487. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1409.

2) Househusband.

3) "other" put by us instead of "other". The latter could remain if you add "speech".

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. M. Nicolaus Hausmann, the exceedingly faithful servant of the Word in Dessau, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have written to your princes, my dear man and most dear brother in the Lord. I hear that those Cyclopes are coming to your town who are hostile to our Gospel and to us. It is easy to sense what they will discuss and do, for perhaps Erfurt will stir up these movements. May the Lord destroy the attempts of the wicked, and may the will of our Father be done, on earth as it is in heaven, amen. By the way, I hope the greater tyrants will not dignify you with either a greeting or a salutation. But to the other two, one of whom is called Julius [No One] and the other Nemo [No One], you will easily answer with a certain greeting, if they think you worthy of sight and address. Be thou a strong man, and if occasion should arise, answer them with brief and earnest words, namely, with a mind established in Christ, bravely despising these Goliaths, for it is written that even these, if they do not desist, will be a footstool for the feet of the Lord. Christ laughs at their rage; we suffer it, but some day we too will laugh. Thou therefore receive them as bubbles of water, with a firm mind and eyes, if they should speak; and think that thou speakest with such as our Lord Jesus greatly despiseth, and whom he shall bring before us in that day to be judged of them. Then shall they cast away their boasts and great (*sesquipedalia* == a foot and a half long) words, of which they now abound this moment, and are puffed up against us, who shall be their lords and judges for ever. May the LORD strengthen you and glorify his name through you, as he began, to the end, Amen. We pray for you against those, and we will pray; doubt not. Christ will keep his word; we are not troubled, he cares for us. My lord Käthe and all our people greet you respectfully. There is no news, except that it is said that the Un
the rulers of Erfurt do not measure up. But such is the rule of the Centaurs, who are more concerned about their own inclinations than about the advantage of their princes. Let us pray, let us pray. Farewell in Christ. On the day before St. Galli [Oct. 15] 1533.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2010.

(Augsburg.) 16 October 1533.

The Council of Augsburg to Luther.

The council sends the answer of the local preachers to Luther's letter of August 8.

From a copy in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, fol.* 97, No. 41, printed by Burkhardt, p. 216.

To the worthy and highly learned Mr. Martin Luther, Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, we, the councillors of the city of Augsburg, offer our friendly and willing services beforehand. Your letter concerning our preachers, the date of which is August 8, and which is due to arrive on the next day of September, we have heard all the contents and have had your letter sent to our preachers, who have replied to it, as you have to understand from 1) the writing preserved in it, 2) that we do not want to save you, because we are ready and willing to prove our friendly will to you. Date the 16th day of Octobris Anno 1533. 3)

No. 2011.

(Nuremberg.) 20 October 1533.

The Nuremberg Council to Luther and the other theologians.

Thanks for the expert opinion of 8 October together with a devotion of one hundred Joachimsthalers.

From the letterbook of the council in the Nuremberg district archive, printed by Kolde, p. 195.

Mr. Martin Luther and Mr. Justo Jonä, provost, both doctors, Johanni Bugenhagen, called Pommer (Bomer), Philippo Melanchthoni and Caspar Creuciger, theologians at Wittenberg, all and especially.

Worthy and highly learned 2c.! Our city messenger, whom we have seen in the hovering dichotomies that are

1) "from" [von, aus] put by us instead of "whether".
2) "habet" put by us instead of: "have".
3) Luther's reply came on 29 October.

We have recently had a meeting with your Council at Wittenberg concerning the common Absolutio, and your Council has sent us letters, advice and instruction on such matters, which we read with joy as Christian and in accordance with God's Word, and from which we have heard your Christian, honourable and peaceful attitude towards us, our churches and the common people of our city. We are grateful for your dignities in general and especially in diligence, and we also want to faithfully ask the Almighty to graciously preserve your W., as those whom he has ordained as teachers and leaders in his divine word before others, in good health for all of us. And because E. W. not only in these, but also in other emergencies hitherto remote from our churches 1) have shown themselves quite willingly with their writings and advice and as faithful Christian intercessors: so that E. W. on the other hand may in fact feel our due gratitude and appreciation, we have given our council friend Siegmunden Fuerer the order to honor E. W. with one hundred Joachimsthalers on our account. We kindly ask you to accept your W. from us, and also to provide us and our churches with Christian teaching and instruction, and also to be more diligent in your intercession against God in faithful command, as we know all of you to be especially inclined to do without. That 3) we want to earn for your sake quite willingly, also in this dichotomy according to E. W.'s mind, if God wills, so modestly and in such a way that your dignities and only men from it shall feel our inclination to Christian harmony and welfare of our churches without doubt with the work. Date Monday 20 Octobris Anno 1533.

No. 202.

(Wittenberg,) October 22, 1533.

To Johann Agricola.

About Wicel, whom count Hoher of Mansfeld had employed as preacher at the church of St. Andreä.

Handwritten in *Cod. chart.* 461. f. and *Cod.* 402. f. *Bibl Goth.*; at Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 179. From the Schmid collection at Helmstädt printed at Schütze, vol. II, p. 297; from the Litter. Wochenblatt, II, 300, at *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 223 and at De Wette, vol. IV, p. 488.

1) So set by us; in Kolde: "auch anndern vnnser kirchen bisshere obgelegen, notturfften" 2c.

2) Here we have erased "to".

3) Kolde: "des".

To Mr. Johann Agricola, Christ's servant.

Grace and peace in Christ! So, my dear Agricola, you will at last have a beautiful adversary. This man Wicel, who, as his appearance, much less his words and writings, indicate, is entirely composed of lies and empty pretence, and truly lost and despairing of himself, as he has always been with us also, though concealed and pretending all. Ye (of this I am persuaded) will so act the cause of the gospel, as to think that this viper is not yet born (not merely dead). For that which he holds and teaches is all too nothing, quite unworthy that anyone experienced in our doctrine should be troubled for his sake. He will fall by himself, if only what is ours is taught clearly and abundantly. For his is such that it can neither be taught nor easily understood, since it is understood neither by himself nor by his kind. The LORD be with thee and thy vine and thy grapes. Greetings to you and yours, my Lord Käthe. Respectfully greet Doctor Caspar [Güttel] and all of us. 1533, Wednesday after the eleven thousand virgins [22 October].

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2013.

Wittenberg. 24 October 1533.

To Mrs Dorothea Jörger.

Ueber das von der Frau Jörger ausgesetzte Stipendium für arme Studenten der Theologie.

In Raupach, Evang. Oesterreich, I. Forts., p. 65; in Moseder, Glaubensbekenntniß,p. 81 in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 489 and in the Erlanger Ausgabe, Vol. 55, p. 32.

Grace and peace in Christ. Noble, virtuous woman! I would like you to know that the five hundred florins have come from you in good coarse coin through Wolfgang Seldener to Leipzig, and from there through George Kirmeyer to Wittenberg, and will distribute them according to your request and desire, and will not forget Er Andre 4); and I have already ordered a hundred of them to be distributed with the advice of good lords and friends. Now these same good gentlemen have

4) Andreas Hügel.

reu and friends suggested that the other four hundred should have been invested in interest and that two scholarships should have been endowed with it, so that two students could have been helped every three years; but I answered them that it was your will, as the letter says, to divide it out of your hand. They have asked me to write to you again whether it is your decided will to distribute such money out of hand among such poor fellows who are studying the Holy Scriptures, or whether one should endow two eternal students with it, which they consider best. According to their request I have written to you before and ask you to write to me again what your will is best, and I will faithfully do so. In the meantime the four hundred florins shall lie idle until I receive your answer, that I may not despise the good lords' request. Hereby God keep you with all yours, and let such your faithful work please him to his praise and honor, amen. He Michels has received a small challenge, but it shall not harm him, but rather, praise God, be of use to him. On 24 Octobris 1533.

Dr. Martinus Luther.

Receipt.

I, Martin Luther, preacher at Wittenberg, confess with this manuscript of mine that 500 fl. of good coarse coin have been handed over to me here at Wittenberg in my parlor, on account of the noble and virtuous woman Dorotheen Jörgerin, widow 2c, to be divided among poor fellows who are studying the Holy Scriptures, as she has asked me in writing. Such money has been given to me by Georg Fonwibler, citizen of Leipzig, Andreas Kirmeyer's servant from Nuremberg. Done the 24th of October 1533, attested with my usual petition, printed here below.

No. 2014.

Wittenberg. 26 October 1533.

Jonas to Spalatin.

On the Visitation in Meissen and in the Voigtland. Busy with a Nuremberg matter, Luther and Melanchthon instructed him to write how the

1) Michael Stiefel; the challenge is his prophecy of the last day.

The visitators are to behave against Hans von Minkwitz; nothing is to be done until Luther's counsel has been obtained. About the occupation of a diaconate; about a strange celestial phenomenon and Luther's judgment about it. Of the imprisonment of Stiefel. About Wicel and Cochlaeus.

From a copy in *Cod. Chart. Gothan*. 452, fol. 73 f., printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 196i

To the highly learned and very honest man, Mr. G. Spalatin, preacher at Altenburg, his extremely dear friend.

To Mr. Spalatino at his own hand.

Grace and peace! We have answered your letter and those of the other two, who are responsible for the visitation in Voigtland and Meissen, which Mr. Erasmus Spiegel 2) brought with him, through the next messenger, who wanted to visit you in Altenburg, and I believe that you received our letters. Spiegel, before his other business on the evening on which he delivered your writings, could not negotiate this matter with me more extensively, and early, as he was leaving, we had to meet at Dr. Martin's in a heavy trade of the Nurembergers, which concerned the Osiander. I hope that in both matters our opinion will be sufficient and pleasing to you. We serve you gladly, but as in the school, where many and many things come together, so we are also otherwise held back by not a few affairs. To the mirror you will offer my help and service in all things. As for Mr. Johann Minkwitz [xxxxxxxxx] to

Concerning the trade that you suggest to us with those hidden and mysterious words, Dr. Martin and Philip have instructed me to write to you that you should play the ignorant and not touch this trade, but Luther will act differently at this time. The man Minkwitz is great in many respects, and peculiarly useful to our commonwealth, yea, to the public affairs of all Germany. Not all faults can be ameliorated at once, nor do we hold that this man is to be reckoned among the great heaps. But this we say in your ear for the sake of many causes: I advise that before you do anything, you first seek Luther's counsel in very secret letters, and that the letters be sent over to me to deliver them into his hand. You write that you now know of a diaconate to which someone with a salary of 60 florins could be appointed. The Lord Philip and I, we will send a good and learned man; meanwhile, I beseech you, change nothing, expect

2) The same was one of the visitators.

first our letters. On Friday last [24 Oct.] from the tenth hour of the night to the twelfth hour (as Luther himself saw, while many others stood by) there flew in all four parts and regions of heaven, as he himself says, over the whole sky many lousy of fiery torches, not of the colour of the stars, but of a flame-like and fiery colour; he says he saw nothing like it in his life, and thinks they were not natural impressions, but I know not what games of the devil in the air, which nevertheless signified something great. Michael Stiefel is held by us (as it is called) knitted 1) to the prince's hand, but not as a prisoner in jail. He will be deposed from the parish or otherwise punished. Around the garden of old Kreppin, Philip's mother-in-law, not far from this city, a tremendous noise has been heard at night, as of armed horsemen and combatants, and this Philip himself has told me, who heard it from his mother-in-law, who heard it from her gardener, who swears that this is not fictitious. Luther, as he is a despiser of the devil and has previously experienced [his] temptations, says that these are all games and deceptions of the devil, who is unwilling to accept the gospel and wants to make us fearful through false terror, because he is unable to do so with true weapons, since God protects us. But one must ask for peace and for authority, and not act presumptuously in the matters of God. Luther now writes a very useful and exceedingly strong ram, 2) by which the papacy will be crushed like an iron wall, if there is still one: "Of the papal consecration, and angle or private mass." 3) Then, says he, thou shalt have counsel what thou shalt do with the Abbot at Grünhain. Wicel is laughed at in Eisleben by the sane and godly people, despised by the common people, detested by Count Hoyer himself, and always goes along sadly, perhaps having long since had a conscience about having betrayed the Gospel, and, as much as there is in him, having killed and condemned it. I will write against him when the matter requires it, and will treat that mouth as it deserves, which is born to bring out the dung which Satan has put into him as his resignation and cloaca.

1) Instead of ,,*conspectus* (?)" is to be read *constrictus.* See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2242 s. v. "bestricken".
2) The "ram", a siege tool used to ring the walls.
3) St. Louis ed. vol. XIX, 1220.

hineinthut (*cacat*). Such a cloaca is also Cochlaeus. Farewell in Christ, my dear Spalatin, and write me back whether the visitators have received the letter about the matter of Calixtus and others. My twins, Martin Jonas 4) and Käthe Jonassin (*Joniscula*), greet you and give you to understand by their laughter that you may pray to God for them. Again, fare thee well. In haste. At Wittenberg, on the Sunday after the 11,000 virgins [Oct. 26], though they have never been. Anno 33.

Justus Jonas, D.

If it should happen that you should enter into conversation with Doctor Benedict [Pauli], I beg you to treat this man in the kindest manner, 5) who is undoubtedly great in the sight of God, since he afflicts him with such severe affliction. 6)

No. 2015.

Wittenberg. 29 October 1533.

To the City Council of Augsburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2046.

No. 2016.

(Wittenberg,) I. November 1533.

To Lazarus Spengler in Nuremberg.

Luther recommends a physician named Curio to him.

From Hausdorf, "Lebensbeschreibung Spengler," 1741. 8th, p. 172, in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 491, and in Erlanger Ausg. vol. 55, p. 34.

To the honorable, prudent Mr. Lasaro Spengler, the City of Nuremberg Syndico, my favorable lord and brother.

G. et pacem in Christo. Honourable, prudent, dear lord and friend! I am requested by good people to write to you that you may be commanded Dr. *Curio Medicum*, who heard from you comforting writing, that he may be accommodated at Nuremberg, although he (as a sedate, chaste man) does not desire me to write such. Nevertheless, I command the good, pious man to E. E., who will know how to behave towards him in a Christian and friendly manner. With what I could serve E. F. again, I am willing. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen.

4) Kolde has a comma after *Martinus.*
5) We have deleted the comma which Kolde placed after *humanissime*, and inserted it after *virum.*
6) Instead of *exercetur* we have assumed *exercet.*

A hundred thalers have been made to us by your gentlemen for the veneration of Marx Büchner, we want to thank you all in writing. Hurriedly. 1533. *Sabbatho post Simon. et Judae* [Nov. 1]. Mart. Luther.

No. 2017.

Wittenberg. 17 November 1533.

Joh. P. Weller to Joh. Brismann.

Detailed report by Weiler, as an eyewitness, about the proclamation of the Last Day by Stiefel in Lochau.

The original is in the von Wallenrodt Library at Königsberg. Printed in the *Actis Boruss*. II, 689 (not correct) and (after the original) in Burkhardt, p. 216 (several times interpungent disturbing the sense).

Hail! I recently gave someone a letter that was to be delivered to your noble prince, but I hear that it was lost through the carelessness, or, to put it more correctly, through the rebelliousness (*renitentia) of* the messenger, in which I wrote, among other things, if I remember rightly, some things about Stiefel's prophecy, which I will repeat in a few words so that you may have the story in its entirety. You know how in the beginning he began the story in a modest way, so that he did not seem to put forward anything improbable or contrary to Scripture. For he said what at that time, and even now, every one says, that the end of the world was at hand. But when he perceived that this was well received by the people, as is wont to happen with all new things, he set forth a prophecy, and invented I know not what kind of revelation, and, not satisfied with this either, began to demand of our Lord Doctor that he should approve his conceits, and confirm his prophetic books by prefaces. When the Herr Doctor refused this, Stiefel began to attack him by letters, and asserted in a more than bitter manner that the spirit was extinguished in him, calling him a Pilate and Herod. Luther bore this, as he was wont to do, in the most modest manner, and exhorted him in letters, which were kept as friendly as possible, that he might desist from his presumption. For he went so far in his folly as to predetermine not only the year and the day, but also the hour. When this was reported to the prince, he began to be displeased, as was right, when he saw that new doctrines were being spread near his door.

And, moreover, that these meetings were suspicious of sedition. For there ran together an immense multitude, and a mixed one at that. Therefore he would have thrown the boot into prison if Luther had not intervened. Finally he was refused that he should not mention this matter any more in holy sermons. Stiefel certainly promised sacredly, but soon after the departure of the prince he returned to his old ways, because the predestined time was near. But it was the day after Lucä [I19 October], at the eighth hour in the forenoon. Therefore, three days before, he began to exhort the people to repentance and to partake of the body and blood of Christ. On the third day he rested, perhaps because by fate it was a Sabbath 1); but he was busy hearing confessions, for an immense crowd had gathered there, even from regions forty miles and more distant. In short, to refresh my spirit, I also went there with some members of the school (*scholasticis*), so that the spectacle would not be without spectators. At the same time I was admonished by the doctor that I should observe everything carefully. But we came towards evening, so that we would not disturb the story if Stiefel found out that Wittenbergers were there. By chance I found some in the inn who had travelled from Silesia; I saw that they were sad and thoughtful, fasting and sober. It soon becomes clear what kind of people they are. I approach, greet them, and as I have nothing else to say, I complain about the rain, rebuke the carter's obtuseness, as he does not know the way. Then I inquire who they are, where they come from, and what news they bring. Immediately he who was the oldest of them began to speak, saying that he had come from Silesia, prompted by the rumor of the last day, of which they had heard that he was at the door; But now he knew that he was there, instructed by Stiefel, whom he placed among the prophets, and afterward exalted him with praises unto heaven, and said that he was not a little surprised that among our people there was so little regard for so great a man, whereas among his people he was honored as what he really was, that is, as a prophet, and he declared this to be true.

1) Saturday, October 18.

2) After *nostros* Burkhardt has an ill placed comma.

of experience, let himself not be guided by suppositions. Then he asked me to come together with the man, he knew that he could satisfy me and anyone else by his proofs; there was such a great spirit in him that he could do it, such a great kindness that he wanted it. While we were talking like this, I don't know what other people came in between, a not to be despised crowd, there were about twenty; these were followed by others and again by others. And so you could see all the places full of guests. And to put an end to the story: one goes to bed, and in the place that each one had taken, one could rest, if otherwise in such a large crowd and such a great commotion any rest can be fine. I awoke my companions very early, as it was still quite dark. Among them all, the shepherd of the cattle, as he had been ordered by Boots, was the first to give a sign; I, thinking that it was the last trumpet, admonished those who happened to be around me not to lose heart. But the prophet had foretold that it would happen that first of all the animals would die; so that the cattle and the sheep would not frighten his own people, the shepherd, obeying the word, drove them away. Now we stream into the church. We see that everything was arranged in a solemn manner, at least as much as could be done in this scantiness. The beginning of the mass was: "Out of deep distress"; the epistle of Paul follows; after this: "Now we ask the Holy Spirit", and after that the Gospel is read by the priest. Finally the whole crowd sings with one another the Apostles' Creed, "We believe. "2c. And meanwhile Stiefel mounts the pulpit. After a short preface he finishes the Gospel with very few words. Then he begins his prophecy with these words: "Everyone among you knows well enough that there is a rumor, not a dark one, that the last day is coming, and they say that I am the author of this rumor. But there will be no one who can say in my presence that he has heard this [from me] in holy sermons. 2) "Let no one believe that this was said of me because I do not know that day which is highly desired of me, since I myself am not only the author of the day, but also the author of the day.

1) After In so Burkhardt has a comma; it should come before it.

2) In what now follows, Burkhardt has punctuation that disturbs meaning.

But because I have been forbidden by certain people not to mention this matter in sermons, I have been forced to obey them, which I certainly command by divine grace. However, I do not deny that I have made many who demanded just this of me certain about that day and even about the hour; I have also indicated this to many by letter. But because this very day has dawned, and the hour has come with its presence, I would be wicked and ungodly if I did not tell you my revelation, which has been granted to me by God, and I will, especially in this matter, obey God rather than men. I therefore announce to you that today is the day of our redemption, and that you may also know the hour: it is the eighth hour, which is now coming (but it was between the seventh and the eighth). It is also not hidden from me that some look upon my person who despise this revelation, and base themselves on the fact that it is contrary to the holy Scriptures, especially in this saying [Matth. 24, 36]: "But of the day and the hour no one knows." O dear God! How far do such people err from the right knowledge of the Scriptures; this serves clarification for me. For it is written in another place that one should not add to the Scriptures, but also not take away from them. But how much those take from the Scriptures who take the divinity from Christ, judge for yourselves. But by saying that no one knows the day or the hour, not even the Son of Man, they certainly take the divinity from Christ. Therefore they do not understand this word: "The day and the hour no man knoweth." The evangelist speaks there in the present time, for we read, "no man knoweth," and not, "no man shall know." Therefore it will happen that everyone will know. Otherwise it would necessarily follow that Christ himself would not know the day and the hour. But that Christ knew this I can easily prove, first, because after his resurrection he said, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth." But if all power is given to him, it is necessary that he should know all things; otherwise how can he exercise his omnipotence in things which he has not known? Hence you see what manner of power those people ascribe to Christ. Secondly, there is no one now who is a Christian, or wants to be thought of as a Christian, who does not admit that Christ sits at the right hand of the Father. But to sit at the right hand of the Father is nothing else than that he is true God, like the Father. But who is he that denieth

that [nothing is] 1) hidden from Him except he who denies the power of Allah. What is it, then, that these people doubt that it will come to pass that the day and the hour can be predestined? Besides, I have many other things which I would gladly communicate to you, but I fear that the time is not sufficient for me. For the hour is near, and besides, there are not a few who desire to be made partakers of the body and blood of Christ. But to return to the matter at hand, I have said that there will be people who know the day and the hour. First, I give thanks to Almighty God for His immeasurable and infinite grace and goodness toward all, but especially for this revelation which has been given to me and granted to me, from which I can truly assume that God does not look at the person. Then you know that from the beginning it has always been the case that when God wanted to bring about something extraordinary, He always sent prophets ahead of time to predict that this would happen, as can be seen from the example of Noah, who predicted the flood. Then he cited several other examples from the Old Testament, until Christ, who had John as his forerunner. But that the last day is present is indicated by the clarity of the Gospel. It remains for us to determine the day and the hour, which of course, as you know, no one before me has ever known, but by a certain special grace, as I said before, this alone has been granted to me by God. But in order that you may know that I am not led by a false delusion, or that I am lacking through error, I will explain my revelation to you. There are two things in the Holy Scriptures: the Word and the mathematical number. There is no need for me to say more about the word here, especially since you know what it is well enough and have often heard it from me as long as I have been a pastor. And the number is the measure of times, as is evident from Daniel, Ezekiel, and Revelation. But now, as it is certain that the word is certain, so also the number must be consistent with it. Moved by this reason, I first subjected all that belongs to the Old Testament to the reckoning, and immediately found that everything agrees with the numbers. I have done likewise in the things that belong to the New Testament; at last I have also arrived at the Last Day, and even at the Hour of the Lord.

1) Here is a hole in the paper; we have filled the gap by: *nihil et*. Burkhardt conjicirt: *deo quicquarn* with the remark: "kutri is probably still preferable according to the sense."

myself, and have found that it is the eighth. There remains only one doubt, whether this is the hour in the morning or in the afternoon. But although the bill wants the afternoon hour, I still believe that it is the morning hour. And this is a consideration which first occurred to me yesterday, when a certain godly and pious man, whom I will not name, conversed with me about this matter. For as Sunday is the best day in the whole week, and Christ hath chosen the same, 2) so without doubt he will choose the best of the hours. But the morning hours are preferred to those of the afternoon. Therefore it is certain that he will come now. But that I may also comfort you: You, as Christians, must shake off the delusion that you think that Christ will be a fear or a terror to you by his coming, but rather believe that he will come [for you] as a brother and a friend, only for the ungodly as an enemy. But the saying of Peter seems to dispute with this, which says [2 Pet. 3:10.] that at the coming of Christ there will be a very great crashing of heaven, earth, and all the elements; but in truth he does not dispute against it. For the same says [v. 13.], that he will make a new heaven and a new earth. This I understand thus: because GOD is omnipotent, he can also in a moment create a new heaven and a new earth. He will place this celestial *sphere* next to this old globe (*spheram*) and then in an instant he will transfer us, who are godly, to it. 3) After we are taken away, only then will the wicked hear that crashing of the old heavens of which Peter speaks. Therefore there is nothing for you to fear. As he spoke these things, he lifted up his hands toward heaven, and at the same time exclaimed tearfully: He will come, he will come, he will come! And immediately, without a word of farewell, he descended from the pulpit. Only then arose a shouting and screaming of the weeping and crying women. To them Stiesel turned as he approached the altar, and addressed them with these words, "Be not afraid; he cometh as your brother, and not as your enemy." He then approached the altar. After the sacred act had been performed there, each one went home. Now the ninth hour was near. After the ninth hour had been heard, those who had been commanded by the prince joined the prophet and placed him in a

2) namely, for the last day; Oct. 19 was a Sunday.

3) Instead of *transferrret*, read *transferet.*

Carriages and led him away to Wittenberg. There he was *suspended* from his office and made a vow that he would await the prince's judgment, since he recognized and confessed his error. There you have the story in full, and in more words than I intended. Hold my unrhymed things to my credit.

There is a rumour here of the death of the King of Denmark; that there is an interregnum in Denmark, and that the King's son has been forced to resign from the government. But something certain we know not. I beseech thee, however, that thou give me sure news of this. Besides, it is said that Margrave William has led troops out to Liefland, and that all is hostile. You will learn more from the Chancellor; be well. Wittenberg, November 17, 1533.

Here you have the sphere (*spheram*) you desire. J. P. Weller.

No. 2018.

(Wittenberg,) December 6, 1533.

To Leonhard Beier in Zwickau.

Luther rejects the baptism of unborn children.

Handwritten in *Cod. chart. 402. p.* and in *Cod. Goth.* 185. 4. printed by *Buddeus*, p. 240 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 492. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1254.

[Leonhard Beier, pastor of Zwickau, salvation and peace.

About your matter, my dear Leonhard, I will not make a legal judgment, but will consult the doctors. In the meantime, you will teach, as we have done, that women should henceforth abstain from such baptism, because he cannot be born again who has not yet been born. Such births must be commanded to God through prayer. Otherwise it would follow that, in order to avoid danger, one should baptize all children in the womb by pouring water over the womb of the pregnant woman, as often as your danger is feared; or as a certain woman did in the time of the plague: when the time of childbirth was approaching, she drank the baptismal water in the opinion that she wanted to avoid the danger. But about your case, since the boy is already grown up, I postpone my judgment until we give you a unanimous answer. Therefore, if the parents have

If they fear the danger of death, you will advise them to be of good cheer. The soul is blessed, and he desires the right baptism (whatever that former baptism may have been), even if he has not received it from us, because he lacks it through no fault of his own; nay, he has even surely received it through his faith. Only we must be careful, on account of the aversion, whether in this case baptism may be administered. Although I alone could determine this, I do not want to do it alone, for the sake of public reputation. For we have long since rejected the conditional baptism which prevailed in this case under the papacy, and not only in this case, but also in the case of foundlings. Fare well in the Lord. On the day of St. Nicolai [December 6] 1533.

Mart. Luther.

No. 2019.

(Wittenberg,) December 12, 1533.

To Eberhard Brisger in Altenburg.

Congratulations on the birth of a son. About a man who had claimed that Luther and his were uncertain of their doctrine. 1)
Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. 185.4 From the Börner collection in Leipzig in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 298 and in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 493.

Grace and peace in Christ! I wish you happiness, my dear Eberhard, on the birth of a son, and have asked the Lord and still ask him that he may also keep his mother healthy. That you write of him who is with us (*de illo nostro*), that you are greatly disturbed by his letter, in which he has asserted that our doctrine is uncertain to us: I wonder that you keep the letter of this man, of whom you know that he is quite taken up with his preconceived opinions (*affectibus),* and by the same 2) let yourself be moved. For he has a mouth which makes many words, but which he himself does not understand. But I believe that

1) De Wette's statement of the content is mistaken, since he says that that person doubted the certainty of the Protestant doctrine.

2) Here we have inserted *iisque*, referring to *literis*. De Wette already tried to help this sentence in another way.

He does not know what the certainty of the heart is; indeed, he does not know what it means to judge the certainty of another. It is a sacrilege to judge the hearts of others as one's own. Likewise there are many among the rabble and children who are more certain of hearts than not he alone, but perhaps than all of us. 1) "Our Lord God hath not told him what he worketh in the hearts of his faithful: but" a fool "must" speak foolish things "lest it be thought that he were wise." We send you M. Wolfgang, who has been both ordained and made Magister or creirt (*creatum*) by us. Christ bless you all. Greetings to Mr. Spalatin. 1533, on the day before Luciä [Dec. 12] Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2020.

(Wittenberg,) December 12, 1533.

To Johann Schlaginhaufen at Köthen.

Thanks for a gift, and encouragement for melancholy.

From the Raupach collection in Hamburg in Schütze, vol. I, p. 392; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 494 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 34.

Venerab. in Christo Viro, Dr. Jo. Schlaginhaufen, Pastori Coethensi, fideli Verbi ministro, suo fratri.

Grace and peace in Christ. My dear priest! I thank you for your gift of mespas, and even though this land bears such figs, I prefer to eat them than any other figs, even if they are only a little younger, but they must be ripe. But I do not like to hear that you are still sad at times, since Christ is as close to you as you are to yourselves, and does not want to eat you because he shed his blood for you. Rather, do honor to the pious, faithful man, and believe that he is dearer to you and more favorable than Dr. Luther and all Christians. What you promise yourselves to us, promise yourselves much more to him. For what we do, that do we of his commandment: but he that doeth it, he that doeth it, he that doeth it.

1) Instead of *certi* we have assumed: *certiores*, and ipsae instead of ipsi. Before *cordibus* we have inserted *de.* Here, too, De Wette has tried to improve the corrupted text.

He that will do it of his own goodness and of his own good will. Herewith hastening, and commanded by God together with yours, Amen. 1533, *Vigilia Luciae* [Dec. 12] Martinus Luther.

No 2021.

(Wittenberg,) December 17, 1533.

To Nikolaus Hausmann in Dessau.

Luther expresses his joy at the peace that has been established and comments on his writing of the Winkelmesse and Pfaffenweihe.

The original is in Dessau. Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. 185. 4. and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 176. Printed from the Hanische Sammlung in Kiel in Schütze, vol. II, p. 299; in *Stroebel-Ranner* p. 229 and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 494. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1411.

To the highly venerable man in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, Magister, in Dessau, the exceedingly faithful servant of Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I believe that you have heard everything, my dear householder, that God has wonderfully done for all of us, namely, peace among the princes, 2) peace against the people of Erfurt, 3) peace with the Emperor, which has already taken place, and all of this with favor and praise of the good name for our prince; thanks be to God, amen. I hope that now a snow mountain (*niveum montem*) 4) will shine in your heart and shine after so many clouds and mists.

Besides, I have now attacked the papists, who rage and cry indomitable, with a little book of a new kind, "Of the Angular Mass," 5) because they want it so. You will, if your little kings (*reguli* = the princes of Anhalt) should wonder, tell them: Luther puts the wisdom and the power of the papists to the test; if they could give an account full of their doctrine, they should have won; if they could not, what they wanted to do, if in the battle of death they had to feel these and besides these also the devil's arguments? For one must by all means work towards it, that the

2) The dispute between the Elector and Duke George over Luther's writings was settled on Nov. 18 by the Treaty of Grinuna.
3) Compare No. 2009.
4) Whether this refers to what was said in letter No. 1885?
5) St. Louis ed. vol. XIX, 1220.

Let conscience be sure and certain in all things. For if one doubt is left, all else cannot be established. Therefore the word of God is to be separated from the words of men in the most reliable way. For the day of the Lord makes it clear what wood, stubble, hay, likewise, what gold, silver, and precious stones are [1 Cor. 3:12 ff]. For the certainty of the truth is sought in this article; if the Papists can give it, I will praise them; if they cannot give it, Antichrist will be fully revealed in all his abomination. Summa, if perchance any one will attack thee with this my book, or with what I have otherwise written concerning the Papists, thou shalt say briefly, Luther confesses his recent struggle with the devil, and asks (as the words plainly read) 1) the Papists for an absolution. He that can give the same, let him be blessed: let him cease to cry out, or to adduce anything inconsistent, but let him answer; for to adduce something that does not belong to it, is not to refute proofs. Otherwise Luther too (as he had also provided for it) could adduce such inconsistencies, but he perceived that this was not enough. Therefore 2) he confesses and desires the wisdom of the papists, that trustworthy judge of God and man. Fare well in Christ and pray for me. My lady greets you. Wednesday after St. Lucia [17 Dec.] 1533.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2022.

(Wittenberg,) No date 1533.

To Leonhard Beier.

About a church breeding matter.

From the collection of Caspar Sagittarius at Jena in Schütze, vol. II, p. 302 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 496 f. Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. 185. 4. and in *Cod. Gud*. 214, *Bibl. Guelph*.

Those who despise all godliness and do not make use of the Communion, we used to frighten first with the reputation and the name of the most noble prince, and to give them banishment and punishment.

1) See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1222 f., 8 7. 2) Instead of *adeo* we have adopted ideo.

as against blasphemers. Then, if they do not recover, we have given the pastors orders to instruct, instruct, punish them for a whole month or longer; finally, if they are obdurate, to exclude them from the congregation (*coetu*) and to shun them as heathens. There is a clear passage about excommunication in Scripture. But thou mayest, if they be not cured by the ordinary remedies, write again about this matter. 1533.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 2023.

(Wittenberg,) 1533? (1543.)

A verdict on Erasmus to his son John.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1981. - We agree with Burkhardt, p. 220, who says: "Probably 10 years too early; how will Luther write such a sentence on a slip of paper to a seven-year-old boy, that is, probably 1543."

No. 2024.

(Wittenberg,) No date 1533.

To Nicolaus Amsdorf.

Urgent invitation to visit.

From Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 167, printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 301 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 497 f.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Because your brother-in-law, Dr. Teutleben (*Titleben*), has called you, I also wanted to add my spur, and ask that you visit us, because I, who am always sickly, am forced to fear that it may suddenly happen that we see each other for the last time. This [I write] in the presence of your relatives, your sister and her husband. Fare well in the Lord. Anno 1533. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2025.

(Wittenberg,) No date 1533.

To Johann Hess and Ambrosius Moiban in Breslau.

About a marriage engagement.

From the Börner collection at Leipzig in Schütze, vol. II, p. 301 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 498.

To the highly renowned men, the Doctors of Holy Theology, Johann Hess and Ambrosius Moiban, Bishops of the Church at Breslau, his brothers in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! How can I, worthy men, reply to your letter with anything other than what I have previously published in my booklet 1) namely: If the betrothal in this case is such that it is approved both by the relatives and by the superiors and the prince, and nothing is opposed to it but only the father's obstinacy, which (as I see from the reports) he only came over late, perhaps because someone dissuaded him from this marriage, then the same is to be completely despised, and decided for the girl. For in such a case one sees that the father does not neglect the daughter as a father, to whom otherwise the credit is rightly due, but as a tyrant, or rather prevents her happiness, although he prefers the wealth of the other, future bridegroom. For in marriage preference must be given to love, not to wealth (if all else is equal in respectability), just as the parents of Samson subordinated the glory of their people to the love of their son. "One must not force them to marry; one must let them love each other, but it may still be advisable," because of the constant living together in life, so that afterwards, when annoyances arise, the daughter cannot claim that she was forced. This has always been our opinion. Anno 1533.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2026.

Without date 1533.

Draco to Luther.

(Regest.)

Draco reports that he has been called to Memmingen as a preacher by Syndicus Maurer, asks Luther for instructions on what he should do in response, and inquires about taking over the correction of the prophets.

In the Continued Collection, 1741, p. 634. The above regest in Burkhardt, p. 220.

1) "Of Matrimonial Matters." St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 754.

No. 2027.

(Wittenberg,) No date 1533.2)

To Augustin Himmel, pastor in Colditz.

About the employment of Antonius Lauterbach in Leisnig.

From the Kraft Collection at Husum in Schütze, Vol. III, p. 241 and in De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 147.

To the in Christ highly venerable brother, M. Augustin 3) Himmel (*Coelo*), the faithful pastor at Colditz.

Grace and peace! A kind of dispute has arisen concerning the diaconate at Leisnig; but since Dr. Jonas is absent and the whole matter is not known to us, we thought that it could be settled in this way. We, I and Philip, ask you to deal with your Ambrosius so that he may keep the diaconate at Colditz. For we think that you do not dislike the man, and he may indicate to the pastor of Leisnig or to the council that he will remain in Colditz, so that, when he has done so, Anthony 4) may be chosen by the people of Leisnig. This is done because his parents sold their house in Freiberg in this hope and decided to move to Leisnig. One must take the good people into consideration and show them some favor for the sake of the fact that they have decided at this time to go into exile, as it were, from their fatherland for the sake of the teaching of the Gospel. We know of your affability, therefore we hope that you will gladly take over this matter and carry it out diligently, and that you will see to it that Ambrose cedes the diaconate at Leisnig to Anthony. If Ambrosius demands a somewhat more lucrative position, we will gladly help him in this when the opportunity arises. I ask you especially to arrange this matter, so that

2) Seidemann places this letter in the year 1533 because of a letter from Melanchthon of that year to Spalatin, *Corp. Ref.,* Vol. II, 696, in which Melanchthon asks for the Colditz Diaconus Ambrosius, who, aged, had already twice yielded to the wishes of the visitators and had renounced positions he could have had, but now wished to be transferred to Werschen.

3) Heaven's baptismal name was Henry; Augustine his monastic name. See St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 957 f. Table Talks, cap. 30, §14.

4) Lauterbach.

For the sake of these very good people who leave the best land for the sake of the gospel of Christ and go into exile. Fare thee well. Yours, Mart. Luther.

No. 2028.

Old town Cassel. Beginning of January 1534.

Conrad Ottinger, pastor in the old city of Cassel, 1) to Luther.

Ottinger informs by order of the Landgrave that the armaments set up by him are not directed against the Emperor or his brother, but are intended only for the reinstatement of the expelled Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg; also that his lord is not attached to any rotieret or sect, such as that of the Anabaptists.

According to a copy in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. C, fol. 644*. P. (without date, but according to the situation at least at the beginning of 1534) printed by Burkhardt, p. 221.

Venerable, most reverend Doctor! I have no doubt that by many a cry of this perilous time has come before you, as that our gracious Prince and Lord Philips, Landgrave of Hesse 2c., is in an armament, of which because of your dignity perhaps 2) might be reported wrongly, as if his F. G. wanted to do something against imperial Maj. (or what else might be said by the unintelligent and ignorant), which, as far as I know, is not his F. G.'s intention and opinion, but because King Ferdinand of imperial Majesty has been conquered with the Duchy of Hesse. Mas. is not further enfeoffed with the Duchy of Würtemberg, which the Electors do not deny, but publicly confess, for^) with reservation of any justice to the land of Würtemberg, according to which the by!, high-born Prince and Lord, Duke Ulrich (Huldrich) of Würtemberg has the highest right to defend himself against Imperial Maj. and his brother in the highest of all right and in all fairness some years ago, and still inherits, and yet such inheritance is unseen, and cannot come from King Ferdinand in the right and his hereditary land, then our F.,G. and Lord intends to introduce the noble, highborn Prince and Lord Duke Ulrich, according to the content of all fairness before God and Imperial Maj. Maj. to introduce and establish him in the right way, and F. G. has, as far as I know

1) Cassel is divided by the Fulda into the old town and the new town, therefore we have given above "old town" by "old town".

2) With Burkhardt: "from which because of your became, perhaps" 2c.

3) Burkhardt: "den".

aware that he has no other objection, neither against Imperial Maj. Maj. or his Maj. brother than the election of Ferdinandi as Roman King, but only for the sake of this matter, as stated above. That also his dignity is not or does not want to be in any way dependent on any Rotterianism or sect, as the sect of the Anabaptists or others, that your dignity shall completely and certainly provide and promise to his dignity. I do not wish to hold your dignity to this in good opinion, as by order of his F. G., so that you may know how to hold yourselves against his F. G. in all due measure, whether or not you might be reported otherwise in these swift runs.

E[uer] w[illiger]

Conradus Ottinger, pastor in the old town of Cassel.

No. 2029.

(Wittenberg,) 3. January 1534.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf.

Luther resisted his acceptance of the position of provost in Nuremberg, and asked him for his judgment on the book of the Angular Mass.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 180, in Schütze, vol. II, p. 304 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 499.

Grace and peace! What is this, my dear Amsdorf, that you quarrel with me in such great strife, that there has been no answer to your so many letters, that you invent and interpret it in such a way that it is perhaps your fault, whereas you should rather have thought so: If I had sinned, he would have answered, and denounced the fault; now, 6) since he answers nothing, it is a sign that all is well. For I was fully of opinion that no letter from me to you was necessary, since there was no cause to write, especially since I am so busy, ill, and afflicted. But this for our old and firm brotherhood in Christ.

With regard to the position of provost in Nuremberg that has been offered to you, I dare not advise anything, for my mind may or may not err. But if my soul has an inkling, I do not know by what pressure I am inclined to think that this position is not for the free and sincere Amsdorf, who in what he undertakes is plain and straightforwardly forward.

4) Burkhardt: "his".

5) Burkhardt : "were", and immediately following: "desolate".

6) Instead of *nam,* we have assumed *nunc.*

and I fear you would too soon regret accepting the position. This town has a way of doing things that doesn't suit everyone. But, as I have said, I may be mistaken. I only think: would that our friend (*noster*), who sits in peace and quiet, were not swept away in troubles and floods, as the proverb says [Prov. 17, 1.]: Better is a morsel of bread with quiet than a hanger full of riches. Thou art a wise man, thou wilt mean what is best and pleasantest. I see this fault also increasing among princes and cities: they seek preachers that are quite talkative, as it were, to dispute and boast before others. "There is the devil in the world," or rather the world itself. In *concreto* or in abstracto 1) I wish to know what you think of my book "Of the Angular Mass." Many accuse me as if it were harmful to pious and weak consciences. My Käthe sends you her respectful greetings. Fare well in Christ. On January 3, 1534.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2030.

(Wittenberg,) January 10, 1534.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

Intercession for Nickel Sack.

The original is in the Weimar Archives. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p.73,No. 125; in Walch, vol. XXI, 364 ff; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 500 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 36.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most noble, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! Nickel Sack has induced me to write to E. C. F. G. with a lamentable letter (in which he desires advice); and although I am involved in such matters

1) The words: *concretive vel abstractive* are connected in the text with the preceding; we have drawn them to the following because we could not make sense of them in that connection.

I don't like to talk, because I don't know what is right or wrong, and I don't want to know, but I don't know how to refuse him, because he cares so much about it and takes it so deeply to heart. Most say he is right. But E. C. F. G. graciously accept my letter, for I do not ask for anything more, for as far as E. C. F. G. is concerned, in which I do not doubt that they themselves, by divine grace, love and handle the law without any action, without my wanting to see the good man's request satisfied and accepted. Order herewith the same matter in E. C. F. G. gracious consideration. Christ, our Lord, strengthen and guide E. C. F. G. heart and mind to the glory of his name forever, Amen. Saturday after Epiphany. [10 Jan.] 1534.

E. C. F. G. undersigned Mart. Luther.

No. 2031.

Wittenberg. 15 January 1534.

To the abbess of Herford, Anna von Limburg, together with Melanchthon.

Answer to the complaint of the Aebtissin about happened encroachments on her rights.

Handwritten in *Cod*. chart. *451. fol. Bibl*. *Goth.* Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 73, no. 126; in Walch, vol. XXI, 366; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 501 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 37.

To the venerable, well-born Domina, Anna, Fräulein von Limpurg, Abbatess of the free noble convent at Herford, our gracious Domina.

Grace and peace through our Lord Jesus Christ. Venerable, benevolent Domina! After Your Grace has complained that some in Herford are subject to encroach upon Your Grace's jurisdiction, to take money and other justice by force. Your Grace knows that I, Doctor Martinus, have always written and taught with the greatest diligence that one should keep the difference of the authorities, and that no one should command in another's dominion, nor should anyone take or withdraw interest or the like from another. For this reason we do not approve of the action of which E. G. writes; we would also like from the bottom of our hearts that those who

We have also written to Doctor Johann Dreger 1) and admonished and asked him not to participate in violence and injustice, but rather to make those who practice violence abhorrent. For this reason we have also written to Doctor Johann Dreger 1) and admonished him and asked him not to make himself a party to violence and injustice, but rather to instruct those who practice violence and to admonish them to Christian love, as he, as the preacher, is obligated to do. However, we have considered that E. G.'s request to write to the City Council would not be fruitful, even though we do not really know how things stand with the church order in Herford. Nevertheless, we ask the Council, as far as the necessary appointment of the church offices is concerned, that the Council be patient after this time and not seek its right in all matters equally sharply, since the Council knows that in many places the churches have been poorly supplied with people in part and with the maintenance of the people in part. Where in such cases some unfortunate changes have been made to the need of the churches, we ask that Your Lordship nevertheless be patient for the sake of the common peace; but that some should plan to build the city walls with the church property, contrary to the permission of their authorities, is not considered just. God preserve E. G. always. The 11 fl. that E. G. sent to us, we send to E. G. again, and to serve E. G. we are willing. G. we are willing to serve. Date Wittenberg, Thursday the 15th of Jan. Anno 1534. Martinus Luther.

Philip Melanchthon.

No. 2032.

(Wittenberg,) ' 20 January 1534.

To the council of Kitzingen.

Luther sends G. Schmaltzung as pastor.

From a copy in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 502 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 38.

To the honorable, prudent gentlemen, mayor and council of Kitzingen, my favorable gentlemen and good friends.

G. and Fried in Christ. Honourable, prudent gentlemen and friends! As your petition hath been...

1) Walch reads, "Dreyer."

so you have him, your priest Mr. G. Schmaltzung. But because the way is far and the food is hard for him, I ask you to be helpful to him, because he is going into your service, and no one can or should serve at his own expense, as St. Paul teaches. With caplänen and shall, as it is due, he will report to you well; for the personell will become thin and strange. Hereby God commanded, Amen. 1534 *the Fabiani* [20 Jan].

Martin Luther, D.

No. 2033.

(Wittenberg,) January 25, 1534.

To Johann Ruhel.

About a certain Herzheimer, who seems to have been oppressed by the Cardinal at Mainz.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p.20Ib; in the Jena edition (1568), vol. VI, p. 115 b; in the Eisleben edition, vol.II, p.328.; in the Altenburger, vol. VI, p. 161; in the Leipziger, vol. XXI, p. 79; in Walch, vol. XXI, 368; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 503; and in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 55, p. 39.

To the respectable, highly esteemed Mr. Johann Rühel, both rights doctor, my favorable lord and dear godfather.

Grace and peace in Christ. Respectable, esteemed, dear Lord and Godfather! Magister Philippus does not want to report anything in writing to Herzheimer, and has his reasons. But I think your Früchtlin and Kräutlin of Halle has now pretended, and has carried the tree long enough on both armpits, and will now work hard at his nettle, the pious. Therefore Herzheimer is to be advised, that he should tear out in time and with honor; the devil believe the poker and priest more, as you have often deceived me with him. God help me, I will send more people and armour after the angular mass, and enrage the devil completely. The first anger would have been the best; but you have been one who has helped to prevent it. No more than this commanded God, amen. My Kate greets you kindly. Give my regards to your flesh and blood. All that I can serve Herzheimer and know, you have me willing and ready. 1534, the 25th of January.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2033a.

(Wittenberg,) January 26, 1534. 1)

To Leonhard Beier, pastor in Zwickau.

Of emergency baptism and the baptism of foundlings.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 264; in *Cod. Goth*. 402 and in *Cod*. *Jen*. L 24, lol. 8. printed from the Börnersche Sammlung in Leipzig by Schütze, vol. III, p. 86 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 145. with significant deviations in *Ericeus, Sylvula, p.* 14, with the superscription: *Pastori Ecclesiae Grimmensis*; in *Buddeus*, *suppl.* epp., p. 264, and in Walch (German), vol. XXI, 1288, with the inscription: "An Johann Schreiner (Scriniarium), Pfarrer zu Grimma." Everywhere with the date 1539.

To the highly venerable brother in Christ, Magister Leonhard Beier, the faithful and upright bishop of the church in Zwickau.

Grace and peace in Christ! Concerning baptism, which has compelled you to ask my advice, I have talked with our people, and this is what we say: First, that thou shouldest teach publicly, as we have long done here, that henceforth women are to abstain altogether from such baptism, because he cannot be born again who is not yet born; otherwise there would be no reason why a child should not be baptized in its mother's womb by water which one pours over the mother, if one feared danger before the birth. Mau shall pray, and command GOtte, the, Father of mercies, the child or fruit not yet born, or that shall die in childbirth. This is the first. Secondly. To this thy case with the child that was baptized in childbearing, or rather when he desired to be born, let us, because it is something past, put such a measure, that thou baptize the lad anew, not as if his soul had been lost, if he had died in the meantime, because he now, being grown up, believes

1) If one compares the letters No. 2018 and No. 2036, there can hardly be any doubt that this letter is not to be dated from January 27, 1539, where the editions put it, but that the time we have given is the correct one. In No. 2018 Luther says that he "wants to consult the doctors," here: "I have talked with ours." Then, in both letters: the child in question is now grown up; finally, it seems quite unbelievable that Beier should have asked Luther's advice again in 1539 about a matter that was completely settled by Luther in the years 1533 and 1534 by two letters.

and asks for baptism (if, for instance, his baptism were thought to be void); this faith would have preserved him; but because that baptism was not baptism, he must, not be baptized again, but simply be baptized as if he had not been baptized. However secure he may have been hitherto without baptism, yet now that he may be baptized, he must not despise the same. Thirdly. Women also are wont at times to deceive us, by denying that they have baptized the child in danger of death after birth, as if they doubted the baptism given by the midwife or by a woman, and so they deny, either by silence or denial, that they have baptized. Here again you must teach that they should publicly confess whether the child was baptized by them. Then the child is not to be baptized again, but is to be brought into the church, and after the Gospel of Marci has been read and the Lord's Prayer has been said, the minister is to confirm the baptism with the laying on of hands. For baptism is to be a sacrament, that is, a public sign of confession; therefore it must be received and administered either by the minister, or by two and three women as witnesses (so that the word "in the mouths of two witnesses" (Matt. 18:16) may stand. Now if it be bestowed by one alone, or by the mother herself, it shall be reckoned as nothing. So also, if 2) the women keep silence, or deny that it was baptized, it shall be baptized; and such women as afterwards speak that it was baptized before, shall not be believed.

The same is true of foundlings; even if a note attached to them should say: This child is baptized, yet because this baptism is given to the church without witnesses, not a public sign or sacrament, it is not to be believed, because it cannot be proved. And it is not a rebaptism here, or a remedy for the rebaptizers. For these condemn baptism, which was evidently and lawfully given in the church, and that because it is

2) Instead of *etsi* in De Wette, *et si is* to be read.

believe it to be a human, not a divine work. But we know and believe that it is not a man who baptizes, but God Himself by the hand of the Church, therefore the act becomes God's own act. This we have had in this matter, which we could answer thee among many transactions. Fare well and pray for us, as we for you, in this last time. Monday after Paul's conversion [January 26 Anno 1534?)

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2034.

Magdeburg. 28 January 1534.

Nikolaus Amsdorf to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1988.

No. 2035.

(Wittenberg,) February 8, 1534.

To Nikolaus Hausmann in Dessau.

Luther instructs Hausmann how to preach on baptism in the presence of the Cardinal of Mainz.
The original is in Dessau. Handwritten in *Cod.*

Goth. 185. 4. and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 201. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 305; in *Stroebel-Ranner*, p. 232 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 504. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1412 f.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the exceedingly faithful and pure servant of the Word in Dessau, his superior.

Grace and peace in Christ! M. Georg Held has asked in your name, dearest householder, that I should indicate to you what you should preach about baptism, especially since your Prince demands this, and the Bishop of Mainz with his brother will be 2c. Will be an audience. And although you do not need much help from me in this matter, since you are richer in spirit by the grace of God, and at the same time because M. Georg may have sent to you what I have preached in these days in four sermons on baptism; but the poor must be taught what to do.

1) "1534", as already noted, put by us instead of: "1539". Perhaps "IV" is read into "IX".

I too will serve you with my work.

First, I would advise that you speak of our doctrine without controversy and refutation of the opposing doctrine, lest these godless tyrants think that you preach to provoke them. Therefore explain baptism in the same way as the papists seem to have taught nothing else, although they have taught in an exceedingly cold way. Yet I would not have thee name them, lest thou seem to flatter those, but that thou treat the matter simply as it is. For the boasts of baptism are these:

That it is a divine water, given by the word of God out of his command, not by a mouthful of men; that it is a new covenant of God with all nations unto everlasting blessedness; that it is the work of God, not of men, therefore let it not be defiled by the sins of those who abuse it.

That it is a single one, and cannot be repeated without a blasphemous denial of the first baptism, as if this had not been the work of God, which must be received and held fast in faith, and otherwise was not useful either.

That it should be outwardly adorned with fruits of faith throughout the whole life; that it should be higher than all the vows and works which otherwise are or may be done, even higher than obedience to parents and overlords.

That it had been honored in the appearing of the Father by the voice, of the Son by the humanity, of the Holy Ghost by the dove; this appearing is now included in these words, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

This passage, "This is my dear Son," 2c. I have treated thus: the Son is presented and declared to us by the Father as the Lord over all things, and as the Bishop of souls, in whom all things are well pleasing, without whom all that we do is nothing; he alone is the King, because the Son is the heir of all things; he alone is the Bishop, because in him all things are pleasant. The rest will be said by M. George. On the Sunday of SIXDAYSIME [8 Feb] Anno 1534.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2036.

(Wittenberg,) 21 February 1534.

To Leonhard Beier.

Luther declares himself against the baptism of children not yet fully born.
Handwritten in *Cod. Gud*. 214 *Bibl. Guelph*.; in the

Cod. chart. 402. f. *Goth.* and at Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 181. Printed from the Börnersche Sammlung at Leipzig at Schütze, vol. II, p. 311; from the Litt. Wochenblatt II, 308 at *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 231, and at De Wette, vol. IV, p. 505.

Grace and peace! What else could I answer you, my dear Leonhard, but what we teach here and do publicly in this case about which you inquire? For this hath not happened to us but once. We do not allow women to baptize a member that has come out of the womb, or the head that appears in the natural door, but exhort them to recommend in prayer to God this fruit, which is not yet in our hand, but in his, as well as the fruit that is alive in the womb for so many months (like John the Baptist) before birth. We can also baptize the fruit, if we wish to avoid the danger, by pouring water on the mother's belly (*umbilicum*), as it were on a cloth in which the baptized child is wrapped! Therefore, thele fruit that is not yet born must be commanded GOtte. For it is nothing that we have learned from Aristotle, and afterwards from St. Augustine: The soul is whole in any part, since even Augustine did not make use of this philosophy iu sacred things. We must follow the words of God. For he who is born should be born again, lest we become like those who worshipped St. Emerentiana, the mother of St. Anne, in reverse (*retro*), and begin to baptize the womb of a bride or a virgin in the hope of future fruit that will be sown in that womb. This I have said in many words. You provide that this child, which was neither born nor baptized, be baptized publicly. It would be different if he had already been born and then baptized. For then he alone would have been brought to the priest in the church.
And his baptism must be confirmed by the testimony of women, by prayer, and by the laying on of hands. Farewell in Christ. On Saturday *in April* 1) [21 February] 1534, your Martin Luther.

No. 2037.

(Wittenberg,) (In February 1534.)

To Nicholas of Amsdorf.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 1990.

No. 2038.

(Wittenberg,) 3. March 1534.

To Heinrich von Einsiedel, together with the other theologians.

About the ecclesiastical circumstances of the estates of Einsiedel and the disputes about them with Duke George.
From J. E. Kappen's Reformation Documents, Part I, p. 263, in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 520 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 55, p. 39 f.

To the honourable and strict Heinrich von Einsiedel zu Gnanstein, our special favourable lord and friend, for his own hands, Gnanstein 1534.

God's grace through our Lord Jesus Christ. Honourable, strict, favourable lord and friend! We have diligently read and considered your business, and we ask you to know that we all believe that your concern, which we have noted with the letter F., is Christian and most unfortunate, and therefore we are pleased with the answer to our gracious Lord Duke George, as you have put it; for if it is so, that the change of the branch is thus granted in the royal and princely contracts, it is not proper that anyone from the countryside should want to oppose it. So you can do nothing against the feudal lord and sovereign in this matter. Now, as you have considered, this is the next way, that you yourselves let the people of the sovereign reproach you for joining a parish, since it is least-

1) The first Sunday after Easter was called Dominica in *Albis.* On this Seidemann remarks in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 472, note 3: "Nevertheless the date *Sabbatho in Albis* seems here properly solved by February 21. *Pilgram pag*. 165. 184. 190. Helwig *fol.* 52. 58."

that they might be prevented from doing so. If they went to other places to hear the gospel or to use the sacrament, you know that we also advised you to do this before, because Christians are obliged to confess on their own journey that you should proclaim Duke George's mandate to the people, so that the people may not go on a journey without warning, and know that although you do not force them from the gospel, you still cannot protect them against Duke George. This is what you want to show them this time, that you do not pull them away from the gospel, but that you must announce the will of the sovereign prince to them, and you want to remind them that they should go to other places, that they should not leave the gospel, which each one is obliged to confess on his own way, and that each one should seek advice from knowledgeable preachers as to what he may think to be Christian in all of these. We do not want to hide this out of good friendly opinion, and we are obliged to serve you. Given Tuesday after *Reminiscere* [March 3] *Anno* 1534.

Dr. Martinus Luther. Justus Jonas, Doctor. Philippus Mel.
Johannes Bugenhagen, Pomer 2c.

I Jonas signed her orders.

No. 2039.

(Wittenberg,) March 11, 1534.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

Intercession for the pastor Leonhard Beier at Zwickau for an apartment.

The original is in the archives at Weimar, *Reg. Ji,* fol. 111 a. 1534. 61.69. Printed in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 521 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 41.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most noble, highborn prince, most gracious lord! The priest of Zwickau is now with me,
Magister Lenhard, and asked me, because some good gentlemen at court, as the Lord of Wildenfels and Doctor Christianus Chancellor 2c., put him off, they wanted to help faithfully with E. C. F. G. ask that the houses of one in Zwickau the priest, so verledigt or verledigt be, for his wife and Kindlin may be given to him by E. C. F. G., because he can nevertheless nothing more leave behind him, as in this time cannot collect treasures, because from the hand into the mouth; because he has then so good friends to court, which offered themselves, where I to E. C. F. G. will write, they wanted also to E. C. F. G. for him. C. F. G. for him, they also wanted to give good testimony and promote him, so I am well in him before, as he has grown up under me and is known to me that he is worth it, and such houses must nevertheless be spent: so I humbly ask for him, where it is not burdensome for E. C. F. G., to graciously turn one of the houses over to him. He is, after all, one of the best and most pious pastors, that I know, as much as is possible to know. E.C.F.G. will know how to show mercy. Christ our Lord strengthen and guide E. C. ...C.F.G. blessedly, amen. Wednesday after Oculi sll. March] 1534.

E. C. F. G. undersigned Mart. Luther, D.

No. 2040.

(Wittenberg,) March 14, 1534.

To one of nobility."

About affairs unknown to us of a nobleman who fell into disfavor at court.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 335; in ded Altenburger, vol. VI, p. 180; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 564; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 522, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 42.

Grace and peace in Christ. Strict, firm, dear Lord and Godfather! With Dr. B. 2) I have, according to your desire, spoken quite diligently about your matters. Thereupon he advised me quite faithfully that I should keep quiet beside you for a while with suggestions; for he was indeed worried that we would make it worse. For it was still too early at court, and your

1) Most probably Johann von Riedtesel.
2) "Dr. B." will probably be the chancellor Dr. Christian Beier.

false friends 1) (as I call them) are still too new in the regiment, as methinks, and have still too much remaining wisdom and justice, as the young regents all have. The black is not yet ripe, and is still too hard and red. I would have liked to talk with Mr. H., but before his business I could not get him to talk. I was not allowed (as I said) to poke my gracious lord out of Dr. ...out of Dr. B.'s counsel, that I might spare yours. Therefore I do beseech you, by the advice of Dr. B.'s advice, you should forgive me a little; when my lord returns, I will try to talk to Mr. H. and then see how I can get to the man himself.

To show the L [2]), how it is put there, I let myself like, rather that I want to leave the pieces, so I have underlined, outside, and let my discretion so on.

show that the L. did not request and ask for it as through you, but as approximately learned from others how you were, his old servant, so that he did not talk about it in writing, but orally with the C. 3) and investigated the cause of such disfavor 2c. Or if it should happen in writing, that (it) would have no appearance as having been procured by you, but that he would have learned by rumor of the land how you were not reimbursed for that, since you had seals and letters. For I fear, if it should be done in writing, as from the office, without intercession, by the L., it might enrage the Bremen and the bees to persuade the pious prince all the more against you.

The other matter of which you are concerned, namely, of the person in Zoppen, blessed 2c., methinks, as much as I perceive from Dr. B., you must have no suspicion. It is said, as I look at it, you want to earn the gray skirt, and prove art, as all previous regiments have been nothing and almost harmful. We, siud's, that can advise and help the prince, where others have spoiled it 2c. *Novus rex, nova lex etc*. God grant that it may be well, amen. And that I come again to Dr. B. Rath, so I also take care, you let rustle for a while what rustles there, until it has rushed out.

1) Compare No. 1941.
2) "L." perhaps landgraves?
3) „C." == Churfürsten?

Your son 4) is keeping fine, has now had the measles; we have waited for him with diligence, according to Dr. Angustin's 5) advice; is now well again. My most gracious wife, the Margravine, is now here, at times ill, at times strong. Her C. F. G. speak of you almost honestly and praiseworthily, which I am truly glad to hear; for to please you and yours I am ready. Hiemit GOtt befehlt. My Lord Kätha sends you her best regards together with your love and fruits, and Doctor Martinus 6) also 2c. Saturday after Oculi (March 14) 1534.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2041.

Wittenberg. 16 March 1534.

To Justus Menius in Eisenach.

On an economic matter.

From the Gudische Sammlung, fol. 214 at Wolfenbüttel printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 307 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 524.

To the worthy man, Mr. Justus Menius, the faithful and wise servant of Christ, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. My dear Justus! My most noble Prince has given a certain theologian, Hieronymus Weller, a benefice (*beneficio*) in Eisenach, namely 40 gulden, which he is to claim at Wartburg Castle. I therefore ask you to diligently investigate who is paying out these gold florins, whether it is the castle owner or the captain, and at what time, whether they are to be paid out in part or in full, and to write back to me through this messenger, and at the same time also to send the money through this messenger if a part of these 40 florins must be paid at this time, Philippi and Jacobi (May 1). For on the Monday after Invocavit (Feb. 23) my Prince presented Hieronymus Weller with this gift (*beneficio*) 7). Wittenberg, Monday after Lätare (16. March) 1534. yours Martin Luther,

busy and not quite solid.

4) The "son" will be the student Johann Riedtesel. See the letter of 4 Oct. 1535.
5) Dr. Augustin Schürf.
6) This may have been jokingly spoken of Luther's son Martin, whose godmother was Riedtesel.
7) This was the income from the priesthood at Wartburg Castle. Cf. No. 2050.

No. 2042.

(Wittenberg,) 21 March 1534.

To Nikolaus Hausmann in Dessau.

Luther revoked the publication of the Dessau Church Order by printing it.

The original is in Dessau. Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 202. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 308; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 234 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 525. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1414 f.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the faithful servant of the Word in Dessau, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have read your order, my dear man, and have told Magister Forchheim 1) my opinion, namely, that it does not seem advisable for it to be printed and made public. For it has long been a matter of regret to us that we have published our Reformation 2) whereby an example is given to all others to publish theirs as well, and thus the diversity and quantity of the ceremonies has grown to infinity, so that in a short time we will surpass the seas and forests of the papists. I have rather advised that the copy be withheld, and that the pastors be indicated in writing simply by articles what and how much they should do at present, as under the papacy the (so-called) divine . The same is to be established gradually through practice and the matter itself, without tradition and writing or deceit. Then, that things may be kept as even as possible with us or other neighbors, lest we open the mouths of the papists and souls to bark and blaspheme at our, as they highly raise it, discords, as M. George will tell you more extensively. I pray you keep him excused; through my fault he is slow to answer you; he hath been a very busy henchman, but I will be slow before the

1) Georg Held.

2) This will mean the "German Mass and Order of Divine Service". St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, L26.

Breakfast all the use of pen and paper prevented by the suffering of my head, which I do not want to irritate in this new air of the year. The Lord Jesus be with thee, and offer thy very good princes my poor prayer to the Lord. For it delighteth me greatly their so pure and loud and earnest godliness against Christ, that I cannot tell. He himself, our most sweet Christ, keep and increase their faith by his sure, holy, and joyful Spirit [Ps. 51:12-14.], Amen. Pray for me, and be well in Christ. On the day before the Sunday Judica [21 March] Anno 1534.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2043.

(Wittenberg,) March 23, 1534.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Recommendation of a certain Christoph to the clergy, and apology that he had not yet returned the church order.

The original is in Dessau. Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 203. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 309; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 236 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 526. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1416.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, Magister, and faithful servant of the Word in Dessau, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace in Christ! There was nothing I could have written, my dear man, but I wanted to give Mr. Christoph a testimony that he had been here with me and, when he asked me for advice, received the answer that it pleased me very much that he should take over the office of a clergyman with you. You will do him the service of a very good patron. Be well. I will not yet return your [church] order, because I am ashamed that I have been so bold and have so freely changed and marked and crossed out several pieces. In time, God willing, more detailed. Christ be with you. Pray for me. My Lord Käthe greets you reverently. Monday after Judica [23 March] 1534.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2044.

(Wittenberg,) 25. Marchr) 1534.

To Spalatin.

Luther refuted the withdrawal of the nuns from the convent of Nimpschen, and spoke out about the jurisdiction by which delinquent clergymen should be punished.

The original is in Dessau. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 262 and at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. HeImst.* 107. printed by *Buddeus*, p. 241 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 580. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1256.

To the worthy man, Magister Georg Spalatin, servant of the word and now true bishop of the churches in Meissen, his brother.

Grace and peace in Christ! It pleases me, my dear Spalatin, what you write, that the nuns at Nimpschen[2] want to take off their monastic habit (*nonnismum*). But nevertheless they may see to it when they seek to leave the convent, which they do (for I, who have received many nuns, even at great cost, have experienced enough what they must suffer from their relatives and brothers outside), so that they may not regret their departure. Then I do not advise them to be full of confidence. Although the prince may pay them a rich bounty when they go out, they will not be able to live long on it, if they are uncertain about the place [where they may go] and a permanent provision. Therefore, if they do not know or hope for husbands for themselves, I do not advise them to leave. With regard to the aged, there is no doubt that it is best for them to remain in the monastery.

As to the punishment of the ministers of the church, I hold that the jurisdiction of the visitators, each in his own district, is sufficient, unless there is a public offense worthy of death, which must be judged by the sword, as murder, sedition, arson, adultery 2c. The rest may be decided by the visitators

1) De Wette has this letter under December 25, 1534, because he has not understood *incarnationis* as *annuntiationis* (like Luckckous and Walch), but erroneously as *nativitatis* (see Burkhardt, p. 222 and Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 619, note 1).

2) Walch explains *Nimicenses* by "Zu Niemeck", De Wette by "Nimptsch", both are incorrect.

punish them, either by removing them from office, or in some other way, as we have done hitherto. Furthermore, if it pleases you to make the parishes empty in three years, then hand them over to such a secular jurisdiction, that is, the lambs to the wolves. For the peasants, burghers, nobles, have by nature a hatred of the parish priests. And besides, the pastors are compelled to punish them by word, that is, to insult them; now enemies will be their judges. Who will remain, or at what hour will not each one accuse his *pastor*, since they already plague their pastors enough, both the peasants and the citizens as well as the nobles, so that the latter have more need of a shepherd (*pastore*) than the latter of a secular judge. The Lord be with thee, Aulen. On the day of the Incarnation of the Son of God [March 25] 1534.

Martin L., Doctor.

No. 2045.

Wittenberg. 26 March 1534.

To the council of Leisnig, together with Jonas.

About a matter concerning the clergy there.

Without indication of the source in Walch, vol. XXI, 1416 f; subsequently in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 526 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 44.

To the honourable and wise, mayor and council of Leisnig, our special good friends.

Our kind service before. Honourable and wise, especially good friends! We have received your letter, concerning M. W., your parish priest, and have heard such incorrectness with a heavy heart: 4) for this reason we have written to him sharply and harshly, confident that he will recognize himself, and take our admonition to heart, and henceforth send himself rightly into the matter. If not, then we will, upon complaint, perhaps refer the matter to our gracious lord, the Elector General of the Church.

3) Ueber *incarnatio* vergleiche *Henricus Petrus Rebenstock*, *Colloquia etc.. Dr. Mart. Luth, tom. II, fol. 140,* and Tischreden, cap. 7,§§ 7 and 8, St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 269.

4) Instead of: "which - vernemen" with Walch would like to be read well: "verily - vernommen".

prince. But we kindly ask you to use suitable means so that a friendly and harmonious will is maintained between your pastor and Magistro Antonio, 1) preacher, and you do not let the said preacher come from you?) In this you undoubtedly show our gracious Lord a special favor. So we want to earn it 3) for our person for you kindly. Date Wittenberg, Thursday after Judica [March 26] 1534.

Justus Jonas, provost, and Martin Luther, ecclesiastics at Wittenberg, both D.

No. 2046.

(Wittenberg,) March 28, 1534.

To Nikolaus Hausmann in Dessau.

On the good disposition of the princes of Anhalt for the Gospel, which the Bishop of Halle seeks to counteract. About the church order.

The original is in Dessau. Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 204. From the Hanische Sammlung at Kiel in Schütze, vol. II, p. 310; in *Strobel-Ranner, p.* 236 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 527. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1417 f.

To the highly honored man Mr. M. Nicolaus Hausmann, the exceedingly faithful servant of the Lord in Dessau, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Gladly do I hear, best man, what thou also writest, and this good man hath told of the very good princes. Christ strengthen and perfect his work in them in great and persevering spirit, Amen. It is not to be wondered at if the Bishop of Halle should so earnestly oppose it; he feels that he cannot so easily do without the very good Lord George, who has so faithfully attended to the affairs of his kingdom, and yet he perceives that he cannot keep him back with him in following the Gospel and confessing the same. Therefore he becomes a flattering siren, tempting him to deny Christ, who lives and reigns forever, and to obey instead the lies of a bishop, who has no

1) Lauterbach.
2) "let" put by us instead of: "let".
3) "we's" put by us instead of: "we".

moment of his life. I have often said that if there were no pope, this bishop alone would be worthy of the papacy; he is so rich in all the papal virtues that he is now publicly demonstrating them; time will tell how fortunate he is. Enough of this.

I was very pleased that you wrote that it was not your intention that the orders should be published. For in this way it will happen that in time the matter itself will order everything better. For such things are best written after the deed, than enacted before the deed. For the law saith, and it is not done: but history is done, and it is spoken or written.

May the Lord Jesus, who willed that you should be his instrument in that place, fill you with a joyful and cheerful spirit, so that you may bear much fruit for his grace, amen. On Saturday 4) after Judica [28 March] 1534. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2047.

(Wittenberg,) March 28, 1534.

To Spalatin.

Intercession for an Anhalt servant because of a piece of land which belonged to the monastery near Weida.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, *fol.* 261. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 242 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 528. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1257 f.

To the man to be highly honoured in Christ, Magister Georg Spalatin, Archbishop of Meissen and the Voigtland, the exceedingly faithful servant of the Word.

Grace and peace in Christ! My dear Spalatin, this man from Roden,[5] a servant of the princes of Anhalt, a good man, has asked me to recommend him to you. It concerns for him a certain field near Weida, of which it is said that you visitators have leased it as a part of the goods of the nunnery, but the father of this man is said to have brought the very same field into cultivation (*excoluisse*); therefore he desires that if this should happen to others who have not worked it, he should much more deprive him of it.

4) Walch translated *Sabbatho* by "Sunday."
5) *a Roden* perhaps: from the town of Roda, in *Altenburg*.

...neither leased nor otherwise granted. You will hear the matter from him yourself, only you will help him, if you can, for my sake. Then I would like to be at the will of the princes of Anhalt in this matter and in much greater things, who have now accepted the gospel with a strong spirit, while the bishop of Halle and other great princes fight against it in vain, and confess it fearlessly. Do that which I promise myself of thee. Christ be with you. Salute thy chain (*catenam*) with its grapes. 1534. on the Saturday 1) before Palmarum [March 28]. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

No. 2048.

(Wittenberg,) April 12, 1534.

To Spalatin.

Intercession for a pastor who wants to build a house; of conflagrations in and around Wittenberg.

The original is in Dessau. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a, fol.* 227 and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 205. Printed in *Buddeus, p.* 243 and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 529. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1258.

To the worthy man, Magister Georg Spalatin, servant of the word and now in truth bishop of the churches of Meissen, his brother.

Grace and peace in Christ! This pastor of Crossen has asked me only to remind you, for he has praised me very much for your willingness, except that he may have asked for my letter as a witness, namely, that you want to be helpful to him in whatever way you can, so that he will not be prevented by the envy of his peasants from building his little dwelling in this village, as you know. For thou thyself knowest the matter best, that the peasants complain in vain that an example is thereby introduced. For not all their pastors will do so in the future, nor will they have pastors, since the threatened lack of pastors has begun, but ten villages or towns will perhaps hardly find a pastor, since large towns and princes do not have such as they would like.

1) Again, Walch has translated *Sabbatho Palmarum* by "On Sunday Palmarum."

Greetings from my Lord Käthe and yours with you. She suffers from a severe fever. We live here under flames, not knowing at any hour when we will burn down. Several villages around us have burned; within the city we have had four fires; the first consumed four houses, the others have been extinguished to some extent. And it is certain that this was done by an enemy, for tinder, matches (*lychni*), gunpowder, and *fuses* (*fomites) have been* found. I am moved by great suspicion that this is happening through the unworthiness of Margrave Joachim, so that I almost believe that this tool of Satan is hastening his end, since his shameful deeds are thus pushing him toward destruction. May Christ soon destroy him. Be well in the Lord. 1534, on the Sunday of Quasimodogeniti [April 12]. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2049.

(Wittenberg,) April 12, 1534.

To Nikolaus Hausmann in Dessau.

First of personal affairs, then of the arsons at Wittenberg, and of the hostility of the Archbishop of Mainz.

The original is in Dessau. Handwritten by Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 203. Printed from the Hanische Sammlung at Kiel by Schütze, vol. II, p. 313; by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 238 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 530. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1419.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the servant of Christ in Dessau, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have, my dear friend, admitted this man, as you wrote, to conversation, as he will report to you, and have told him: if this matter were of such great importance that you should write for it, since many enemies and repugnants also burden me with conversations, who afterwards speak and do the worst of me.

It is true of Sebastian's loss that he asked me to admonish thee; but because I am sure that he hath abundance, and thou sufferest want, I have not signified any thing unto thee, neither have I wished to afflict thee; but also

...yet I would not have thee weighed down. I will tell him, or write to him, that he should be patient with you, since he is so rich, and he will do so, as I confidently believe.

We sit here every hour in danger of arsonists, and the matter is carried out under a different guise (as I would dare to swear for the sake of credibility) by this man, the tool of Satan, Margrave Joachim. God may thus call him to his doom, or it will become an occasion for war, if (which God forbid) arsonists should again be sent to him.

We have heard that the bishop of Halle was furious, but that he had not yet put everything in order. He is the one (*unus*) comrade who is not unlike the brother. Christ will suddenly come upon these Epicureans. This I ask and desire; let it be done, amen. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. 1534, on the Sunday of Quasimodogeniti [April 12]. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2050.

(Wittenberg,) April 16, 1534.

To Justus Menius in Eisenach.

Luther sends him the letter of the Elector to confirm the gift of grace for Hieronymus Welker (No. 2041), invites him to visit him, and asks him to bring the money.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Gud*. From the Börner collection at Leipzig in Schütze, vol. II, p. 314 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 531.

To the highly esteemed brother in Christ, Justus Menius, the exceedingly faithful servant of the church in Eisenach 2c.

Grace and peace in Christ! Here you have the letter of the most gracious Prince, my dear Justus, as a quite reliable witness about the income of the priesthood at Wartburg, which the Captain and the Castle will assign to you. So you should come (as you write) with heavy money in your right hand; you will be a very pleasant guest to us, of course not for the sake of your money, but because we wish to see and hear you in Christ, especially at this time, which is beset by pernicious sects, so that at least we few may be found in one spirit in this last time.

as those who love the brethren. Come therefore, and the Lord be with thee, Amen. 1534, Thursday after Quasimodogeniti s16. April. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2051.

(Wittenberg.) April 27, 1534.

To Mrs Dorothea Jörger.

On the use of the scholarship donated by Mrs. Jörger.

In Raupach's Evang. Oesterreich, 1st continued, p. 66; in Moseder, Glaubensbekenntniß, p. 85; in De Wette, vol.IV, p. 532 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 45.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, virtuous woman! I add to your knowledge that God's praise of your alms is very well invested, and has helped many poor people, and still helps them, so that I cannot doubt that God, who has given it to you to do, also shows publicly that it pleases Him as a loving sacrifice of thanksgiving, so that you may confess and praise the grace that He has shown you through His dear Son Jesus Christ. May God strengthen you in firm faith, and may His work that He has begun be blessed in you, amen. I did not know it myself, nor would I have believed it, that in this small town and poor school there would have been so many pious, skilful fellows, who throughout the year have had water and bread, suffered frost and cold, so that they might study the Holy Scriptures and God's Word, for whom your almsgiving has been a great comfort and refreshment. I have already given out more than half of it, and I have received writing and hand signs that it has been given to honest fellows and not to loose boys. I did not want to keep this from you, so that you may know how your money is doing and standing. To Andresen I gave the most before others, to his] I have given Andresen the most before others, for his] first 10 fl., and then again 10 fl.; among the others with 2, 3 and 4 fl., after which it has been willing to suffer with the advice of good friends, and all are happy and grateful. As a sign, you are sent this booklet bound by Michel Stiefel, to whom I have given 10 fl. because he now has to be without a parish, and he sends you his best regards. Christ with you and all yours, Amen! Monday after *Jubilate* [27 April] 1534.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2052.

(Wittenberg,) 29 April 1534.

To Gabriel Zwilling, pastor in Torgau.

About a marriage deal.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 328; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 215; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 73, no. 127; in Walch, vol. X, 974; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 533, and in the Erl. Ausg., vol. 55, p. 46.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 820.

No. 2053.

(Wittenberg,) 4. May 1534.

To Leonhard Beier in Zwickau.

About certain disputes in Zwickau. About Luther's book "Von der Winkelmesse", which some have misinterpreted.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Gud*. From the collection of Caspar Sagittarius at Jena in Schütze, vol. II, p. 315 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 534.

Grace and peace in Christ! My dear brother Leonhard, I believe your entreaties and your testimony concerning Stanislaus, 1) your fellow servant, and so I easily forgive. I hope that he will deceive neither you nor me. But I will reserve the right to reconcile the Mühlpfort band, not as if they could not go to heaven without me, if Christ wills it, but because I do not want to burden my conscience with their safety, although Christ does everything apart from me and without me (about which I rejoice). But because they themselves know that I am offended, I cannot bear their sins, which they do not wish to be sins.

Do not worry about my book. I wrote about the private mass against the papists, rather against the abominations, not against ours. Who can avoid all the calumnies of all? I wanted nothing less than that the papists should protect themselves with my book. There would be no end to answering every word. He who does not seek the short epitome (*summam*), or does not care for things (which one may call the intention

1) Hofmann. Burkhardt, p. 223.

I will not be able to do enough for such people through any books. Farewell and pray for me. 1534, Monday after Cantate [May 4]. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2054.

(Wittenberg,) Perhaps in May 1534.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther asks Jonas to translate his writing from the Winkelmesse into Latin. - In the Latin Wittenberg edition, this letter precedes the translation made by Jonas.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1558), tom. VII, f. 226 d; in *Buddeus*, p. 244 and in De Wette, vol. I V, p.534f. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1260. We have translated according to the Wittenberg edition.

Dr. Mart. Luther to his [friend] in the Lord, Justus Jonas.

Grace and peace in Christ! My German booklet on consecration and the papist Massholders has, as I have heard from many, greatly offended our (as they say) ungracious papists, although it was written by me more for the purpose of strengthening ours than of angering them. Nevertheless, I am glad that they are offended, because we know that they are not more offended by any thing than by the truth. Therefore, as the matter proves, this book is the truth, if it so displeases these angry and incorrigible artists in lying and reviling. And I hope that this will give them an opportunity to lie and revile far more than they did before the Diet of Augsburg, at which their quite impure lies were so publicly carried through that they, most shamefully convicted, were forced to confess that our doctrine is the holy Scriptures. Therefore they will gather other lies anew, that they also may be pulled through in his time. But you, my dear Jonas, will do well if you make this book, which is so hateful to the kingdom of Satan, but necessary to our brethren, useful to as many as possible through the Latin language. For henceforth we shall publish more such things. Farewell. But be mindful of my rule, according to which I have asked you to give my opinion freely.

No. 2055.

(Wittenberg,) May 10, 1534.

To Balthasar Jöppel, then [1] Duke Georgen of Saxony organist 2c.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1732. - As we have set the heading, it is found in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 162; in the Jena (1568), vol. VI, p. 166 d, and in the Trostschriften, Jena, Rödingers Erben, p. O vij. But in all newer editions the words: "weiland Herzog Georgen zu Sachsen Organist 2c." have been omitted, since one took offence at the word "weiland" by attaching to it the meaning: deceased, which did not want to fit at all, whether one referred it to Duke Georg (for the same died only in 1539) 2) or to Balthasar Jöppel, for one does not write letters to deceased people. In order to avoid this inconsistency, the word "weiland" was simply deleted from Luther's letter of Nov. 10, 1539, "to Johann Mantel, formerly church servant at Wittenberg," just as it was from Walch, also from De Wette, in the Erlangen and St. Louis editions, Vol. X, 2006.

No. 2056.

Wittenberg. 23 May 1534.

To Joachim, Prince of Anhalt.

On the date set there according to Wette, Vol. IV, p. 543: "June 26", Burkhardt, p. 224, remarks against Lindner and Seidemann, who represent the same date: "This date is wrong and must be May 23 (Pfingstabend at Wittenberg). I compared the letter in the Dessau archives. From this, too, Lindner's and Seidemann's error may appear that (according to the Dessau archives) Melanchthon sent a letter of consolation *d. d. pridie Pentec.* and both letters were transmitted to George by copy of Hausmann with an accompanying letter d. d. Dessau 4. feria *Pentecostes* [May 27]. How would all this be possible if we were to accept De Wette's date as correct?" Melanchthon's letter of May 23, just mentioned, is found in Latin in *Corp. Ref.* vol. II, 729, no. 1192. The "copy" mentioned by Burkhardt is therefore more likely to be understood as a translation.

No. 2057.

(Wittenberg,) March, April, or May, 1534.

To a good friend from his Book of Angles Fair.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1286. - There we have given the date: "beginning of 1534," and have understood, as the note there states, that.

1) "weiland" - formerly, formerly.

2) This that Seidemann, "Erläuterungen," p. 152, who would like to place the letter in the year 1544; but later, in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 524, note 2, he says: "Therefore, however, the letter is probably not to be placed in the year 1544."
this writing was written after February 1534, in the first half of the year. At least the letter to Justus Jonas (No. 2054) does not prove that it was written later, since it was probably written for the translation that Jonas had already completed, in order to precede this work.

No. 2058.

Wittenberg. 2 June 1534.

To Otto von Pack, bailiff at Torgau.

Ask for justice for a poor man.

From Lingke's Luthers Geschäfte in Torgau, p. 90, in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 538, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 49.

To the noble and strict Lord Otto von Pack, bailiff at Torgau.

Grace and peace through Christ. Noble, consecrated, dear lord and friend! My willing services are ready for you. This witness to my letter, Michel Reiner, who has come to me in Wittenberg, has complained to me of his distress, which is heavy on his neck, and has asked you to intercede, which I have not known how to deny him out of Christian compassion, because the poor man cannot provide for his weak wife and small children if he is not helped to his rightful property. Believe that letters and seals would be enough to protect him; he is not asking for anything wrong, and is a good Christian man whom the authorities can and should help. Pray, then, for me and at the same time for the poor man, that you may have mercy on him as I have had mercy on him, and use diligence that his right may be done for him, and that his heartache may not fall on your conscience. For the lawyers go too far in this matter, and do not see the wretched condition in which poor people who have to seek justice find themselves. This is what I wanted to tell you, so that it will not be necessary to file a complaint with H.G.H. about this. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befehlt. Date Wittenberg, Tuesday after Trinity [June 2] 1534.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 2059.

Wittenberg. June 9, 1534.

To Joachim, Prince of Anhalt.

Luther visited the sick prince, and comforted him.

Printed in Aurifaber's Trostschriften, Magdeburg, 1550; in the Altenburg edition, vol. VI, p. 180; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 521; in Walch, vol. X, 2121; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 539, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 50.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1810.

No. 2060.

(Wittenberg,) June 10, 1534.

To Christian Beier, Chancellor of the Electorate of Saxony.

Intercession for Ambrosius of Uttenhofen to reverse the banishment from the Electorate. - Burkhardt remarks on the situation: "Ambrosius von Uttenhofen, who lived in the district of Weida, was accused of having shown himself to be contrary to the new doctrine, which is why he was ordered to sell his goods, leave the Electorate and settle outside of it, 5 miles from the border. He hereupon submitted (on June 4) the testimonies of various clergymen and asked for consideration of them as well as for the order to be rescinded. The successes are not known."

The original from fol. 147 d. Uttenhofen. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 223.

Grace and peace in Christ. Respectable, highly respected, dear Doctor, Chancellor and Godfather! Ambrosius von Utenhofen has asked me for this writing 2c. Because he has so much testimony and handwriting of pious pastors, whom one must believe, and he personally confesses to me that his faith is quite sincere, as his notes report and testify, so I ask you to favorably promote him, so that he may come to favor with our most gracious Lord, and to rest with himself, 1) so that, being consumed by sadness and thoughts of Satan (who most attacks the weak), he may not be more 2) afflicted than can be endured. I see that he is afflicted, therefore tribulation must not be added to the afflicted, lest we be guilty of strange dangers. Ye shall do (as I doubt not) what is pleasing to GOtte and conscience. Christ be with you, amen. Wednesday after Medardi (10 June) 1534.

Respectable Lord (*T[ua] d[ominitatis*]),' your Martin Luther, D.

1) The following to the end is written in Latin and translated by us.

2) *ultramque*, which we cannot prove lexically, we have resolved by *ultra quam.*

No. 2061.

(Wittenberg,) June 10, 1534.

To Friedrich Myconins at Gotha.

Intercede for a man who had complained to Luther.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 207 in Schütze, vol. II, p. 316 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 539 f.

To Mr. Friedrich Myconius, pastor of the church in Gotha.

Mercy and peace! I beg, I entreat, I implore you, my dear Frederick, that you let this man, Valten Körner, 3) be commanded to you, for he has driven me to this by his complaints in his cause, which is, of course, unknown to me (which you easily believe). If it is as he tells it, I would not have violence done to him. Again, since I know that you are men there who have hitherto proved yourselves by faithfulness and virtue, I cannot believe that any wrong will be done by you knowingly to any one. Therefore, as I have begun to ask, so I still ask that, if his cause has not yet been heard, you help as much as you can that it may still be investigated. Now if the matter is out of your hands, and the trade is carried on in the hands of the mighty (*Centaurorum*), see that this is brought to my notice, and I will try what I can with the prince. Daily these doubtful and strange things plague me. I must not let the people go away sad, "and yet they are blind things," which in their place are either decided or ought to have been decided. Farewell, my dear Myconius, and in this matter also be a peaceable and a peaceful (*Fridsamus*). The Lord be with you, Amen. June 10, 1534.

You should send this enclosed letter to our Justus Menius by an occasional messenger. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2062.

(Wittenberg,) June 12, 1534.

To Joachim, Prince of Anhalt.

Luther promises fine visit after satisfying the printers somewhat, and hopes to bring Pommer with him. Jest about the chess game of M. Franciscus.

3) In the letter to Myconius of July 5, the same man is called Körsner [Kürschner?].

The original is in the anhaltische Gesammtarchiv. Printed by H. Lindner, Mittheilungen aus der anhaltischen Geschichte. Zweites Heft, Dessau 1830, p. 13; in the Erlange! Edition, vol. 56, p. 191 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 149.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Joachim, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascania and Lord of Bernburg, my gracious Lord.

G. and F. in Christo. Gracious Prince and Lord! He has brought me very good tidings from Johann Beichling, how E. F. G. is in good spirits and happy to eat. For I truly have always said and asked (like my lord the provost): Oh God, let my prince be healthy and happy; I also hope he will do so. And first I have fed my printers a little, so that I have peace before them, I will bring the Pomeranian (whether God wills it) with me to the Pomeranian and Hamester, so that my wife may see that the Pomeranian and the Pomeranian are to be very married and happy to look at. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. And E. F. G. be ever merry. My *pator noster*, and I also, are with E. F. G. But E. F. G. must worry a little before M. Francisco on the chessboard; for he thinks he can do it very well, and I want to give a beautiful rose for it, that he can do it as well as he lets himself think. He knows how to set the knight, how to draw the reed, and how to crank the peasants, but the woman is his master in the game, perhaps in other things more. That he understands best, amen. XII. *June* 1534.

E. F. G. williger Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2063.

(Wittenberg,) June 13, 1534.

To Joachim, Prince of Anhalt.

Luther promises to do what the prince writes and to keep what he has promised.
At the locations indicated in the previous number, immediately thereafter.

To my gracious, dearest Prince and Lord, Prince Joachim zu Anhalt 2c., at S. F. G. Handen, hastening.

G. and Peace in Christ. Gracious Prince and Lord! Dr. Augustinus has been so honored.
that I have not been able to write anything. Christ, our salvation, will help E. F. G. when the hour comes, for he does not lie in his promise. As soon as the printer has been fed a little, I will do what E. F. G. has written and what I have promised. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. XIII *June* 1534.

E. F. G. williger
Martinus Luther.

No. 2064.

(Wittenberg,) June 18, 1534.

To Joachim, Prince of Anhalt.

See St. Louis ed. vol. x, 1810.

No. 2065.

(Wittenberg,) June 23, 1534.

To Joachim, Prince of Anhalt.

See St. Louis ed. vol. x, 1810.

No. 2066. 28 June 1534.

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Duke has received Luther's letter of recommendation for Peter Weller through the latter, and is willing to let him travel in Welschland for two years at his expense.

Detailed excerpt in J. Voigt, Mittheilung aus der Correspondenz des Herzogs Albrecht mit Luther. Königsberg 1841, p. 5. above regest with Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 199.

No. 2067.

(Wittenberg,) June 28, 1534.

To Nicholas of Amsdorf.

Erasmus had answered Luther's letter to Amsdorf (No. 2037), but this answer had been withheld from Luther. Luther advised to henceforth despise such people as Wicel, Crotus, Hauer and Cochläus, and to direct all attacks against their head and guarantor, Erasmus. Therefore, Amsdorf may publish his remarks against him.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 205, in Schütze, vol. II, p. 317 and in De Wette, vol. I V, pp. 544 f.

Grace and peace in Christ! Best Amsdorf, I too have not seen the answer of Erasmus 1); so they conceal this matter from me with great zeal; perhaps they fear that I will get into heat. Dr. Jonas, Pommer

1) It had the title: *Adversus calumniosissimam Martini Lutheri Epistolam. Opp*. X, 1538.

and Philip have read it. That single copy, they say, is now in Dessau, Jonas says, in the book is almost the same as in the letter that was sent to the valley, the copy of which I have seen, and also you have seen, as you write. I would have expected great things from him whom I had so challenged. I have not yet decided what I will do till I have seen his answer. But one counsel which thou hast given is, 1) That with contempt of such men as Wicel, Crotus, Hauer, Cochlaeus, we turn our weapons against Erasmus, their head and their warrant, that as Eck hath promoted the pope by defending, so these men may promote Erasmus by praising. For these writers he has produced for us by his ambiguous and vain babblings. Therefore the attack must be directed against him, who, like a butterfly, has flung such armies of caterpillars into the garden of the church; "it is," as the Saxons call it, "Schietrupe." Therefore it pleases me that thou shouldest (as thou writest) put forth thy remarks against him publicly. For it is better that the sciences should fall, than religion, if the sciences will not serve, but trample Christinn under foot. If we allow this, we shall be guilty of the trampling of Christ, and he will (if we will not) raise up others who will be bold, for Christ will reign. Some want to bring Christ and Belial into agreement through wisdom: "nothing will come of it". Fare well in Christ and pray for me On Sunday after John [June 28] 1534

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2068.

(Wittenberg,) June 29, 1534.

To Johann Ruhel.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. X, 1804.

1) Namely, in the letter of Jan. 28, 1534. St. Louis i edition, vol. XVIII, 1989 f.: "To [Erasmus] one would have to answer, and despise that [Wicel], so that Erasmus would be painted once with the right colors, which are ignorance and malice."-The last words here blocked are missing in the editions (also in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 507); we have added them here after Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 455, note 1.

No. 2069.

(Wittenberg,) June 30, 1534.

To the city council of Regensburg.

Several Lutheran-minded citizens in Regensburg had long demanded a Lutheran preacher, but had not been able to obtain one. Since 1526, the Anabaptists began to increase there, so they pressed the city council even more to grant their request, and also turned to Luther, who admonished the city council in this letter to promote the gospel and to control the enthusiasts.

From Gemeiners Kirch. Reform. Gesch. von Regensburg, p. 82, in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 547 and in Erl. Ausg., vol. 55, p. 57.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honourable, prudent, dear gentlemen! It seems strange enough to me that I am afraid to write to E. F.. But so many good people have been able to help me that I have not been able to do so. Please be so diligent as to hold it for me and hear it favorably.

E. F. see and experience daily (as we also unfortunately do) how the evil enemy everywhere raises up his mobs, Anabaptists, or (as Christ says) false prophets and false teachers, and leads much land and people into misery and distress (God wanted to protect your city from this). I cannot and will not ask that E. F. accept our doctrine and ways. But I do ask that the authorities keep a serious eye on it, so that no evil spirits take root in your city. For verily, verily, and verily again, the devil is wroth and crafty beyond measure, that there is not too much ado. In two years or three, he hath hijacked cities with the spirits of the wicked, of which I have been more sure than I am of your city. E. F. diligent to get preachers" who teach the Gospel or the Holy Scriptures with quietness and calmness, they will not err, and God will give grace to them. Our confession at Augsburg is good for this, and so pure that even our enemies must praise it and imperial majesty must not condemn it. Majesty has condemned it to the Concilium, which is a sign that it is right. But this I write, that E. F. may well promote the gospel among you, whether our confession and doctrine, as a Lutheran name, be kept silent, but preached to the people from the text of Scripture, that they may learn,

Let it be the doctrine of Christ and of his apostles themselves, and let it be called by the same name (without the name of all men), as it is found in the Gospels and Epistles of St. Paul. But I can do no more, except that I pray the Father of all grace and mercy to give you the spirit of his grace, to seek earnestly the word of his truth, and also to help you to it. I am moved to such prayer by the worry that such perilous times cause me (as mentioned above) and by the great wrath of the devil, against which we all sleep too securely and some have already slept away. God help them again, amen. Hereby commanded to God, who give you and keep you a blessed, peaceful regiment, Amen. Tuesday after Peter and Paul [June 30] 1534.

E. F.
willing

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2070.

(Wittenberg,) July 5, 1534.

To Friedrich Myconius in Gotha.

Of a marriage case; of the Anabaptists at Münster. An exegetical discussion, as it seems, about Gal. 4, 4.
From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 209 in Schütze, vol. II, p. 318 and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 548.

Grace and peace! My dear Myconius, you sent the matter of this Körsner 1) to me late. For our judges had already passed sentence for this (as you call her) Gela, and they say that they have clearer testimony than for the other party, otherwise, in my opinion, according to your writings, I would have pronounced for that other, the Osanna. What am I to do now? I can undo nothing, and I must leave the matter, as one not within my jurisdiction, to their judges.

I care little for the Anabaptists at Münster. Satan rages, but the Scripture stands firm that Christ will be the seed of the woman, the seed of Abraham, the seed of David, the fruit of the body, the fruit of the loins 2c. These thunderbolts of the Spirit do not allow me to dream otherwise,

1) Compare No. 2061.

as that Christ is a natural son of the flesh of the virgin, unless we do not know what is meant by the seed of the woman, the seed of men, and the seed of man 2c. Therefore do not be troubled, whatever the Greek word 2) may be. For also of that which is born it is said that it becomes, and of that which becomes that it is born. But since it is added, he shall be born of the seed, and of the woman, it is to be born. In haste and busy. Pray for me. On the Sunday after the Visitation [of the Virgin Mary] [July 5] 1534. Yours,
Martin Luther.

No. 2071.

Wittenberg. July 7, 1534. 3)

To Duke Henry V of Mecklenburg.

Luther judges the confession of a Mecklenburg clergyman very unfavorably.
In Schröder's Evangelisches Mecklenburg, and from it in Krey's Beiträgen zur Mecklenburgischen Kirchen- und Gelehrtengeschichte, vol. II, st. 2, p. 111 (Rostock 1822); in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 549, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 58.

To the illustrious, high-born prince and lord, Mr. Hinrich, Duke of Mecklenburg 2c., my gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ, together with my poor Pater noster. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! Your princely grace Grace have written to me and also sent me a preacher's confession, whereupon I have also asked for my concern, and I have not been able to restrain my most gracious Lord from also writing an admonition to His Royal Highness to do so in earnest. For there are now so many examples of the spirits of the mob before us that we should certainly wake up and become lively. The devil cannot and will not cease, as experience shows us above and beside the Scriptures.

2) This led us to the assumption that this is an exegetical argument. But that Gal. 4,4. is the passage in question, seems to us to be evident from the fact that we read there: xxxxxxxxx xx xxxxxxxx, which is rendered in the Vulgate by *factum ex muliere.*

3) In the first two printings as from the year 1530. But this is wrong, for Luther was then in Coburg. The year 1534 is De Wette's Conjectur.

... Therefore may E. F. G. earnestly assist, and cause this preacher to desist, or to set his staff elsewhere; for he is of no use, and hath crickets in his head, which he hath neither heard nor read before, and is a vain foolish thing, without all the foundation of the holy scriptures. Some here regard it fei Henr. Neverus, who was a barefooter in Wismar, who lost the five wounds of St. Francis in a disputation in Wittenberg, since they had a chapter of time here. E. F. G. want to help Christ promote his honor, as we all owe, against such messengers of the devil. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, 1530 [1534?], Tuesday after *Visitationis Mariae* [July 7].

E. F. G.

willing

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2072.

Wittenberg. July 7, 1534.

Letter of recommendation for an oriental clergyman.

It is testified that the recipient of this letter is orthodox in doctrine, including that of the Holy Trinity.

Handwritten in *Cod. Basil*. 39, p. 124 and in Wolfenbüttel in *Cod*. *Helmst*. 107. from the Börner collection in Leipzig in Schütze, vol. II, p. 319 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 550. - As by Melanchthon and datirt den 4. Juli in *Cod. Mehn*. III, p. 8. printed in *Manlii farrago*, p. 367b and in *Corp. Ref.,* vol. II, 737.

In Germany we have Michael Aethiops, 1) Diaconus, with whom we have had confidential discussions about Christian doctrine, and have heard that he agrees correctly with the creed (*symbolo*) which the Western Church has, and that he has no other opinion about the Trinity than the Western Church has. Therefore we commend him, at least as much as we can, to good people. For although the Oriental Church has several divergent ceremonies, he too judges that their disparity does not annul the unity of the Church, nor does it conflict with the faith, because the kingdom of Christ is spiritual righteousness.

1) This seems to be the Arab of whom Melanchthon reports to Benedict Pauli on May 31. *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. II, 730.

of the heart is the fear of God and confidence through Christ. We also approve of this opinion. We have also learned from him that the use we observe in administering the Lord's Supper and the Mass is in accord with that of the Oriental Church. But we desire that all nations may know and glorify Christ, and obey him in right confidence in his mercy and in the love of their neighbor. Therefore we ask good people to prove Christian love also to this guest. Given in Wittenberg, July 7, 1534.

Martin Luther.

No. 2073.

Wittenberg. 10 July 1534.

Inheritance contract between the Lutheran siblings.

From Ludwig's *Reliquiae manuscriptorum omnis aevi diplomatum ac monimentorum ineditorum adhuc, tom. V, p.* 381, in Walch, vol. XXIV, 874 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 150.

Let it be known to everyone to whom this manuscript of mine appears, that my dear brother, Jakob Luther, citizen of Mansfeld, and my dear brother-in-law and cousin, Paul Mackenrot and Georg Kaufmann, have appeared before me here in Wittenberg, and have entered into and established between themselves a friendly and lasting contract concerning the goods of our dear father, Hans Luther, blessed, namely and in such a way: that Jakob Luther has taken the same goods all together to himself, and has bought all the others their part with our permission, also mine, Doctor Martinus, instead of Hans Polner 2) and his brothers and sisters, and the goods are unitedly respected by us and are also handed over to him as thirteen and a half hundred florins worth, that therefore each child shall be given three and a half hundred florins from the said goods of our dear father. And Jakob Luther shall pay now, date of this letter, two hundred florins, thereafter yearly about this time of the year also two hundred florins, until he pleases the other heirs, and shall stand by him, whether he, now or at any time, could or would

2) Ludwig and Walch erroneously: "Pelvers".

more. So we have also considered it good that Paul Mackenrot, in view of his request and need, be the first to receive his part, then Georg Kaufmann, also for necessary cause. Because such a thing has seemed good to us, we ask our other brothers and sisters, cousins, and wasps, to let them also like it, so that all displeasure and ill-will may be lifted, which we also want to have settled herewith and all things dead, for the sake of which, as befits natural blood friends in particular, 1) brotherly, friendly, Christian love and support one another. Done this 10th day of July, 1534. Amen.

Dr. Martinus Luther, own hand.

No. 2074.

(Wittenberg,) July 14, 1534.

To Justus Menius in Eisenach.

Of the payment of the prince's gift (see No. 2041 and No. 2050) to Hieronymus Weller. Of the landgrave's war march to Würtemberg happily ended.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Guelph*. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 310 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 551.

To the worthy man Justus Menius, the faithful servant of Christ in the church at Eisenach, his exceedingly dear [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Hieronymus Weller finally sends a letter and words of his reliability, as it were as an unworthy sinner. Thou, my dear Justus, procure that thou justify him by the thing itself, namely, by the grace and gift of the Prince. This messenger is reliable and faithful, to whom thou mayest entrust the property (*depositum) thou* knowest to be kept. Hitherto there has been no messenger to whom this thing could have been safely entrusted. It is therefore incumbent upon you to preach the gospel to the poor in this piece also, as much as you can. It is shameful for me to write more to your faithfulness.

We rejoice that the Landgrave, after things have been well arranged and peace has been obtained, has returned. God is evident

1) Ludwig and Walch: "samt".

the cause of it, who, contrary to the expectation of all, has turned our fear into peace. He that began it shall finish it, amen. Farewell and pray for me. Tuesday after Margaret [14 July] 1534.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2075.

(Wittenberg,) July 27, 1534.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

Intercession for Martin Sanger.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. N, p. 108. 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 74, No. 128; in Walch, vol. XXI, 371; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 551 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 59.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall of the Holy Roman Empire and Elector, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most illustrious, high-born Prince, most gracious Lord! I have now come to E. C. F. G. with an unpleasant letter, on account of Martin Sanger, and do not like to burden E. C. F. G. with it; but because I see that he is in pain and suffering, that he should have E. C. F. G.'s displeasure, and it is no wonder whether the care for his wife and child also grieves him, I have not liked to deny him such a letter, so that he would not have to go further from me grieved and without consolation. If it cannot be lifted, I still want to have done the writing for his service, and this is his humble request that E. C. F. G. do not want to become ungracious to him, but! because it is a great burden for him to provide for his wife and child so suddenly, and to sell his dwelling, E. C. F. G. want to show him mercy, and give him time and space to pay off his house in the best way, 2) and to provide for his wife and child fairly. In addition, my diligent and humble request that E. C. F. G. take to heart (as I have no doubt that E. C. F. G. will know how to do so) is that E. C. F. G. should give him the grace of a time and a place to live, 2) and to provide for his wife and child.

2) "gelosen" == to sell (Dietz).

F. G. Ungnad without everything else is nevertheless pity and woe enough, both with himself and his friendship, which is supposed to be honest, and he is also considered to be a skilful man. E. C. F. G. will in this know how to show themselves gracious and Christian. Christ, our Lord, rule and keep E. C. F. G. forever, Amen. Monday after St. Jacob's [July 27] 1534.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Mart. Luther.

No. 2076.

(Dessau?) 29 July 1534.

To his housewife.

A confidential letter from the court.

The original is in the Wallenrodt Library at Königsberg. From it (mutilated) in Lilienthal's Erläut. Preußen, I V. B., p. 153. Entirely in Borowski-Faber, p. 98; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 552 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 61.

To my kind dear Lord, Mrs. Catherin von Bora, Dr. Lutherin at Wittenberg.

G. u. Fried in Christo. Dear Mr. Käthe! I don't know how to write to you, because Mr. Philipps and the others are coming home themselves. I must stay here longer for the Prince's sake. You may think how long I will stay here, or how you will release me. I think Mr. Francis will unloose me again, as I unloosed him, but not so soon. Yesterday I fasted an evil draught, and then I must sing: I drink not well, I am sorry, and would so gladly; and thought how good wine and beer I have at home, and fair women, or (shall I say) gentlemen. And you would do well to send me over the whole cellar full of my wine and a bottle (Pfloschen) of your beer, as soon as you can. Otherwise I will not return before the new beer. Hiemit GOtt befohlen sammt unsern Disciples und allem Gesinde, Amen. Wednesday after Jacobi [29 July] 1534.

Your sweetheart

Mart. LutheR, D.

No. 2077.

(Wittenberg,) 25 August 1534.

To author Broitzer, citizen of Brunswick.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2038.

No. 2078.

(Wittenberg,) 2. September 1534.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Request to kindly receive Peter Weller and Heinrich Schneidewein on their passage to Italy, where they want to study law.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 210, printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 311 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 554.

To the in Christ highly venerable brother, Doctor Wenceslaus Link, the exceedingly faithful servant of the Word at Nuremberg.

Grace and peace! Now I have nothing to write, my dear Wenceslaus, except to ask that you let these young people, especially Peter Weller and Heinrich Schneidewein, be most earnestly recommended to you. They desire nothing; they travel to Italy to learn the law, I suppose also to see Hans of them. They have been my table companions for some years, very pleasant people, if you show yourself cheerful, that is, if you obtain this for them, that they can see Nuremberg as much as possible, inside and out, and that they may do enough for their Hans von Jene, for that is what they desire most. You will therefore take pains that our friends with you welcome them. You may safely trust them, as I do myself, and be quite pleasantly merry with them. Be well in the Lord, and may you say the same to Mr. Andreas Osiander, who is very dear to me. Since I have so many letters to write, I have not had time to write even a little to him, nor to you in more detail. On September 2, 1534.

Martin Luther.

I) "Hans von Jene" is the personification of boredom and by popular joke, by taking "Jenen" - yawning, made the emblem of the city of Jena: A head, which opens its mouth and snaps at an apple, which an angel on a staff brings to him, but always takes away again, therefore also called "Schnapphans". This picture is above the entrance of the town hall of Jena under the tower clock. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1079, note 2.

No. 2079.

(Wittenberg,) September 7, 1534.

To Johann Agricola.

Luther expresses the intention to publish a letter of Cochlaeus with annotations.
From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 210, in Schütze, vol. II, p. 322 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 555.

Grace and peace! You have done us a favor, my dear Agricola, in sending the letter of Cochlæus. Although we know very well by the Spirit as judges that they, possessed by Satan, think and do such things always and in great quantity, yet it is nice that it is brought to light by their own display. We will publish the same with notes, because it is not obtained by theft, as once mine was by Duke George, 1) but carried to uus by the blowing wind (*flante spiritu*). 2) I am compelled to write little soberly. Greetings to all of us, especially your Elsa with the children, and in my and my Käthe's name, who, as I believe, now bears the fourth little son 3). Anno 1534, on the day before the Nativity of Mary [Sept. 7].

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2080.

(Wittenberg,) September 23, 1534.

To Friedrich Myconins in Gotha.

Thanks for a gift.

The original is in Luther's house in Eisleben. Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 211. From the autograph in *Jo. Mart. Schamelii Numburg. litterat.*, I,

1) See St. Louis ed. introduction to 19th vol. p. 20 ff.

2) The wind had blown the letter out of Wicel's window. The letter of Cochlaeus, dated August 15, 1534, is a letter of comfort to Wicel, in which he advised him not to separate from his wife and children, at least not publicly, but to cover up the uncomfortable relationship as much as possible. Luther saw to it that it was printed. Perhaps it was Cordatus in Niemeck who published it. The title is: *Epistola Dr. Coclei ad Georgivm Vuicelium ne tristetur propter abnegatum coniugium sacerdotale, & hactenus frustra expectatos XXX. argenteos ludae Iscarioth. - Cum praefatione cujusdam Lutherani - Vittembergae* 1534. 12 quarto sheets. (Seidemann, Beiträge zur Reformationgesch., p. 147 f.)

3) It was not a son, but Margarethe, born the 17th of December 1534.

p. 123; in Innocent News 1727, p. 12; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 239 and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 556. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1261.

To his exceedingly dear brother in Christ, Mr. Friedrich Myconius, the very faithful servant of Christ in the church at Gotha.

Hail and peace in Christ! Although I, afflicted with a cold and a cough, ought not to write, as I am not able to do much, I have nevertheless, my dear Myconius, wanted to reply to your so kind letter with scribblings and confused speeches (*liturando et delirando*). Your gift of cheese (*caseaceum*) was very pleasant [to me], 4) especially because you are pleasant, and not alone because you are pleasant, but also because you are grateful, and therefore your gratitude was also pleasant. I doubt not that thou also art pleasant to Christ, to whom thou art so very thankful. For at this time a thankful man is a rare bird, and therefore also such a one is rare who could be pleasant to GOtte. May Christ keep us in his knowledge and recognition, and at the same time in confession and true gratitude. Pray for me. Fare well with all those who are yours. September 23, 1534, your Martin Luther.

No. 2081.

Wittenberg. 7 October 1534.

To Matthias Weller in Freiberg.

See St. Louis edition vol. X, 1726. - The date is not October 6, which also the Erlangen edition reprinted from De Wette. - The addressee, unnamed in the editions, is Matthias Weller at Freiberg. See De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 551, note 7.

No. 2082.

(Wittenberg,) October 14, 1534.

To Nikolaus Hausmann in Dessau.

Luther asks him to induce the princes to settle the disagreement between a nobleman and his pastor; likewise, that he cooperate in finding out to whom Luther had promised the marriage.

The original is in Dessau. Handwritten by Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 212. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 322; by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 239 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 558. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1420.

4) In what follows Luther plays with the word xratus, which he takes sometimes in the sense of "pleasant," sometimes in that of "grateful."

To the worthy man, Mr. Magister Nicolaus Hausmann, bishop of the church in Dessau, fine exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace! A great quarrel arises, my dear househusband, between the nobleman in Resen and fine parson. And also the parson does not seem to act moderately enough, especially against the mistress, since they are otherwise, not to say quite strange, but at least weak in the word, which has only recently been adopted. Therefore, you see to it that this trouble is lifted by your princes, as far as it can be done.

I have ordered Magister Franz to find out what I have neglected and dreamed away, namely, it has occurred to me that I have promised my future spouse, and I do not know to whom. This I desire to know now, as the confinement approaches, lest I be broken of word. Work with me as much as you can. Farewell in Christ and pray for me. 1534, 14 October. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

No. 2082a.

First half of October 1534.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther.

The Landgrave asks Luthern, because of the great danger that the sacramental controversy brings with it, to be mindful of a constant union, especially since the Oberlanders have also made their confession in such a way that there is no longer any reason for discord. Answered in the following number.

The original concept is in the State Archives at Marburg. Printed by Kolde, p. 200.

Since the dualism that occurs because of the Sacrament brings great disruption and harm to our Christian faith, and is evidently present, God prevent and forbid that, by the diligent persistence of the papists, a great bloodshed should arise and come about for the poor people in the Upper Lands: Since the majority of the preachers in the Upper Lands, and Bucerus in particular, have nevertheless directed and placed their confession in such a way that it is now considered and believed unnecessary that there should be further discord or strife because of it, since Christ and one faith will ever be confessed by all parts, therefore our gracious request goes out to you that you take this matter, which is in the interest of all, into Christian and faithful consideration, and that you should not be afraid of it.

that a permanent union and settlement of the same article may be made and consented to; what we then shall and may do in the same, we do not want to incur any diligence, expense, or effort, and are graciously disposed toward you. We have also likewise made our mind known to Bucero and other preachers in the upper country. 1) Dat.

To M. Luther.

No. 2083.

Wittenberg. 17 October 1534.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

Luther agrees to help settle the disputes over the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

From the collection of Caspar Sagittarius at Jena in Schütze, vol. II, p. 393; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 559 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 65.

To the illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Philipsen, Landgrave in Hesse, Count of Katzenelnbogen, my gracious Lord.

Grace and peace of God in Christ. Sublime, high-born Prince! I have received E.F.G.'s writing, in which E. F. G. request that I take the matters of the Sacrament into Christian and deep consideration, so that a constant unity may be established between us and the preachers of other countries. Now, your honor knows well that I, of course, also always desire most of all to have unity, because I am annoyed enough (and detrimental to the kingdom of Christ) by the overpowering defiance of the papists, so strengthened by such disunity that without it he would have long since become more humble, if only your honor had been able to get a hold of me. F. G. could have obtained from M. Bucero and his followers whether they would be willing to do and give in this matter or not; after all, I would also like to be found, whatever I might want to clear my conscience. Dear God, I hardly come to the things that not I but others have begun, and it seems to me that among them, even the preachers from abroad, there are few who also follow Bucero, and perhaps afterwards should cry out against both. Nothing is dear to my heart.

1) This "become" is obviously too much.

But if it should be unstable and uncertain at the bottom, then faithfulness is lost. What E. F. G. can help and advise in this, I ask for God's sake, want to continue. If I can do something against the murderers and bloodhounds, the papists, who still cannot nor will not stop, for they have 1) rejected Christ or are themselves down and out: then it is not lacking and shall not be lacking in my poor prayer, doing, suffering, speaking and writing. Christ, our Lord, strengthen E. F. G. to do his will in the grace 2) of his church to wrath against the papists, amen, urns. Wittenberg, Saturday after Galli [Oct. 17] MDXXXIV.

E. F. G. williger

Dr. Martinus Lutherus.

No 2084.

(Wittenberg,) October 24, 1534.

To the council of Herford.

Luther wants the brothers and sisters in Herford to be left alone and not to make any unjust demands on them.

The original is said to be in the royal library in Berlin. Transcript in the Provincial Archives at Münster. Printed in the Innocent News 1726, p. 895; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 74, no. 129; in Walch, vol. XXI, 375; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 560 and in the Erl. Ausg., vol. 55, p. 66.

To the honorable and wise gentlemen, mayor and council of Hervord in Westphalia, my favorable lords and friends.

Gratiam et pacem etc. Honourable, wise, dear sirs! I have often experienced, and have been told by many, how some hot-tempered and hasty people among you urge you to afflict the *friars* and sisters among you, as if they could not be saved because of the state in which they are; yet they have all put away the abomination of the pope, and hold to Christian liberty, though in the old dress and form, and lead an orderly, disciplined life, working with their hands according to the apostle's teaching: that I well desire that such people, as God would give grace, should mary much, for they are not harmful, but useful, because they are attached to the gospel. In addition I hear that they should

1) "For Christ" put by us instead of: "the Christians". 2) "Graces" == to be gracious, to show mercy.

They are not to be burdened with the office and care of the public schools, for they are not endowed by anyone, nor do they receive interest from anyone, as the endowments and monasteries do, and should do so fairly; nor is it right that they should serve from what they have earned and not been given, for that would mean working and giving money. Therefore my faithful admonition is, let your wisdom be in it, that the pious people be not so distressed, lest, as you begin to do, your city should cry out, as if it sought other men's work and goods, when you might well have need of the proper pens for such a school. I have written before that time itself will find counsel, which, I hear, is interpreted as if one should force them henceforth, but give the words that in time it will be found, namely, whether they will thus remain, or willingly change. Pray for Christ's sake, let E. W. help that there be no cause to speak evil of the gospel. Unfortunately, there are all too many troubles everywhere, which cause our gospel to be much maligned, that we may diligently strive to keep it in honor. If all things are well with you, yet it is not perfect. God hereby commands you. Saturday after St. Luke's [Oct. 24] 1534.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2085.

(Wittenberg,) October 24, 1534.

To Gerhard Wilskamp in Herford.

About the matter discussed in the previous letter.

From the collection of a preacher Pagendarm in Heyen with Schütze, vol. II, p. 323 and with De Wette, vol. IV, p. 561 f.

To Brother Gerhard of Xanten, the faithful and upright servant and disciple of Christ, who is highly esteemed in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! I, my dear Gerhard, have always thought that your way of life, after it was free from your papal filth and the bonds of conscience, pleased me very well to instruct the faithful in the fear of God and in discipline. Therefore, I do not wonder alone, but

I am also sorry that you are still being troubled by these new hypocrites of the Gospel, who, since they do nothing, neither for the schools nor for the church, only want to appear inclined to your words when they destroy everything and build nothing. I have written, and rightly so, that the monasteries were formerly schools, and ought to be, but I do not yet see any that are put into the form of a school. And I have spoken of those monasteries which are endowed with the treasures of princes and kings, and which idle people make into places of lust with the interest given. Your foundation is a private house, which feeds itself by its own labor, as when a private citizen has his children educated. But those are public institutions, and monasteries and cathedral convents founded at common expense. Of these I speak. What do they require you to do with what you have earned? Why do they themselves give nothing of theirs, or do they not use those common goods for this purpose? I write about this matter to your council, and at the same time I put it to them that they may praise our word, "that time itself will find counsel. For I would very much like to see your way of life preserved, as long as it serves and benefits many under the freedom and grace of Christ through love. Greet from me all your [brothers] and your [sisters] in Christ. Magister Philippus is absent, Dr. Pommer sends you his greetings. Given on the Saturday after St. Luke's [Oct. 24], Anno 1534. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2086.

(Wittenberg,) November 17, 1534.

To Nikolaus Hausmann in Dessau.

Congratulations on the birth of an Anhaltian prince, and news.

From the Hanig Collection at Kiel in Schütze, vol. II, p. 325; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 241 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 562 f., who compared Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 212. .

To the exceedingly dear brother in Christ, Mag. Nicolaus Hausmann, the faithful servant of Christ in Dessau.

Grace and peace in Christ! We rejoice greatly and all exult, best householder,
on the divine blessing with which GOD has blessed the very good and God-loving princes by the happy delivery and birth of the new prince and heir, and I pray that you will indicate to them our congratulations and prayers, that GOD, who began this blessing, may now complete it for His glory, and for the benefit and peace of the commonwealth, Amen.

There is no news except that which we believe dll know, namely, of the new king of the Münster people and of the apostles of the same who have been sent to Soest, "where eight of them have been beheaded". Christ continue and do his work, amen.

In Upper Germany there seem to be movements because of the imperial eight (*bannum),* which the *imperial* chamber court (*Camera imperii*), as they say, is initiating against the Zwinglian cities, but I fear that they rather want to attack us. May Christ reign and triumph, amen. Fare well in Christ and pray for me too. Tuesday after Martinmas [17 Nov] 1534.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2087.

Wittenberg. 24 November 1534.

To Caspar Müller, Mansfeld chancellor.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1806.

No. 2088.

Witzenhausen. 24.0 November 1534.

Anton Corvinus to Luther.

(Regest.)

Corvinus expresses his joy that Luther's translation of the Bible has been completed and published, and praises it highly. He expresses his gratitude for Luther's honorable preface to his book against Erasmus' Tract, concerning the sought-after comparison of the religious dispute (St. Louis edition, vol. X VIII, 2006). When he wrote this book, he had still held Erasmus' scholarship in somewhat high esteem, but now, after the latter's writing

1) Krafft has resolved "3. p. *Ceciliae*" by: "the third day after *Caeciliae*," Nov. 25, but we think it should be taken 3. fer. p. *Caeciliae,* Tuesday after Caeciliae, Nov. 24. Even counting according to the Latin way, Krafft should have put Nov. 24.

Corvinus, who had published Luther's letter to Amsdorf (St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1990), saw that he had to despair of him completely. Corvinus sends Luther his interpretation of the Sunday Gospels and urgently asks Luther to write a preface to it. - This Luther did by the preface, which is found in the St. Louis edition, Vol. XIV, 362.

From the Cod. Lremeus. a II in Krafft, Briefe und Documente, p. 72.

No. 2089.

(Wittenberg,) November 30, 1534.

To Leonhard Beier in Zwickau.

About a matrimonial matter.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Gud*. From the Börner collection in Leipzig in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 325 and in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 565.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have so advised this man, the priest, my dear Leonhard, that you, or a priest who is even closer to him, marry this abandoned woman, but nevertheless the judicial form must first be observed, namely, that at the door of your church or that of a closer neighbor, as I have said, Matthes be summoned before you by a note in your name to give the deceived woman an answer within fifteen days. When this time is expired, and the latter has not turned himself in, declare him publicly a forfeiter, and the wife free, according to the testimony of these two letters. And so she may be married to the priest in the name of the Lord. Farewell. I write very seldom, because I cannot do what I want, and you have no need of me. Pray for me. Monday after the Sunday of Advent [Nov. 30] 1534.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2090.

(Wittenberg,) December 7, 1534.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

Repeated intercession for Martin Sänger. 1)

1) According to the Weimar Archives, *Reg. T, pag.* 47, Sanger had been accused and arrested for false courage; Luther's case was dismissed by Brück on December 22 (Burkhardt, p. 224).

The original is in the Weimar Archives, LeA X, x. 108. printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 74, No. 130; in Walch, vol. XXI, 376 (wrong: Dec. 14); in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 568 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 69.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ and my poor prayer 2c. Most noble, high-born Prince, most gracious Lord! I have previously also written to E. C. F. G. on behalf of Martin Sangern of Schneeberg; now, however, good people have fallen to me on his behalf, who have informed me how E. C. F. G. has given a gracious answer to your pastor on Schneeberg, that he should be secure of his body and goods, and otherwise more of his things and misfortunes 2c., I have asked E. C. F. G. for one more thing on his behalf, because he has vouched for himself and is graciously assured of his body and goods, that E. C. F. G. will mercifully look upon his misery, his wife's and his eight small children's misery, and let them come to him again, so that he does not go astray and become a beggar and have to be without wife and child. The matter is indeed difficult for him, and very harmful to his wife and children, as E. C. F. G. himself can tell. Because he is so far pardoned that he should not be expelled from the principality, except on the Schneeberg; but I do not know, nor do I wish to know, what his fault and offence is, except that I hear that the tithing officer, Paulus Schmidt, almost wants to harm him: so I humbly ask once again that E. C. F. G. would be kind enough to forgive him. C. F. G. will graciously consider his wife's and child's needs, which are growing for him, and which are in great need of discipline and care, so that they will not be ruined and neglected 2c., and yet let him come in again to his own, where it is possible without E. C. F. G. trouble or displeasure. For they make me miserable and distressed for wives and children, for which his cause is so heartfelt, and he himself must know what it is like to be from wife and children, and also from food, and to float in error, and to consume what is his, that I should give them such a thing as this.

I have not been able to refuse this request. E. C. F. G. will, out of a princely and Christian mind, graciously show himself in this, if God wills it. May Christ our Lord graciously strengthen and govern E. C. F. G.'s heart and mind, Amen. Monday after Nicolai [Dec. 7] 1534.

E. C. F. G. submissive Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2091.

(Wittenberg,) 8 December 1534.

To Hans Kohlhase, citizen of Berlin.

Luther admonishes him from self-revenge.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. August*. H 10, fol. 180 and at Gotha in *Cod. Goth*. 398, pag. 121.
(These two codices have the letter addressed to Hans Kohlhase, while the editions have the heading: "To an unnamed person.") Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 166; in the Jena edition (1568), vol. VI, p. 273d; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 334; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 375; in Walch, vol. XXI, 373; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 567; and in the Erlangen, vol. 55, p. 71.

Grace and peace in Christo. My good friend! I have truly been sorry for your accident, and still am, God knows that; and it would have been better at first not to take revenge, because it cannot be taken without burdening the conscience, because it is a self-inflicted revenge, which is forbidden by God, Deut. 32 Rom. 12: "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord, I will repay," 2c., and cannot be otherwise; for he who enters into it must put himself in the way of doing much against God and man, which a Christian conscience cannot approve.

And it is true, that your harm and *infamy* shall be justly grievous unto you, and ye are bound to save and keep the same, but not with sins or wrongs. *Quod justum est, juste persequeris*, says Moses; injustice is not made right by other injustice. Now to be a judge of oneself and to judge oneself is certainly wrong, and God's wrath does not leave it unpunished. What you may do rightly, you do well; but if you cannot do rightly, there is no other counsel but to suffer injustice. And God, who thus makes you suffer injustice, has good cause for you. Neither doth he mean evil nor evil unto you; he is able to make amends for it in another, and therefore be not forsaken.

And what would ye do, if he should punish otherwise, to wife, and child, and life, and limb? If you want to be a Christian, you must nevertheless say: My dear Lord God, I have well deserved it, you are just, and do only too little according to my sins. And what is the suffering of us all compared to the suffering of his Son, our Lord Christ?

Therefore, if you desire my counsel (as you write), I counsel you to accept peace where it can come to you, and rather suffer harm to your goods and honor, than that you should go further into such undertakings, where you must take upon you all their sins and trespasses, who would serve you to feud; 1) yet they are not pious, and mean you with no faithfulness, seeking their profit. At last they themselves will betray you, and ye shall have fished. If ye paint not the devil at the door, neither ask him to be your patron, he will come; for such fellows are the devil's companions, and commonly take their end according to their works.

But you must understand how hard your conscience will bear it if you knowingly destroy so many people when you have no right to do so. If you are content to honor God, and let God inflict your harm on you, and for his sake, 2) you will see that he will bless you again, and reward your work abundantly, so that your patience, which you have borne, will be dear to you. To this end may Christ our Lord, teacher and example of all patience and helper in trouble, help you, amen. Tuesday after Nicolai [8 December] Anno 1534.

No. 2092.

(Wittenberg,) December 15, 1534.

To Johann, Prince of Anhalt.

Expert opinion on how to proceed with the rebaptizers who had left the church in Zerbst and had submitted articles.

1) Already before May 1, 1534, Kohlhase had announced the feud to the Saxon lands. See Melanchthon's letter to Camerarius of May 1, *Corp. Ref.* vol. II, 720.

2) As a result of this letter, Kohlhase traveled to Wittenberg and promised Luther that he would not harm the Electorate of Saxony, but he did not keep his word, and in 1540, he was executed in Berlin. See Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 528, note 3.

Printed in Lindner's "Mittheilungen", p. 24, No. 16; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 194 f. and in De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 151 f.

To the illustrious, well-born Prince and Lord, Lord John, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascania, Lord of Bernburg, my gracious lord.

G. and Peace in Christ. Sublime Prince, gracious Lord! Magister Franciscus has reported to me some articles of the Anabaptists that have crept into Zerbst, and E. F. G. has asked how they are to be dealt with. F. G. Desires told me how to deal with them 2c. But there must not be much dispute, because they are such sneaks and come secretly without being called, like wolves in the sheepfold. Secondly, their articles are publicly seditious, murderous, and blasphemous, approving also of the damned coiner. Therefore E. F. G. cannot do otherwise, but with earnestness to it and tolerate them in no way. How they should be examined, however, is beyond my authority, because it is a secular matter. Nevertheless it would be good that they should also be sharply questioned spiritually, whether their impudent consciences will be ashamed, namely, who sent them here, and who commanded them to creep in this way, because they should know where their spirit is right, that no one should send himself nor call himself, as Christ himself did in *Hebrews 1*:5. 5. not having sent himself, 2c. from whence they have a right to interfere with a called pastor in his office, and behind his knowledge to turn away his commanded people, that they may condemn his doctrine in a vile and unheard-of manner, and are not so honest as to have saluted him or his overlords beforehand for it. Such are vile knaves, and, as Christ saith *Jn* X, thieves and husks, or murderers, and that they should be severely reproached for such things, as they alone have deserved death thereby, and what else is worthy of their seditious doctrine, 2c. as E. F. G. well know better to do in this than I can write. I thank my Lord Christ, that he hath heard our prayer, and hath made the dear Prince, Prince Joachim, well and merry, He give long, Amen. The same Christ be with E. F. G. and both my gn. Gentlemen with all that is and is called, amen. Tuesday after Lucia [15 Dec.] 1534. E F. G. williger

Mart. Luther, D.

No. 2093.

(Wittenberg,) December 16, 1534.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther comments on the settlement negotiations with the Zwinglians, to which Melanchthon is about to leave.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel, in *Cod. Helmut.* 107 and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 210. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 326 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 569.

Grace and peace be unto thee, best Jonas, but death and hell to thy stone by the power of Christ. Though I had desired to converse with thee and others before M. Philip departed, yet thou hast not been able to come to me, nor I to thee. But what I shall record to-morrow, 1) I shall record for my credentials, and keep a copy, which I shall show to thee and to all. For I shall do nothing in this matter alone, although I suppose that there will be no concord between those and us. Philip also says that he will not act in this matter alone. And it is too great for two or three men, even if they have the highest reputation, to carry it out, so that it seems to me that the journey of Philip, a very good man, is entirely in vain. I cannot depart from my opinion; though the universe should break down, the ruins will meet me as one undaunted. As soon as thou canst, come hither to me. Farewell. December 17 [16], 1534, your Martin Luther.

No. 2094.

(Wittenberg,) December 17, 1534.

Concerns for the settlement negotiations in Cassel.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2048.

No. 2094 a

Wittenberg. 17 December 1534.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

(Regest.)

Luther sends a concern written by Melanchthon about the Sacrament controversy, which he regrets, but which he declares he cannot do anything to settle against his conscience.

1) From this it follows that the date of this letter is not the 17th, but the 16th of December.

Printed by Rommel, Philipp der Großmüthige. From it in Krafft, Theol. Arbeiten des rhein. wissenschaftlichen Predigervereins, vol. II, p. 99. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 201, with the note: "Krafft rightly remarks that afterwards the objection printed in De Wette, IV, 570 (the preceding number) comes from Melanchthon." We are of the opposite opinion, and hold that this objection bears in a pronounced manner the manner of Luther. Would Melanchthon ever have dared to say "that the body of Christ is gnawed with the teeth"? The objection mentioned in our letter might be the one found in *Corp. Ref.* vol. II, 800, of which Bretschneider says that Melanchthon wrote it before his journey to Cassel. Bretschneider places the time of Melanchthon's departure "about December 12" (*Corp. Ref.,* Vol. II, 807), but we learn from a letter of Spalatin to the Elector of Dec. 26, 1534 (Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 202), that "the very hour that Philip rode out and met me [Spalatin], God gave Luther the third daughter, on Thursday after St. Lucius [Dec. 17], and the following day she was baptized.

No. 2095.

(Wittenberg,) December 17, 1534.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther informs him of the birth of his third daughter. Of the settlement negotiations at Cassel and of the duke in Würtemberg.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 211 and at Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst*. 107, printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 327 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 574.

I wish you luck, my dear Jonas, that your stones have finally departed. Would to God that none of them would ever return or enter, amen. But I also show you this, that today at 12 o'clock, by the grace of God, my third little daughter was born to me. I have asked the illustrious Lord Joachim of Anhalt to be my godfather (*Catechistam*), but I do not know whether the Court will allow him. I wish very much, however, that you would be present either at breakfast or at the evening meal, if you could for the sake of health. I believe that M. George has brought to you my opinion, 1) which I have delivered to Philip. The more I think about it, the more my mind is alienated from this desperate union, since they are so different even among themselves. And it is written to me that the Duke of Wurtemberg regards the Blaurer as his favourite. If this be true, what can be hoped of all upper Germany? On December 17, 1534. Your Martin Luther.

1) Concern No. 2094.

No. 2096.

(Wittenberg,) December 17, 1534.

To Joachim, Prince of Anhalt.

Luther asks him to be godfather to his daughter.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 992; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 565; in Walch, vol. XXI, 377; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 575, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 77, and (after the original) vol. 56, p. 193.

To the illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord Joachim, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascania and Lord of Berneburg, my gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious one! The Almighty God has given me a young daughter from my dear Käthe at this hour. Now I have promised E. F. G. beforehand to ask for the Christian office of spiritual fatherhood: accordingly I ask for Christ's sake that E. F. G. will not weigh down humility and help the poor heathen from his sinful, fatal birth to the new, holy and blessed rebirth, and be a spiritual father through the holy bath of baptism. And because it is now cold and awkward weather for E. F. G.'s body, I will gladly see E. F. G.'s own person spared, and give E. F. G. home, whether she orders one in her place from Dessau or from here. M. Philippus and M. Franscus is not native. What the F.F.G. pleases, they will know how to keep. God will reward that, and with what I know I am obliged and bound to earn it. In the morning I would have it baptized. Christ be with E.F.G. blessed, amen. Thursday after St. Lucy's [17 Dec.] 1534.

E. F. G.

willing

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2097.

(Wittenberg,) December 19, 1534.

To Joachim, Prince of Anhalt.

Thanks for the accepted paternity of Luther's daughter Margaretha.

In Lindner, "Mittheilungen," p. 23; in the Erlauger edition, vol. 56, p. 194 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol.VI, p. 153.

To the illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord Joachim, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien and Lord of Berneburg, my gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! I thank your Lord most humbly that your Lord has shown himself so graciously in the Christian work against me and my new man in Christ. Our Lord God reward E. F. G., Amen. But E. F. G. has done well, and has given me much concern, that she has not herself gone into such harsh inaccuracies, for it may indeed have been too sharp and too rough for E. F. G.'s body. To my gn. F. Johns and F. George 2c., I wish God's mercy through my poor *pater noster* together with the whole trunk, branches and fruits, and E. F. G. want to give me my forgiven body. F. G. will grant me my presumptuous petition and live happily and blessedly in Christ, Amen. XIX *Decembris* 1534.

E. F. G. williger Dr. Martinus Luther.

No. 2098.

(Wittenberg,) 20 December 1534.

To Eberhard Brisger in Altenburg.

Luther refuses the request to buy Brisger's house in Wittenberg and suggests another buyer.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 213 and in *Cod. Goth*. 4 From the collection of Caspar Sagittarius at Jena in Schütze, vol. II, p. 328 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 575.

Grace and peace in Christ! What could I write, my dear Eberhard, about the sale of your house? since you knew that I am neither an appraiser nor a suitable buyer in such matters, and you have plenty of people who could advise you better in this matter than I, not to mention that you yourself are more insightful and experienced in such matters; except that I may not have responded to your offer to sell it to me. But I did not like to make a show of my poverty, as it is impossible for me ever to raise half so large a sum. In appearance I show splendid treasures, but I do not wish that
you or anyone else would be in my position. Therefore you will not have me as a buyer, even if you wanted to sell two hundred times. But I persuade thee concerning Bruno, and if my petitions have any effect with thee, I would wish thee to sell it to him for four hundred and forty guilders, for I hear that it is so valued by thy kinsmen. What will you do more harshly with this good brother of ours? since the Lord has just blessed you with this property, and you should not grant anyone anything cheaper, whatever you may have decided to sell. And the Lord is able to bestow upon thee a richer blessing, if thou believest that he was, is, and will be thy Creator, Sustainer, and Multiplier, even according to the flesh, for the sake of a special thing; that is, why thou art in vain dissatisfied with the care how the children shall be provided for. Christ, who began it, though he be weak, will accomplish it for them that endure. I ought indeed to care for my own, since I am as yet poorer in possessions than you, but I see that the care is in vain. Therefore I command him who has given everything enough until this day, that he will give, if I will be worthy of it in the future, or will take away those to whom he will not give. May the Lord strengthen thee, and teach thee, that nothing more than want shall follow our care, and nothing less hinder the same...) On the 4th Sunday of Advent [Dec. 20] 1534.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2099.

Weimar. 21 December 1534.

Doctor Gregorius Brück to Luther.

Duke Johann, son of Duke Georg of Saxony, had complained to the Elector on Dec. 15 about a sermon held by Luther on All Saints' Day, in which Luther was supposed to have urged to pray against Duke Georg and the Archbishop of Mainz, "the bloodhounds".

1) Already De Wette remarks: "The whole sentence seems defective." It reads in De Wette: *nihil magis egere sequitur, et nihil minus impedietur*. We have assumed: *nihil magis [quam] egere sequitur, et nihil minus [id] impedire*, The reading impedire (instead of *impedietur*) is found in *Cod. Goth.*

Although the Elector answered evasively on Dec. 20 and ordered the Duke to be quiet, he nevertheless called upon Luther by this letter to justify himself and to give a detailed account of the sermon, and also exhorted him to moderation in his public reply.

The original is in the von Wallenrodt Library in Königsberg, but without the note. Printed in Burkhardt, Luthers Briefwechsel, p. 225.

My willing service before, venerable and highly respected dear Lord and Godfather! Although my most gracious lord indicates to you in his churf. graces letter that you would find the content and sound of the words from an enclosed list, his churf. graces have nevertheless ordered me to send your honor a copy of their cousin, Duke Johansen, letter, which you will find enclosed and will hear the content according to the length.

And since his churf. graces suspect that the archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg and Duke Jörg of Saxony will send their message within ten days to his churf. graces for the sake of these matters and will make vigorous inquiries with his churf. graces, 1) it is his churf. gracious request that you again answer his churf. graces with this messenger and that you actually report to his churf. graces what the words were and whether or not you thought of Duke Jörg in addition to the bishop. and report what the words were, and whether or not you thought of Duke Jörgen in addition to the bishop, also what caused you to do so, and to strengthen and emphasize the causes according to the Holy Scriptures in such a way that it is proper for you before God to report it also for the sake of your conscience, and thus to petition against them in the Christian community, and that you may not be taken in by them for any defamatory or criminal act. For if they can overcome your honor, they will not refrain from asking for punishment, and if Duke Jörg touches them in such a way, as his son writes, he will pretend that he has acted against the next Grimm treaty 2) and especially against the article of the enclosed law, of which your honor was informed soon after the treaty was made. So my most gracious lord also understands that Cocleus in his Philippics, 3) and other Duke

1) This came true. Cf. the letter of 30 Dec.

2) At Grimma on Nov. 13, 1533, the dispute between Duke George and the Elector was settled.

3) Cochlaeus had already written a treatise against the Apology in 1531, but did not have it printed until 1534. It has the title: *Philippicae quatuor Johannis Cochlei, in Apologiam Philippi Melanch- thonisadCarolumV.etc.. Lipsiae. M. Dr. XXXIIII.* 88 quarto leaves.

Jörgen theologians, scribes and preachers in their writings and sermons, have not forgotten the aforementioned 4) Grimm Treaty so completely. Therefore his lordship would like you to order the provost, my godfather, Doctor Jonassen and others whom you consider convenient to do so, to read through the Philippices and other writings of the Duke-Jörgian, which have gone out in the past year, with diligence and to investigate whether they are of interest to his lordship or to others of his lordship. G. or other of his churf. G. relatives, also you, are touched therein by name and with what words this is done, also who is found or experienced of this, would be made known to his churf. G., so that one would have all the more reason to reject the people at first.

Thus His Lordship also considers it good that you have good regard for yourselves and take care so that people are not secretly brought to you who would prove a disgrace to you and do you harm. 5) I have also not wished to leave this undisclosed to Your Honor's kind opinion. I also do not want to let your reverence's friendly opinion go unreported. For I am always quite willing to serve them in a friendly manner. Date Weimar, Monday St. Thomas the Apostle [21 Dec.] 1534.

Doctor Brück.

Note. My most gracious lord also graciously desires that you do the reports differently than, for the bishop's sake alone, by a special list, for whether your reverence is a little overawed by the priest in the report, that is not the issue, and for Duke Jörgen's sake alone. Whether you went a little quietly in the report for that reason, my most gracious lord would like to see, but *omnino citra offensionem gloriae et verbi Dei. Date uts*.

No. 2100.

Wittenberg. 23 December 1534.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

Luther's answer to the preceding letter, for the Elector.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, HsZ. X, p. 75. Printed by De Wette, vol. I V, p. 576 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 78.

4) So put by us instead of: "they the gemelten". - "sider" - since then.

5) This warning may refer to the Duchess Elisabeth of Brunswick, and to others of her ilk.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony and Elector, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ 2c. Most illustrious, high-born Prince, most gracious Lord! I have received E. C. F. G.'s writing together with the writings of H. Hansen in Saxony 2c. and have read it humbly, to which I am sending E. C. F. G. the enclosed note, my reply. I also thank E. C. F., G. for graciously providing me with my 2c. I also hope that Jesus Christ will instruct E. C. F. G. not to go too far with promises against S. Georgen; for he is, as S. Friedrich says: "My cousin is a coarse man who will not let him be satisfied with any answer, and with such heads the first anger is always the best; they do not desist. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Wednesday after St. Thomas [23 Dec.] 1534

E. C. F. G. most subservient

Martinus Luther, D.

Submitted Public Response.

Sublime, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! E. C. F. G. are, according to God's grace and peace, my poor prayer and owed service humbly before. I have received E. C. F. G.'s letter with an enclosed copy of a letter from Duke Hansen of Saxony 2c. and in it I have almost heard how the aforementioned prince is suing me against E. C. F. G., as if I had spoken against his F. G. father, H. George, and the Bishop of Mainz with the words mentioned in the letter, as the copy reports at length. Thereupon E. C. F. G. request from me the report of all this and for what reasons I have done so 2c.

Where shall I go, most gracious lord? I would have liked it, that the high mentioned prince would have let me address or write to a lesser person, than the Elector, for such a speech. I do not like to see E. C. F. G. serve in such matters; for it must not grieve me a little, that such high princes should have made me a poor man against my country prince, to whom I am sworn and serve.

such flying speeches without seal and letters, in addition without witnesses, so roughly and clumsily shall indicate, in addition still sue. But it may be so, that S. George and his must have five tines in their sack.

Accordingly, my humble request is that E. C. F. G. would graciously spare me and not request a report from me in such a matter, not for my sake, but for the sake of H. Georgen; for I would like to answer such a rough, clumsy writing to H. Hans too roughly. But shall I do it, and E. C. F. G., then I will do it honestly and honestly and give a right answer to such a writing. E. C. F. G. know what unwashed, coarse pieces we all have had to digest, especially before the Grim Day, which went out under H. George's name and coat of arms. I have forgiven them, but not forgotten them, and truly I want H. George not to tear open the old wounds.

I think that E. C. F. G. could not do anything better than to issue an order that one should preach and shout in H. Georgen Landen and confidently print books in Leipzig for the disgrace of the Elector of Saxony, and forbid that one should not protest in the Electorate; this would please E. C. F. G. not only the enemies, but also perhaps officials and nobles who live from E. C. F. G.'s property.

But, most gracious lord and prince, this is the summa, S. Hans, S. Georg, bishop of Mainz, I cannot suffer to be doctors, that they should teach me how I should speak; for I know that they cannot. But if they are so excellent and so exceedingly learned, then I sit here in Wittenberg and will wait for their art, and E. C. F. G. be strict and hard against me. I will suffer my right, where I do not answer. So much I will give this time to E. C. F. G. for a humble report. I will report to the Bishop of Hall myself in public writing (if God allows me to live), even if I should not earn absolution. For Christ will not be so easily frightened as the holy creature *Sanctiss. Leonis* lets himself think.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Mart. LutheR, D.

No. 2101.

(Wittenberg,) 23 December 1534.

To the Chancellor Gregorius Brück.

Answer to No, 2099.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. C,* p. 578. Printed in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 579 and in the Erlanger Ausg. vol. 55, p. 80.

To the honorable, highly esteemed Mr. Gregorio Brück, the right Doctor and Electoral Chancellor of Saxony, my favorable lord and dear godfather.

G. and Fried. Honourable, dear sir and godfather. I have written to my lord. I have written to my lord what S. C. F. G. may let go and read. True, I would be gladly to S. George and the bishop, and this letter of Duke Hans would be wondrous good to me. And for God's sake, that it may be kept, whether I or mine be in need of it. I would prick the ass's ears... But I must let it all happen now. *Noster hyparchon est, sicut est contra Archonta*. 1)

But if my lord Sirs earnestly desire to know how this matter stands, you may report to S. C. F. G. my conscience in this case. This is:

Certainly I have preached publicly against the bishop and asked that the same sermon go out to the market. Whether I have named St. George, I truly do not know; for since the Grim Day, I have put him out of my mind and have taken nothing from him. But it must be that after the sermon before the Duchess of Brunswick 2) over the table at the Margravine's, I spoke much of the bishop of such words, that he was of the devil, and I wanted to pray against him, perhaps also against H. Georgen. But if I have not said it of S. George, I say it still now, and will now do and say it more than before. Let me see if I will defend it with my neck. But presently...

1) This sentence is illegible in the original (De Wette). - Should the opinion be: Our prince is subservient (to Duke George) as one is to a chief?

2) Through his sister Elisabeth, the wife of Duke Erich of Brunswick, Margrave Joachim the Younger of Brandenburg learned of it, and reported it to Duke Johann in Dresden.

There is much in the copy that I do not know, and a prince should not write such things about himself, which I can deny with a clear conscience. But, dear, let them come for God's sake. Mart. Luther, D.

No. 2102

Weimar. 30 December 1534.

Prince John Frederick to Luther.

The Elector informs Luther that the ambassadors of Duke George and the Bishop of Mainz had not delivered the proof that Luther had mentioned Duke George by name in the sermon, but admonishes him nevertheless that he should avoid mentioning Duke George's name as far as possible.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, p. 75, No. 22, printed by Burkhardt, p. 227.

Our greetings first. Venerable, dear devotee! When you gave us an answer to the letter that our dear cousin, Duke John of Saxony, our cousin Duke George's son, sent to us, we do not want to reproach you in your gracious opinion, although our uncle and brother, the Bishop of Mainz, and our cousin Duke George had their advisors and ambassadors with us, they did not report anything about the things that our cousin H. John wrote to us. Only von Carlwitz, who is now one of our cousin Duke George's secret advisors, has thought of and reported the same things against us for himself: although our cousin would have been somewhat impatient about it when the report was made to his dear one, it would still have been talked out of S. L.'s mind. But the said Carlwitz has asked that we be graciously in favor of it. Since we have not yet learned that you thought of our cousin by name in the sermon on All Saints' Day, as the young Margrave said, 4) our gracious request to you is that you do it without burdening your conscience, that you spare our cousin as much as possible, so that we may maintain peace with S. L. externally, and that his love does not have to attack us on the Grimm Treaty.

But what you may not well refrain from doing in conscience or for your own salvation against S. L. theologians, in this we also want to give you no measure.

3) With Burkhardt: "den".

4) See the last note to No. 2101.

and do not want you to understand this in any other way than that we mean it graciously, which we are inclined to recognize towards you in all graces. Date Weimar, Wednesday after the holy Christian day 1535 [Dec. 30, 1534].

No. 2103.

Trockenborn. Without date 1) 1534.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Elector asks Luthern to promote the printing of the sermons of the court preacher Schenk, which he held before him.
The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N, p.* 100, No. 37. 4. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 227 f.

No. 2104.

(Wittenberg,) Without date (in the fall) 1534.

For his servant Wolf Sieberger.

(Lamentations of the birds to Luther.)

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 786.

No. 2105.

(Wittenberg,) Without date 1534.

To Spalatin.

Luther declares himself against the request of the Torgau people to exchange their preachers for others.
From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 206, in Schütze, vol. II, p. 329 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 581.

Grace and peace! We see from your letter to Jonas, my best Spalatin, that you and your fellow bishops are being asked to transfer the pastor and the church servants at Torgau, namely for the reason that their voices were not quite audible in the sermons. Certainly they have also sung the same little song to us, especially after they have heard M. Wolfgang Fuß 2) (Fues) in the recitation (*voce) of* his sermons. But see thou, my dear Spalatin, that thou dost not, by this few commendations of voice

1) Perhaps in September, when the Saxon Electors regularly stayed in Trockenborn for the sake of the hunt.
2) Wolfgang Fues, pastor in Colditz.

I am sure that you will allow yourself to be persuaded to make this dangerous change, which will not only be full of the most grievous annoyances, but will also be exceedingly offensive to us. For if this right be granted to the common people, that they may change their pastors when they are weary of them, how lukewarm shall we at last have pastors? Set thyself for an example: couldst thou bear it, if, either for the sake of voice or health, they wished either to transfer thee, or to make a change with thee, adding the Colditzer as an assistant? There are so many virtues in Gabriel 3) and the church servants at Torgau that they should not only obscure the voice of M. Wolfgang, but also denounce his virtues. Therefore I beseech thee that thou thyself also spare ours in this matter, which we cannot see without the greatest offence. Nor can such people as these Torgauers are so often found, and it would be shameful for us to exchange the best for the worst only for the sake of inequality of voice, since those also can be understood sufficiently, teach and read faithfully, and these are useful only by shouting for the itching ears of the mob, but according to the matter itself either to few or to themselves. The Lord be with thee, my dear Spalatin. Anno 1534. Your Martin Luther.

No. 2106.

(Wittenberg,) Without date 1534.

To Johann Lang in Erfurt.

(Fragment.)

A harsh comment on Erfurt.

From an old copy in J. E. Kappen's Reformation Documents, Th. 2, p. 747 and in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 582.

Thy Erfurt, as I see, thus struck and stunned by a fatal and sulfurous lightning, can, as he says, neither sleep when it is drunk, nor awake when it is awakened. Let God take care and make it not finally become Sodom and Capernaum, and let Him destroy this lightning of Satan with His better and stronger lightning.

3) Gemini.

No. 2107.

Without date 1534.

Concerns why loneliness to flee.

There are three different redactions of this concern, one Latin and two German, which Seidemann has excluded from De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 155 ff. In terms of content, they coincide perfectly, and, as Förstemann, Tischreden, vol. III, p. 167, note, correctly remarks, both German redactions seem to have a common Latin text. - The Latin text is found in *Manlii epistolarum Dr. Philippi Melanchtonis Farrago etc pag. 485 sq.* and from it in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 155. - The one German text is found in the Trostschriften, Jena, Rödingers Erben, bl. Giiij [b]; in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, bl. 166; in the Jena (1568), vol. VI, p. 274; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 336; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 376; in Walch, vol. XXI, 179*; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 156; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 65, p. 226, and (duplicate) vol. 60, p. 168, note (reprinted from Förstemann, vol. III, p. 166, note). Also in Stangwald, p. 341. -The second German text, probably Aurifaber's translation, is found in all other editions of the Tischreden, Cap. 26, Z 82 (with the exception of the St. Louis, where reference is made to vol. XXI). We give here a new translation of the Latin, and leave the two other German redactions as superfluous.

Exhortation to flee loneliness.

Dr. M. L.

More and more serious sins are committed in solitude than in the company of men. Eve in Paradise was deceived by the serpent because she was lonely. Murder, robbery, and theft are committed in solitude; there Satan is given room and opportunity. Then, too, one is ashamed to commit an outrage among many people or in the company of men. Christ promised that where two or three should be gathered together in his name, he would be in the midst of them. The devil tempted Christ in solitude. David fell into murder and adultery at the time he was alone and idle. And I have learned that I never fell into sin more often than when I lived alone. God created man for companionship, not for solitude [as can be seen in the two sexes] 1) of rational beings and of unreasonable animals. But man was created in such a way that there should be two at the same time, a male and a female, out of whose

1) Here something is missing in the Latin redaction, which we have added after the first German one.

Before God gathers an eternal Church. And Almighty God has not ordained the sacraments and holy sermons in the Church for the sake of solitude, but for the sake of the gatherings of men, from which lasting consolation is drawn. But solitude, on the other hand, brings forth the vilest sadness, and whatever may come into our minds, we regard all evil exceedingly carefully. And if there is anything unpleasant in our affairs, we make it extremely great for ourselves, and, as if no one were more unhappy, we invent for ourselves the worst outcome of all things. In short, we infer one thing from another and make the worst of it all. On the other hand, we imagine that others are exceedingly happy, and we torment ourselves very much that they are well off and we are badly off.

No. 2108.

To Mrs Felicitas von Selmenitz.

Written in a Bible.

See St. Louis Edition, Vol. IX, 1798, the interpretation of Is. 7, 9. But there, before this interpretation, the two sayings are missing: "Joh. 5. search the scriptures, for the same testifies of me. Psalm 2: Blessed are they that put their trust in him. "After it the inscription: "To the honorable, virtuous women, Felicitas von Selmenitz, my dear godmother. *Martinus Luther. Dr. Dr.* 1534."- Olearius copied this piece from a German Bible preserved in the Marienbibliothek at Halle, paZ. 241. with Olearius in *Scrinium antiquarium*, pag. 152 and with De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 159.

No. 2109.

Torgau. No date given. (1535.) 2)

To the Elector Johann Friedrich zu Saxony.

Luther asks for a support for Johann Kolbe.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Aa,* pag. 437. 2. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 228.

G. and F. in Christo. Most Gracious Sir! Out of humble trust I ask E. C. F. G. for two florins now to be given to me, which I will give to the poor man Er Johann Kolbe at Herz-

2) Burkhardt notes, "Through Ponickau the support was given. I place the letter in the year 1535."

Berg will and must give for God's sake, for his misery and tears at such an age moved me greatly. Has met me here in Torgau. I do not know how it always happens that neither visitator nor sequestrator nor officials have not yet finally helped the poor people so that their plight might come to an end, since such alms will not be great and will not last long. E. C. F. G. hold my thürstig 1) letter to my gracious favour. It is mercy.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Mart. Luther, D.

No. 2110.

(Wittenberg,) January 8, 1535.

To Anton Lauterbach in Leisnig.

About an ecclesiastical dispute (between Lauterbach and his pastor) and an alms to be given.

Manuscript at Gotha, Cod. 185. 4. from the Ludwig Collection at Halle in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 331; in *Strobel-Ranner, p.* 243 and in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 583. German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1522.

To the exceedingly dear brother in the Lord, M. Antonius Lauterbach, the faithful and upright servant of Christ in Leisnig.

Grace and peace! You know, my dear Anthony, that the circles of the Visitation are so divided that we have no power in your region. Therefore we can do nothing with you except by exhortation. Therefore, if you cannot do otherwise, take your cause to the Prince, since our admonitions have been of no avail up to now. If the prince should order us to do so, we shall do what we can, clothed in force. I bear great sorrow because of this discord and aversion. But God will put an end to it.

There is a nun with you, the wife of Georg Schmid, Christina von Honsberg, who is in misery. I wanted to send her a florin, but I know that the messengers are so disloyal (for soon they lose the money, soon it is stolen from them) that I would not dare to entrust it to them. Therefore I beseech thee, that thou mayest be in my

1) "thürstig" = brazen. Burkhardt: "thürftig".

If you procure the florin for them elsewhere in my name, I will faithfully return it. If you are unable to do so anywhere, then ask M. Augustin 2) at Colditz to see to it that it [the florin] is taken out of my Wolfgang's money, which is due at Walpurgis, and that he withdraw it afterwards. 3) To the same Christine, as she has asked, my Käthe sends this "Kategismam" (for so she writes). The Lord be with you and with yours, Amen. Greet your Agnes (*Agnem*) and all the lambs beloved in the chastity of faith. Friday after Epiphany [8 Jan.] 1535.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2111.

Weimar. 12 January 1535.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector asks Luthern to give his opinion on the negotiations between Melanchthon 4) and Bucer in Cassel, so that he can give the Landgrave an answer.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg*. *H*, p. 97, No. 41. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 229 (with the wrong date: "5 January").

Dear devotee! The reverend, our dear faithful, Magister Philipp Melanchthon, on his way back from our cousin and brother, the Landgrave, has reported to us here in Weimar what happened between him [Melanchthon] and Bucer of Strasbourg concerning the article on the reverend Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, concerning the reverend sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, our Savior, which has now occurred at Cassel, and also the article which Bucer and others, who have hitherto been regarded as evangelical preachers, wanted to approve, permit, and thus teach on account of the aforementioned sacrament, which has been sent to us in recorded form, as you will find enclosed. If, then, this transaction is great and important, and we nevertheless do not think nor want to consider any of this, for what may be done and permitted with God and a good conscience and without annoyance: then it is our gracious request to you that you hear Magister Philipsen's report from him, and that the filed petition for the approval of the sacrament be submitted to you.

---

2) Heaven.

3) The word which Luther uses here, *defalcet,* is not to be proved lexically. It is formed from *de* and *falx and* means: to secure.

4) not "Landgrave Philipp", as Burkhardt says.

5) Here we have deleted the word "we".

We would like to see and consider your list, and also your opinion, 1) whether you would know how to condemn them, if they contain or accept such an article, and how it is listed, 2) or not. In order that we may again make known, and 3) against our cousin and brother, the landgrave, may have an answer 4) given to a letter sent to us, we have given an order to the highly respected, our councilor and dear faithful, Gregorien Brück, doctor, because we now allow him to speak to you in a friendly manner about this on our behalf; which you will willingly hear from him. This we are inclined to recognize towards you in grace and good. Date Weimar, Tuesday after Epiphany [12 Jan] 1535.

No. 2112.

Wittenberg. 18 January 1535.

To Leonhard Beier in Zwickau, jointly with Melanchthon and Jonas.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 704.

No. 2113.

(Wittenberg,) January 18, 1535.

To a composer.

Thanks for a song that was shared.

From the original in Innocent News 1738, p.255; in Walch, vol. XXI, 1262; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 586 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 83.

Grace and peace in Christ. I am certainly slow in expressing my gratitude, my dear good friend, for your kind heart, which you have shown towards me with the *Cantico* and the Porsdorfers. But Jerome Weller is my witness, how often I have been willing to write, and always lacked a message. For this reason I ask you very kindly to keep it to me; for in truth I believe that you have received it from

1) Added by us.

2) Here the text is very corrupt, therefore changed by us. Burkhardt offers: "irgendein inhaltet oder annehmen wurdet, gern verdampnen wustet oder nit," 2c.

3) "and" put by us instead of "us".

4) This answer was given on Jan. 27, 1535, and is printed in Neudecker, Merkwürdige Aktenstücke, p. 98. - Neudecker's assumption that this answer refers to a different concern than the one indicated in the following number seems to us to be erroneous. Of the same opinion with us is Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 470, note 4.

And I, in turn, would not like to be different from you, wherever I can. We'll sing over tables as well as we can here, and then pass it on. If we make some swine among them, it is not your fault, of course, but our art, which is still very small, if we over-sing it already two or three times. But Virgilius sings, we are not all alike. And if all composers do it well, our earnestness is still far above, and can sing wickedly enough. And all the regiments of the whole world follow us: they also let God and all reason compose and set very good things, but they also sing that they would be worth a market of sausages from the sows, or clappers in the field bells. That's why you composers have to hold it against us, if we make sausages in your songs. For we would rather hit it than miss it.

My dear Kätha asks that you accept this joke as good, and sends you her kindest regards. Hereby commanded by God. 1535, *the Priscae* [18 Jan].

Mart. Luther, D.

No. 2114.

(Wittenberg,) January 20, 1535.

To Caspar Aquila, pastor in Salfeld.

About the printing of a writing sent by Aquila to Luther.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst*. 107 and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 216. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 332 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 587.

Grace and peace! M. Philip writes our opinion about the marriage case that you, best Aquila, have presented to us. By the way, about your book, which you enclosed, you write me nothing; I therefore leave it to our Erasmus. Our printers are hard put to it that they print books unless they have some hope or almost certainty that they will be saleable as soon as possible. They complain that they are burdened by the expenses, so I do not want to dare to burden them further, unless they themselves are willing to print, so that I have decided not to impose anything on anyone. For many people sen-

They have many things here every day, but they do not think of our poverty, and that we are too overloaded with business, as if we had as much leisure as they have to publish, correct, change, increase, and even sell things, so that I even dislike their so certain thought about us, as if we had nothing else to do but read over, look through, and change their books, since we are so overloaded with our own that we can hardly breathe. Therefore, thou shalt not take it amiss that I trouble thee in this. Farewell. On the day of Fabian [20 Jan] Anno 1535.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 2115.

(Wittenberg,) January 30, 1535.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

Luther declares himself favorably disposed toward the settlement negotiations with Bucer and believes that one can be content with the approach taken until God gives a complete agreement.

From the Zurich archives in the Innocent News 1756, p. 447; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 587 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 84.

Grace and peace in Christ, and my poor Paternoster. I have, gracious Prince and Lord, received E. F. G.'s writing together with the presented Martini Bucer's opinion, also gladly heard E. F. G.'s great diligence for the unification of all of us in the article of the supper 2c. Christ, our dear Lord, keep E. F. G. until that blessed day in such diligence and all other gifts to his praise and honor, amen. What my opinion is on this will be clearly heard by E. F. G. in the letter of my gracious Lord, the Elector; for, praise God, I have come so far with myself that I comfortingly "hope that there are many among them who sincerely and seriously mean it; for which reason I am also all the more inclined to a union that may be thorough and lasting. But because on both sides not all have yet been searched or asked for their hearts, it is enough this time (in my opinion) to draw so close together until God helps more and gives a certain unity to resolve. Such a great thing, grown so long and deep, can be
may not be accomplished suddenly. For whatever I can always do and suffer for the accomplishment of such a beginning, E. F. G. shall be certain (as much as God gives me) that I shall not lack. I am willing and obligated to serve E. F. G.. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Saturday after Conversionis Pauli [30 Jan.] Ao. 1535.

E. F. G. williger

Dr. Martin Luther.

No. 2116.

(Wittenberg,) End of January 1535.

Concerns about Bucer's settlement proposals.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2057. - Melanchthon's letter to the Landgrave of Feb. 1, 1535, in which he says: "That I did not write an answer to E. F. G. again soon, happened because Doctor Martinus with his answer [namely with this concern] moved until my gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, came here to Wittenberg. Lord, the Elector of Saxony, come to Wittenberg" 2c. (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. II, 835 f.)

N o. 2117.

(Wittenberg,) Early 1535.

To Nicholas Amsdorf.

(Luther's preface to the writing: Eine Historie zu Staßfort geschehen.)
See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 354.

No. 2118.

(Wittenberg,) February 8, 1535.

To Johann Lonicer in Marburg.

Luther advises him not to think soon of a change of place because of inconveniences, and recommends a young person to him.
The original is at the Stadtbibliothek in Frankfurt a. M. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 333 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 594.

To the in Christ highly venerable brother, Johann Lonicer, the faithful and diligent servant of the Lord in Marburg.

Grace and peace! I have understood all, my dear Lonicer, that moves you, but I do not counsel that you should be so quickly overcome by one or two attempts of Satan that you should think of changing the place. For Satan is not overcome by a change of place, because he is a wandering spirit. However, if

If a vocation should one day come to thee, thou mayest surely wander. Our great ones, too, are almost all, if not enemies, at least excellent despisers of the word and its ministers, as lukewarm as Christ suffers, but when he is risen in power, they will suffer the punishment they deserve.

I have no news, only that they say that a Diet will be held, at which they will decide on religion. What shall come to pass, Christ knoweth. In him be well with thy vine and thy grapes. February 8, 1535.

Your Martin Luther.

This young man, Emmer, who hands over this letter, you should consider worthy of your favour and a conversation. He is the teacher of the son of Doctor Jonas, and he is visiting his homeland and wants to visit more famous people on the journey.

Mart. Luther, D.

No. 2119.

15 February 1535.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther.

(Regest.)

Answer to Luther's letter No. 2115. He agrees with Luther that one can be satisfied with the achieved rapprochement of the Oberlanders and should leave the further to God.

Communicated by M. Lenz in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, IV, 140. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 206.

N o. 2120.

[Wittenberg.] ' February 24, 1835.

To Spalatin.

Luther asks that Christoph Strobel, who did not like the air in his place of residence, be given a position elsewhere.

Handwritten in *Cod Jen. a, fol.* 351. Printed by

Buddeus, p. 244 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 595. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1264.

To the highly famous and valuable man, Mr. G. Spalatin, Archbishop and Visitator of Meissen, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Best Spalatin, thou art a man of mercy and Dear, therefore I ask you for Christ's sake to see to it and help that our Christoph Strobel is provided with some kind of job in the first possible time, at the first possible place, in the first possible case (as much as you are able). He is a good man (as you know), and cannot persevere in these swamps, wet and snuff-inducing regions without harm to his health, since he is used to it otherwise and is almost entirely made by nature to live in a mountainous and wholesome air. Yea, neither drink nor food of this place is wholesome, and, what is most excellent, cannot be thought wholesome for him in any case. Who knows how long we shall all endure here at Wittenberg because of the unusual and coarse food and drink? It is, however, at least a way to live with you in the better air, since you are closer to the birds of the air, and therefore happy through a healthier way of life. But these people, who are as near as possible to the fishes of the sea, or rather to the depths 2) of the underworld (*tartari), are* nourished with a worse food. For I would that Mr. Hausmann, too, were transferred from these regions of hell (*inferis*) to more heavenly airs, for at last a river like the Styx, Acheron, Cocytus, and whatever other sources of noxious vapours (*mephitis)* there may be, does not suit his great age. Counsel thou therefore also and stand by us to promote, yea, to redeem these very good men. Greet from me your exceedingly dear Hind with her sweet little deer or doe, and pray for me. On the day of St. Matthew [24 Feb.] 1535. Yours M. Luther, D.

No. 2121.

Wittenberg. 2 March 1535.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony, together with Melanchthon.

Intercession for Andreas Junius for the extension of his scholarship.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Mm, fol. 43a. J.4*. by Melanchthon's hand, with Luther's own signature. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 230.

1) Instead of neque we have assumed *aeque.*

2) Instead of *profundi* we have assumed *profundis.*

Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord! E. C. F. G. are our poor services in subservience before. Most gracious Prince and Lord! E. C. F. G. have graciously assigned Andrea Junio 1) of Altenburg two and twenty fl. from the Scholastery of Altenburg to his studio for two years. Now he asks humbly for an extension of this gracious help and has therefore asked us for a certificate of his studies and character. Since he is now poor and very quiet and disciplined, and studies well, and in particular practices more than the others in disputations before other students, we humbly request that E. C. F. G. will graciously extend the time of the scholarship to him and improve it, now that his diligence and disciplined conduct have been ascertained, for it is to be hoped that he will also be useful for Christian offices, since he intends to study in theology. God Almighty would graciously reward such E. C. F. G. Elemosyn, and E. C. F. G. always protect and preserve. Date Wittenberg, Tuesday (Zinstags) after Oculi [March 2] Anno 1535.

E. C. F. G.

servants Martinus Luther, Dr. Philippus Melanthon.

No. 2122.

Wittenberg. 3 March 1535.

To the City Council of the City of Hanover.

The council of Hanover had sent the local deacon to Wittenberg to discuss the printing of the church order for the city of Hanover with Luther. It was decided to have it printed in Magdeburg. Luther's blessings for Hanover.

The letter is first printed in the "Kirchen Ordnung der Statt Hannofer, Durch *Dr. Vrbanum Regium* gefasset" 2c. After that in De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 159 f.

To the honourable and wise, to the council and common city lords of the city of Hanover, my special good friends.

Grace and peace of God in Christ. Honourable and wise men, special lords and friends! Your skillful one, if you have come here

1) In the prescription, in which Easter 1535 the extension was granted, he is called Jung Andres.

has sent me your church ordinance, and where the same should have gone to print here, I would like to have applied diligence among others, so that the same work may be brought to a speedy conclusion. If, however, the aforementioned your emissary consults with us, and we and he consider it good that it be printed in Magdeburg, you will be informed of the matter and of all our considerations by the aforementioned your emissary. And after the same your church diocesan and clerk has informed us that by God's blessed grace you have accepted the Christian and evangelical doctrine, we will earnestly beseech God the Lord to bestow upon your common city, and in all the world, the blessing and grace of Christ for abundant such knowledge, and our dear Lord Christ grant you and all his Holy Spirit, strength and grace, that you may remain steadfast and firm in the pure Christian doctrine, and be protected in these troubled times from all the wiles, cunning and sects of the devil. I am willing to serve you and your common city in a friendly manner. Date Wittenberg, 3*. Martii Anno Domini* 1535.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2123.

(Wittenberg,) March 7, 1535.

To Barbara Lischnerin in Freiberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2226. - I" all other editions: "To an unnamed person." In the Fortgesetzten Sammlung 1728, p. 858, it is addressed to "Lyskirchnerin" (Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 543, note 4); Burkhardt writes: "Lyßkirchen."

No. 2124.

(Wittenberg,) April 5, 1535.

To Augustin Himmel, pastor in Colditz.

Luther asks him to raise the grace money for his servant Wolfgang Sieberger.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel in Cod. Reimst. From the Börner collection at Leipzig in Schütze, vol. II, p. 334 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 596.

Grace and peace in Christ! Perhaps you know, my dear Augustin, that the most illustrious prince has taken over the entire benefice (*beneficium*) which my wolf and Lord Andrew have hitherto held.

I believe that this was written by the court to your bailiff, and that the Prince has given this letter to my wolf alone, without anyone having interceded on his behalf, but, completely contrary to expectation, out of his own disposition and his most gracious will. Now if this has not been done, we will either send the letter with the seal of the Prince himself, 1) or a certified copy. Therefore I beg you to do as you have done hitherto, and demand the whole income of this benefice from the bailiff and send it here. My wolf will thank you, not without a small gift, so that you do not guard Christ's grave in vain. For I would like good Wolfgang to be bought a small house stone in which he can stay (when I die), at the same time because he is beginning to suffer from an illness of the arm, so that his own apartment is necessary for him, so that he does not have to be in a hospital as a beggar and homeless person after my death. 2) Man is known to thee, therefore it is not necessary to entreat thee with many words. Be well with your own, and pray for me that I may be granted a good hour of departure, for my strength is failing me. On Monday after Quasimodogeniti [April 5] Anno 1535. Martin Luther.

No. 2125.

(Wittenberg,) April 8, 1535,

To Mrs Dorothea Jörger.

Luther recommends a certain Andreas; of the use of the scholarship endowed by her; of Luther's condition, and of the re-employment of Stiefel.

A piece of the original is in Gotha, Cod. 379.1, it extends to: "stehet nu bes[ser]". Printed in Moseders Glaubensbekenntniß, p. 87; in Raupach, Evang. Oesterreich, 1st continuation, p. 67; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 597 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 92.

Grace and peace in Christ. Virtuous, honorable, dear women! He has asked me that he may not come to you without my writing, because the air in all these places is killing his body.

1) Instead of *mittamus* we have assumed *mittemus.*

2) The income of the benefice given to Wolfgang amounted, as we see from a letter of Luther of Oct. 23, 1541, to Aug. Himmel, to 19 old florins, 9Gr., 1 Pf.

He will not suffer and drive you away; he will give you every opportunity. As the Scripture says, some are hungry, some are drunk: with you there is hunger and thirst for the word of God, with us there is so much hunger and thirst (among many) that God is displeased. Well, the world is the world; God help us all. Your alms have helped (praise to God) many good people who are diligent in the holy Scriptures; for many who were driven out of other countries for the sake of the Word, who needed water and bread with us, have been glad that they still have books, and may sometimes buy a garment, for which your alms have served. Christ our Lord will please him, who has also put it into your hearts. With me it is, as he will tell you, now strong, now sick, now happy, now unhappy. But Christ is nevertheless always the Lord, will, shall, can, must also remain, amen. He Michel Stiefel has a parish again, stands now better than before. Christ our dear Lord protect, strengthen and prepare you and all yours for his blessed future day together with all of us. We wish and would very much that it would come soon, for the world wants to become exceedingly evil. Help us to pray against the same world. Thursday after Ambrosii [8 April] 1535. Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2126.

(Wittenberg,) April 13, 1535.

To Dr. Johann Cario.

Joke about the promotion of Cario to Doctor of Astronomy and Medicin by Georg Sabinus.

In Innocent News 1729, p. 877, from *Schlicht*. *Horis subsecivis, P. II, p.* 133; then in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 244 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 598. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1267.

To the excellent and highly decorated man, Mr. Johann Cario, Doctor of Astronomy and Medicine, his sincerely beloved friend.

Grace and peace in Christ! Your letter was pleasant to me, best Charon, 3) and since

3) Whether Luther calls Cario (Album p. 144: *Carion*) "Charon" (ferryman into the realm of shadows), because he received the privilege to ferry people into the underworld by the doctorate of medicine?

I can show nothing else to the good man of whom you wrote than that I showed him my favor and greeted again the one who greeted me, so at the same time that Count Palatine 1) Georg Sabinus was there, who will perhaps also write to you. I certainly do not only wish you happiness that you are glorified by the doctorate, but also that Count *Palatine* himself, that he has conferred a doctorate on such a tall and lofty doctor. Believe me, he will" henceforth make few doctors of such greatness and sublimity. 2) Even Charon (when he sees you come to his shore one day) will be surprised, and will fear that the greatness of such a great doctor will either break or sink his so frail and shadowy barge (*umbratilis).* Or certainly thou wilt be compelled to give a great ferry fare for the greatness of so great a doctor. Therefore you may see to it that he who has made you such a great doctor also obtains for you such a great salary, and, if God wills it, such a great one (but entirely in gold), because you are such a great doctor. Then you will also be quite safe from that Charon, who, by the way, is exceedingly greedy, since you have that with which you can even richly reward him, let alone pay the ferry fare. This I wanted to joke with you, because you also seemed to joke with me in your letter. Commend me to your noble younger prince, for I do not know what wind blows for me with his father 3). Fare well in the Lord, my dear Charon, and pray for me. 1535, Tuesday after Misericordiä [April 13]. Martin Luther, D.

1) At the beginning of the fifties, on the occasion of a public act at the University of Rostock, the writer heard this in a speech by the Dean of the Faculty of Law, "that as long as he administered this office (of a Dean), he had the dignity of a Count Palatine. The same will have been the case at other universities and in other faculties, and Sabinus may also have boasted of this dignity. - Georg Sabinus became Melanchthon's son-in-law in 1536.

2) "Because of the great body Carionis; stands by it." (Walch.)

3) The Elector Joachim of Brandenburg. - On Cario, see Tischreden, Cap. 73, § 11, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XXII, 1566, Note 1.

The salt fishes sent with the letter were received by my lord Käthe, and she marvelled at the multitude, saying, Dr. Speratus, the great bishop, hath sent a very great barrel of fishes. I said to her: also by one: great: man, the Charon. So then, said she, all is great to-day.

No. 2127.

(Wittenberg,) April 18, 1535.

To Benedict (Gübe? Baworinsky?), Archipresbyter of the Bohemian Brethren. 4)

Luther testifies that the presentation of the envoys of the Bohemian brethren showed him sufficiently that they agree in doctrine, and that now, in Christian love, they also want to overlook each other's shortcomings.

4) With this letter we encounter a threefold difficulty, namely, 1. because of the date, 2. because of the name of the addressee, 3. because of the text itself. The question of the date is most easily settled. Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 41, has wrongly resolved the date offered in his original, *Dominica tertia Paschae,* by "March 30" (Easter Tuesday), while it denotes the third Sunday after Easter, Jubilate, April 18. April, as resolved by Köstlin, M. Luther (3rd), vol. II, p. 668 *ad* p. 368; and Burkhardt, p. 231, has been on the way to it, but has put the date of the second Sunday after Easter, April 11. Aurifaber offers: *Dominica Jubilate*, which is correct, whether this is the original reading, or the above date resolved by him. - It is more difficult to ascertain the addressee. De Wette has (probably according to Aurifaber or to *Cod. Helmst*. 107 at Wolfenbüttel): "To Benedict Gübe." Burkhardt brings p. 231 a twofold registry, one after Seidemann "To [Benedict.] the Archipresbyter of the Moravian Brethren," the other after Gindelh, *Fontes rerum Austriac*. XIX, *pag.* 18: "addressed to Benedict Baworinsky." Johann *Lasicki, de origine etc. fratr. Bohem, lib*. IV, Z63, has this letter under the superscription: *Epistola Lutheri ad Seniores fratrum,* and Melanchthon, who no doubt wrote the same thing as Luther to the same addressee about the same time, has the inscription: *Dr. Benedicdto ceterisque fratribus Valdensibus in Bohemia (Corp. Ref.*, vol. II, 854. Bretschneider datirt zu früh: I'sdr.). Just as little as Köstlin i. e.
we can do so, and must be content with the fact that this letter is addressed to an outstanding elder, Benedict, together with his fellow elders. - Two redactions of the text are available, one in Seidemann I. c. according to Johann Lasicki's handwritten Brüdergeschichte, which is in the possession of the Brüdergemeinde at Herrnhut, the other (according to Aurifaber) in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 599. The content of both is completely the same, the wording is often different. It must be assumed that one of the two is a retranslation into Latin from a foreign language, either Bohemian or German. We adhere to the text offered by De Wette and give its translation here.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection at Schütze, vol.II, p.335; comparing the *Cod. HeImst*.1O7 at Wolfenbüttel at De Wette, vol., I V, p. 599; in the "Büdingische Sammlung Einiger in die Kirchen-Historie Einschlagender Sonderlich neuerer Schriften. The XVIth piece. Leipzig in *Commission* bey Dr. Körte. 1744." 8. p. 563, at the same time with German Uebersetzung; from the handwritten Brüdergeschichte of Johann *Lasicki*, *Lasitius* (Burkhardt writes: *Lasatius*), at Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 41 ff.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most reverend Sir Benedict! We, M. Philip and I, have listened very carefully to these two brothers sent by you. And they will again report our opinion to you, for it has pleased us exceedingly that they have set forth the right way in the faith of the Sacrament, and have so interpreted the words which have so often moved me, that I confess I have been satisfied, and that I see no discord in the matter itself or in the opinion, though we use other words. For (as they say) it is in vain to dispute about the name, where we have agreed about the thing itself. That the baptism of little children has also been set right with you, we were very glad to hear. For if these two sacraments are properly maintained, all things can easily be arranged, as the brethren themselves will more fully relate. Therefore you have no reason to doubt, as long as you have the same mind with us and we with you, that we will act in sincere love towards you all; even if there should be some deficiency in one or the other part (as we are not all perfect saints in this life), we will bear with each other in Christian patience. It is superfluous enough for the holy Catholic Church, 1) to be unanimous in faith and doctrine; necessity compels that the customs and usages be different. For thus the apostles teach and write, and thus Christ himself commands the brethren to be forgiven, if only they be and remain in Christ; and indeed we urge most strongly the distinction of doctrine and life. Doctrine makes either Christians or heretics; life makes either saints or heretics.

1) Here, instead of *sancta est Ecclesia catholica,* we have adopted, according to the sense of the other redaction: sanctae *Ecclesiae catholicae.*

Or unholy people. The unholy are to be punished and excluded, but (as Paul teaches) first 2) admonished as brethren and not immediately cast away. Be well in Christ, and pray for us as we pray for you. On Sunday Jubilate [April 18] Anno 1535.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2128.

(Wittenberg,) April 22, 1535.

To Spalatin.

About a man who was recommended to Luthern. About a marriage case.

The original is in Dessau. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a, fol.* 228 and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 219. Printed in Buddeus, p. 245 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 600. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1266.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ, his superior and exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace in Christ! You have recommended to me this man who has come from Würzburg, best Spalatin; I will do what I can. Again, I send this matter, which is included in this letter, back to you as to the Visitator in these places. For if you find it so, that the girl has been deceived with the marriage proposal, then it seems to me that the first betrothal is void. Therefore you will judge these matters according to your prudence, after the parties have been summoned and heard; or if you are adversely affected by this matter, you may refer it to the court. For since the matter concerns thy district, we will not introduce the sickle into a foreign harvest. Fare well in Christ with thy berries, grapes, and thy vine, and pray for me. 1535, Thursday after Jubilate [22 April].

Your Martin Luther, D.

2) Here we have read *primum* instead of *tamen with the* other redaction, and have taken over *statim* immediately following.

3) De Wette offers: *patribus*. Walch, on the other hand: "both parts", has therefore read *partibus,* which is probably the more correct.

No. 2128a.

Wittenberg. 25 April 1535.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther dissuades him from leaving Nuremberg because of the adversities, and joins in his complaints about the evil times. Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Helmst*. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 336 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 601.

To Mr. Wenceslaus Link, the servant of God at Nuremberg.

Grace and peace in Christ! Your letter was not so sad, my dear Wenceslaus, as you might have thought, especially because I have noticed that Christ has not yet abandoned you, even though he allows you to be tempted. I am sorry, indeed, that this tragedy is beginning again among you, but if you both would consider that these things are not done by you, but by false tongues, that is, by Satan himself, you could easily, even to Satan's chagrin, endure (*devorare*) and overcome these evils. Perhaps we also do not knock enough at Christ's door with prayers, and this sloth of ours is thus punished. He does not sleep when we snore. Thou wouldst not believe how great hopes and treacheries of nobles and peasants we must endure and suffer, so that I am quite convinced that, if thou were here, thou couldst bear the intrigues of our people less than thou couldst bear the impetuous nature of a few men there. I think, nay, I am certain, that the papacy is the kingdom of the devil, which is sent into the world by the wrath of God. But no kingdom has been more suitable for the world. "The world wants the devil for a god." I now see the causes why GOD has allowed this abomination to rise and exalt itself above all that is GOD: "the world will have it so." And once the bishops were anxious 2) to suppress tyranny, but with all too frightening counsel.

1) De Wette, according to a copy by Pf. Nopitsch, has adopted the wrong reading *tres* instead of tertias, and immediately following *et* instead of *hoc est*. - Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 874, note 1.

2) De Wette: *Et coegerunt Episcopos olim cogitare*; whereas Ms. Nopitsch: *cogitarunt Episcopi*. We have assumed the latter.

strikes. For since they wanted to force the tyrants, they at the same time suppressed the Church of God. Now the tyranny has begun again, and if God would allow it, spirits would arise again who would bind the tyrants with the same chains as the popes did. But I will not be in the council of such people, but will be a partaker of those who fear and tolerate God, and will rather be punished with death than that I should seek such a kingdom, for our kingdom is in heaven (*sursum*). This I write to indicate to you my heart, which is like your heart, namely, that you may not leave this church. Remember the word of Paul in the superscription to Titus [Cap. 1, 1.], "According to the faith of God's elect," and again Matt. 24:22.?^: "All things for the elect's sake." These, I beseech you, look upon and despise all other men. You are a servant of GOtt's elect, and a spectacle of those whom GOtt has rejected. What is it to us, where the rejected go, if we can serve only the elect and the least of Christ's brethren? Therefore, my dear Wenceslaus, carry as much as you can to the end. And although nowadays there is no man whom I would rather have with me, not only for the sake of the old brotherhood, but also because I have always had you as a comforter and as a man full of confidence, and would prefer to see you with me at my death, I would rather put my profit behind than see the harm of that church. Who knows what fruit God wants to bring forth from this challenge? He makes everything out of that which is not seen, out of nothing, out of opposite things, out of that which deprives us, out of that which is against us: "He is unbound"; let us only pray, and send us to patience.

You want my judgment that the prince has negotiated with you that you should return to us. How? if I were to go to you myself, or if I were to go into exile? The prince is very good, for his sake I have no misgivings. But besides the prince there is no one (that I know of) who would not be suspicious to us (I am speaking of the commanders), and you can

from this measure how great the love and zeal for the word is in the world. Meanwhile I pray thee to pray this Psalm [Ps. 40], "I wait for the Lord." "Alas! it will not be otherwise than" through honor and shame (2 Cor. 6, 8.], through aversions and errors, through good and evil things, through, "and but[mals]" through, devils and angels, through good and evil to the One who alone is good and without evil. Therefore I beseech thee, my dear brother, hear no man, but let the sole conversation be between him and thee. Though others may be very good men, yet it may happen that they have less patience than strict justice. For we are all men, and the flesh lusteth against the Spirit. Further, if the matter should come to this, that he should either publicly spite thy person, or pant through it, then it will be time for another remedy. "Oh help us, God, how strong God makes the devil to be, and makes us so very weak!" Take this in the best way, and remember that we may be tempted by God, then that to trust in man (even if it were a prince) is not godly; and again that to fear a man is a disgrace to a Christian, not to say ungodly. Christ, our life, salvation, and glory, be with thee, and with all ours, Amen. On Sunday Cantate [April 25] Anno 1535.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2129.

(Wittenberg,) May 6, 1535.

Poverty certificate.

From the von Ludwig collection at Halle in Schütze, vol. II, p. 339; in Strobel-Ranner, p. 245 and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 603 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1423.

To all godly and good people and especially to those men who revere and confess Christ, to whom this man comes who will hand over this letter, the grace of God and peace! The thing itself and the appearance commend this man to all who know the love of Christ and have human reason. Therefore no more serious admonition is necessary. Therefore, let each one do and perform what his conscience will dictate, until the afflicted and afflicted man may enter into peace and rest through the mercy of God. In Christ be life and salvation to you all, Amen. On the day of the Ascension of the Lord [May 6] 1535.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 2130.

(Wittenberg,) May 15, 1535.

To Erhard Schnepf in Stuttgart.

Luther recommends an Austrian who was employed as a preacher in Saxony, but could not stand the air.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel in the *Doc. Helmst*. 107 and in Aurifaber, vol. III. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 340 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 604.

To Erhard Schnepf, servant of Christ in Stuttgart.

Grace and peace in Christ! Here comes my Theobald, 1) who is the pastor of a certain church with us, my best Erhard, to you, not out of any sacrilege or presumption, in order to change the place, but because he is induced by a certain pastor Jakob, who is close to you, by the better prospect that he could be provided with some preaching ministry there, especially in a village. It is a matter that concerns life and limb, because it seems that our swampy and very northern air does not want to suffer the Austrian body here, which is accustomed to the mild southern and purer air. Otherwise, if the health of the body did not drive it to it, it could remain here in the quite tolerable position (as it itself admits) which it has at present. I therefore commend to thee the most upright and reliable man, a true Nathanael, a very righteous Israelite without falsehood, and doubt not that what thou hast proved to this, thou hast proved to Christ. For of me I say nothing; I desire that he may be advised as I am.

No news here at the Angle. The

1) Diedelhuber. See the following number.

2) *maxime*. To this De Wette makes the remark: assumption instead of *minime*.

I have read Ambrosius Blaurer's 1) treatise of defense, and it would please me well, and I wish it to be understood sincerely. For it has caused offence to many that he disputes so anxiously about it, that he had never been of a different opinion before, which, as one thinks, is hard to believe; but for the sake of a firm agreement, I let it please me as fair and good. For those who mean right from the heart, whether they have become lukewarm 2) or have been enemies, I gladly forgive altogether. Fare well in Christ, dearest Erhard, who completes in you his work which he began for his glory, amen. On the day before Pentecost [May 15] Anno 1535. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2131.

Wittenberg. 15 May 1535.

Letter of recommendation for Theobald Diedelhuber.

Manuscript at Gotha in *Cod*. 402, *fol.* 187. 4. and at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod.* From the collection of Caspar Sagittarius at Jena in Schütze, vol. II, p. 340 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 605.

I, Martin Luther, doctor and preacher of the gospel of the church at Wittenberg, for the sake of Christ, our hope, ask all brothers in Christ, especially the pastors and ministers of the word and of the churches, to whom the bearer and presenter of this letter, Mr. Theobald Diedelhuber, who is a faithful and diligent pastor in our country, will come or ask them for advice, out of the necessity of his journey, they want to exercise the love or the law of Christ in him, for he is worthy, if my testimony in Christ is of any value among you, that Christ himself be honored in him as in his least member. For he hath just and necessary causes of his own.

1) Blaurer, who had previously been suspected of adhering to the Zwinglian doctrine, and who disagreed with Schnepf, with whom he had been enlisted by Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg in the work of reformation, finally declared himself in favor of the Lutheran doctrine in a confession at the behest of this prince, which *Scultetus*, *Annales,* p. 421, cites. This was taken as a recantation, and he defended himself in print. Cf. Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth*. *lib.* III, p. 123a (De Wette).

2) De Wette has put a question mark over exaruerint, but we think that *exaresco* may well be taken in the sense we have given.

Journey that I myself must approve. The grace of Christ be with you all. Given at Wittenberg, on the day before Pentecost [15 May] Anno 1535, with my seal and my own handwriting as witnesses.

No. 2132.

(Zwickau.) June 7, 1535.

Stephan Roth to Luther.

Roth is surprised that he, judging by a letter of Luther to Leonhard Beier, is not considered as reconciled with Luther yet, asks for real reconciliation and reports about Ziegler's illness.

Printed by Walch, vol. XXI, 1423 f.

Hail in the Lord. Learned Doctor and most beloved father in Christ! Magister Leonhardus Beier, our pastor, has shown me your letter, in which you still consider me an exile. My mind is most astonished when I read it, because I thought that I had long since been reconciled with your honor, both because of my repentance, which became known to you from my letter two years ago, and because of the request of some friends and wives. If things stand thus, as your letters indicate, I beseech you through Christ that you lift the ban and relieve it until public business permits you to visit your honor, which I hope will happen shortly. In the meantime, so that I may be of a calm mind, I beg most earnestly that you will comfort me by one word or another. For I cannot bear that your honour should be in the least disturbed, let alone that it should be angry with me or think anything evil of me. For I am not as most of you say that I am. God and my conscience are my witnesses. Bernhardus Ziegler is very ill with the gout. Farewell with your housewife and dear children in Christ, our Savior, to whom you may pray unceasingly for me, a poor sinner. Given on the 7th of June in the year 1535. Stephanus Rodt.

No. 2133.

(Wittenberg,) June 7, 1535.

To Justus Menius in Eisenach.

About the support of an old man, Thomas, who had been deposed in Eisenach, and about the church visitation.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Gud*. Printed from the Schmid collection at Helmstädt by Schütze, vol. II, p. 342 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 606.

To his exceedingly dear brother Justus Menius, the very faithful and diligent pastor at Eisenach.

Grace and peace in Christ! I am very sorry, my dear Justus, for that old man Thomas, and much more surprised at your compassionate speeches (*misericordias*) with which you have filled your letter, and yet you have dismissed him with the consent of you all. I have not wished to investigate nor inquire the cause; I have scarcely borne it without difficulty, since he told some trifling things, and easily tolerated that other things were blamed on slanderers and detractors. There is by no means a vacancy here now. Therefore I send him to his children for a little while, but I would that something were paid into his hand either out of the church treasury, or from somewhere else among you, so that he would not be pushed out so bare and poor. For you can easily imagine, if we were to receive from the provinces all the outcasts in this exceedingly poor city (since we ourselves are scarcely fed here, and on the other hand those of us who are burdened by them should be thrust out to you), what would happen. Take pains, therefore, that ye may provide for your own, and that ye may not dispose of your burdens with which ye burden us. If something can be done by me, I will gladly do it, but you and the captain Eberhard 1) see to it in the meantime that Thomas is not endangered by hunger, who has suffered enough through that disgrace. You have there, if nothing else, the legacy of Draco, with which he may be fed.

I believe that the office of visitation is burdensome to you, but you, in turn, believe me that the business of all visitations is burdensome as well, so that I sometimes wish with great impatience that all the evil in our churches would become papists. We have to suffer so many aversions, and there is not the ability to put an end to all evil. Now I have learned what that old saying means: The government of souls is an art above all arts; yea, a care above all cares, and a complaint above all complaints.

1) Eberhard von der Tann.

But because Christ carried us and our weaknesses, we must also carry the brothers, the weaknesses, the aversions, the world, the devil, even God Himself, even though the small one on the shoulders of Christophorus. Farewell and pray for me. June 7, 1535.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2134.

(Wittenberg,) June 11, 1535.

To Joachim, Prince of Anhalt.

Luther sends his best wishes for the welfare of the princely house and promises to come himself soon.
In Lindner, Mittheilungen, p. 26 (wrong: June 17) and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 160 f.

To the most illustrious and very good Prince and Lord, Lord Joachim, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien, Lord of Bernburg, his most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Although there was nothing there, most illustrious and very good Prince, that I could have written, nevertheless, since Magister Franciscus 2) traveled to E. F. G., I did not want to be content with his oral account, but also wanted to indicate to you with this hand of mine my good will toward E. F. G. and my poor father-our (as much as I can). For I wish with all my heart that it may go well with E. F. G. and the whole flesh, that is, with the very good princely brothers. But I would rather have been the comrade of M. Franciscus, but our wisdom is so great that by the same I am forced to be hindered as a prisoner, but Christ will give some foolishness by which he may deliver me from this wisdom, amen. E. F. G. be quite well in Christ. Friday Barnabas [June 11] 1535.

E. F. G. devoted Martin Luther.

2) Franz Burkard from Weimar. See *Album Acad.*, p. 93.

No. 2135.

(Wittenberg,) June 13, 1535.

To the council of Freiberg.

Luther thanks them for the honour they have shown to Hier. Weller in his hometown and recommends him.

From Lämmel, *Histor. Wellerinna*, Leipzig 1700. 4th, p. 55, in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 607 and in Erl. Ausg., vol. 55, p. 93.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, prudent, dear gentlemen and good friends! Jerome Weller has told me of the friendship and honor he has received from you, which I have heartily granted the good, pious man, and have listened to with pleasure, especially because he is a child of your city, and his honor is the honor of all of you. I also hope, as I certainly report, that you will show your favor and love for him, for he is a faithful, pious, quiet, and learned man, and we are also working on him, and have brought it so far that he should now continue and become a *doctor of theology,* since we want to do and help freshly and faithfully; For it is evident that there is a lack of people, and yet the things are such that one must have people, especially those who are to stand at the head and fight against the spirits of the mob, and are little found among all the classes who consider such matters and infirmities or help to educate or keep people. And now is a golden time, in which one can easily and abundantly educate learned and fine people; who knows how it will go hereafter? It is said [2 Cor. 6:2], *Tempore placito exaudivi te, et in die salutis adjuvi te*. Wherefore do ye well that ye take upon yourselves to help such men, that ye may preserve the wretched poor gospel. May Christ our dear Lord strengthen and sustain you with His very best will, to the praise and glory of God the Father, Amen. Sunday after *Barnabae* [13 June] 1535. Martin Luther, D.

No. 2136.

Dessau. 13 June 1535.

Joachim, Prince of Anhalt, to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Prince thanks for the letters received and hopes for Luther's promised visit. (Answer to No. 2134.)

In the Continued Collection 1744, p. 164. Above regest with Burkhardt, p. 232.

No. 2137.

(Wittenberg,) June 15, 1535.

To Johann Gülden.

Luther exhorts him, who, it seems, was deposed for some gross misdemeanor, to patience.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Helmst.* 107 and in Aurifaber, vol. III. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 343 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 608.

Grace and peace! There is no need for you to come here to me, my dear John; I have told everything here verbally to the one you have chosen, to Lord Spalatin. He will tell you everything, namely that, since your deed and the rumor of it are still so new, it cannot happen that you are again publicly appointed somewhere. For otherwise we shall be oppressed beyond measure, both by external and internal vexations. Therefore you must be careful to be patient for a time, and to be sufficient for the ears that are publicly offended by your repentance, until, after your misery has become known, we are free to show and increase mercy. For there are enough wholly ungodly laureates, who also make beams of our fragments: how much more would they load us all with this beam of thine, if thou wert again so suddenly exalted in another place. Humble thyself, therefore, under the mighty hand of God, until the opportunity comes to exalt thee again, and this thou shalt do also for our sakes, who are compelled to bear very heavy things, so that thou mayest justly have mercy on us, who, without offense, also innocently suffer so many vexations of sect and inward evil. Christ have mercy on you and strengthen you, and make you henceforth another and better man, amen. Given on St. Vitus's Day [15 June], Anno 1535, your Martin Luther.

No. 2138.

Weimar. 15 June 1535.

The counsels of the Electorate of Saxony to Luther.

Answer to a (missing) letter of Luther of June 12, in which he asks the Elector to procure for Hieronymus Weller the 40 fl. which he is entitled to from a fief on the Wartburg, and which the Schultheißen of Eisenach, Eberhard Grunewalt, should withhold.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji, fol.* 115b. 1535. c. 2. 52. printed by Burkhardt, p. 232.

Our friendly service before. Venerable, reverend, especially dear lord and friend! In response to your letter for Ern Hieronymum Weller concerning the forty guilders which are to follow him from the fief at Wartburg, and which the Schultheiss should refuse to pay, the Elector of Saxony, our most gracious lord, has given the Schultheiss his order, and because of this his report, which has been brought to us here in the absence of his churf. We do not want to refrain from sending you the report enclosed here, and we also want to present it to his Lordships for their return, whereupon his Lordships will undoubtedly know how to procure that the forty guilders in question will be given to Ern Hieronymo Weller, be it through the said mayor or in other ways.1) We do not wish to impose this on you, and will gladly serve you with a friendly will. Date at Weimar, Tuesday Viti [15 June] Anno Domini 1535.

No. 2138a.

Augsburg. 20 June 1535.

The Augsburg Preachers to Luther.

(Regest.)

They regret the sacramental controversy and wish for its settlement, ask for approval of the recall of Rhegius, which the bearer of the letter, Dr. Gereon Seiler, will pursue; send a confession concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper and some other articles, following Bucer's writing to those at Münster (1534). - Luther's answer came on July 20.

According to a copy by Musculus in the archives of the Thomasstift in Strasbourg (*lettres diverses A B*) printed in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 206.

No. 2139.

(Wittenberg,) June 27, 1535.

To Anton Lauterbach at Leisnig.

This letter was written to comfort the Protestants of Mittweida who were oppressed by Duke George.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 226. Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 167; in the Jena (1568), vol. VI, p. 325; in the Altenburg, vol. IV, p.487; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p.90; in

1) It was not until August 3 that this matter was settled.

Walch, vol. X, 2258 (this evidence is missing in De Wette and in the Erlanger edition); in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 609 and in the Erlanger, vol. 55, p. 94.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1958.

No. 2139a.

(Wittenberg,) 3. July 1535.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

Request to grant Antonius Schönitz and his friendship protection rightly in the Electorate.

The original is in the Dresdner Hauptstaatsarchive, Registrande Stift Magdeburg, Schulden, I^oeat 8580, now 8948, Hansen Schenitz und seine Erben belangend 2c. 1534-1538, col. 2. Printed by De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 439.

To the most illustrious highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony and Elector, Archmarshall of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

G. and peace in Christ with my poor prayer 2c. Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! Antonius Schenitz has asked me to write to E. C. F. G. and ask, because he has had to leave Halle, and the unfortunate priest is urging on the friendship, that they should give Hans Schenitz' registers of themselves, and Duke Georgen has already succeeded in doing so, that he has immediately commanded them to place such registers behind the Council in Leipzig. What this means is easy to calculate. Therefore the said Antonius Schenitz asks E. [C.] F. G. to be their gracious lord, and to let them be in E. C. F. G. lands and protect them from violence. For they rightly ask for it and will gladly wait for it. Since both Bishop and Duke George would undoubtedly not suffer in their territories from C.C.F.G. to do violence to anyone under their rule, but would rightfully judge all matters, it is fair that C.C.F.G. do so again in such a case. Accordingly, my humble request is that E. C. F. G. will justly grant gracious protection to such good people who are so shamefully overpowered, as I trust that E. C. F. G. will ever show mercy and Christianity. Our dear Lord Jesus Christ

bless and govern E. C. F. G. heart and hand, Amen. Saturday after Petri and Pauli [July 3] 1535. 1)

E. C. F. G. subservient

Mart. Luther, D.

No. 2140.

(Zwickau.) July 5, 1535.

Stephan Roth to Luther.

Wolfgang Zeuner, who according to Luther's verbal promise was to bring the answer to Roth's letter, has passed by, so Roth implores him to give him news whether Luther is reconciled with him again.

Printed by Walch, vol. XXI, 1424 f.

To the venerable Lord and Father in Christ, Mr. Martin Luther, Doctor of Divinity and Professor at Wittenberg, his Lord to be especially honored.

Hail in the Lord. Learned Doctor, most beloved father in Christ! To my last letter the messenger brought me this answer, that your honorableness wanted to answer in writing or orally through Mr. Wolfgang Zeuner. But the same has passed by, and has ordered nothing either verbally or in writing. Since these are dangerous times, and the plague is beginning to rage in our country, I beg and implore you through Christ to answer through this messenger what I can expect, whether you are reconciled to me or not, but at least to write to our pastor, who, according to the contents of your letter in which you banish me, deals with me so severely that nothing is left of it. But if you will not forgive or reconcile, which I most earnestly implore, I will leave the matter with the Lord and comfort myself with many passages from the Holy Scriptures. But I do not believe that your honor has a stony heart, which cannot have compassion on any repentant sinner. Farewell to all who are with you, especially to your wife and dear children. Given the 5th of July in the year of our Lord 1535.

Stephanus Rodt, town clerk in Zwickau.

1) At the above-mentioned location in the Dresden archive, fol. 69, is the answer of the Elector to Luther, dated July 6, 1535, in the concept: "Schönitz may think of bringing the register to our principality, so that they may be enclosed for safekeeping; protection and protection for Schönitz and his friendship should be preserved. (Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 439.)

No 2141.

(Wittenberg,) July 9, 1535.

To Johann Friedrich, Elector of Saxony.

Luther answers to the request of the Elector that he should leave Wittenberg because of the plague, joking that it does not mean much with the plague.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N, p.* 109. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 76, No. 133; in Walch, vol. XXI, 380; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 610, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 95.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony and Elector, Archmarshall of the H. R. Reich, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

G. and Peace in Christ, together with my poor Father-Our. Most noble, highborn prince, most gracious lord! E. C. F. G. Chancellor, Dr. Brück, has informed me of E. C. F. G.'s gracious offer to me if deaths should occur here; and I thank E. C. F. G. most humbly for such gracious concern and offer, and will also answer humbly if such a case should arise. But my certain weathercock is the governor Hans Metzsch, who up to now has had a very sober vulture's nose for the pestilence, and if it were five cubits below the earth, he would probably smell it. Because he remains here, I cannot believe that there is a pestilence here. It is true that a house or two has had a pestilence, but the air is not yet poisoned. For on Tuesday [July 6] no corpse nor sick person is found; but because the dog days are present, and the young boys are frightened, I have taken it that they walk around, so that their thoughts are quieted until one sees what will become. But I notice that many of these young people like to hear such cries of pestilence, for some get the festering on the school sack, some get the colic in the books, some get the grind on the feathers, some get the gout on the paper. Many of them have had their ink go moldy, and some have eaten their mother's letters, from which they have gained a heartache and a longing for their fatherland, and there may be more such weaknesses than I can tell you about.

And if there is a time when parents and rulers will not help and control such illnesses with seriousness and all kinds of medicine, a country will die out until there is no preacher, pastor or schoolmaster, and finally vain sows and dogs will have to leave the best cattle, since the papists are working very diligently. But Christ, our Lord, grant E. C. F. G., as until now, conducive grace and mercy, together with all pious Christian authorities, to obtain a strong medicine and pharmacy against such illness, to God's praise and honor, to Satan's chagrin, enemy of all art and discipline, amen. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Fridays after *Visit*. *Mariae* [9 July] 1535.

E. C. F. G. undersigned Mart. Luther.

I humbly ask, E. C. F. G. not to forget my poor Hieronymus Weller.

No. 2142.

(Wittenberg,) July 16, 1535.

To Johann Friedrich, Elector of Saxony.

Luther asks for Johann Mantel to lend him because of his old age the fiefdom of Peter Jüterbock, which was settled in Wittenberg, and reminds of the matter of Hieronymus Weller.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji, fol.* 115 d. 1535. c. 2. 52. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 234.

Grace and peace in Christ and my poor Paternoster. Most illustrious, highborn prince, most gracious lord! Here he Peter Jüterbock's fiefdom on the E. C. F. G. Stift has been lost through fine death. So also now our Chaplain Er Johann Mantel has been so affected this whole winter until now with danger of the stroke that I and others of the church servants have had to work all the more. And although it is fair not to leave such an old servant of the Gospel now in old age and illness, I humbly ask that E. C. F. G. would graciously assign such Peter's fiefdom to him, not forever, but for a time until our common caste may provide for him. For the good man, faithfully served till then...
is well worth that he enjoys his work. But so far that such E. C. F. G. talent, if we can improve it and spare it, will again come to the university, for none of us is (praise God) minded that we would wish to break off sto 1)) the university. Otherwise we might have to provide for the good man in a different way from ours, which would be more difficult for us. E. C. F. G. will graciously show themselves, <u>for today or tomorrow it will happen to one or the other of us: also thus</u>. A laborer is worth a fine wage (says Christ). E. C. F. G. will know how to be gracious. May Christ our Lord be with us here and there. Amen. Friday after Margaret [July 16] 1535. C. F. G.

most subservient Martin Luther, Dr.

(Inserted note.)

E. C. F. G. also wanted to remember my he Hieronymus Weller graciously. For the time is long for him, because his money is to be paid from Eisenach at the time of St. Philippi and Jacobi [May 1] and he still has nothing, and must live on my provisions.

No. 2143.

Weimar. 20 July 1535.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

Answer to Luther's intercession for Johann Mantel and the matter of Weiler.

The original concept with corrections of Johann Friedrich is in the Weimar archives, *Reg. Ji, fol.* 115 d. 1535. C. 2. 52. printed by Burkhardt, p. 235.

By the Grace of God John Frederick, Duke of Saxony and Elector. Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have heard the contents of your letter, which you have now sent to us on behalf of the Chaplain Ern Johann Mantel concerning a fief, which was transferred to our monastery after the death of Ern Peter Jüterbock, and which Ern Hieronymo Weller has sent to us on account of the money he has outside of it.

1) "etwo" [somewhere] put by us instead of: *ettwii* in Burkhardt, which we think is a misprint instead of: *etwü*(*sthu, stho*). Cf. *nü* == now; *mugen* == like.

then inquire about the forfeited fief, and let our gracious answer be heard, and also so show that the Weller shall be given his money in arrears. In our gracious opinion we do not want to restrain you, and we are graciously inclined to you. Date at Weimar, Tuesday after Alexii [July 20] Anno Domini 1535.

No. 2144.

(Wittenberg,) July 20, 1535.

To the City Council of Augsburg.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 2068.

No. 2145.

(Wittenberg,) July 20, 1535.

To the clergy of Augsburg.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 2069.

No. 2146.

(Jena.)July 29, 1535.

Melanchthon to Luther, Jonas, and Rörer. 1)

Complaining about the many inconveniences of the move of the University from Wittenberg to Jena, undertaken because of the plague, from where he would like to return, as soon as it can be done, and Luther finds it appropriate.

From *Melanchthonis Epistolae*, p. 133, in *Corp. Ref.* vol. II, 893 f.

To the highly famous and valuable men, Dr. Martin Luther, Dr. Justus Jonas and Magister Georg, Diaconus of the church at Wittenberg, his friends.

Hail! It was not without the most weighty causes that I was unwilling that we should not both leave there and be driven away by error. Now, under the present circumstances, I am experiencing more inconvenience than I thought would occur. The house of the monastery is not so suitable for the school as it used to be. 2) Many wander about without a place to live. Many are wandering about without a home, all without household utensils, without books, so that they live in camps. I have inspected the homes of all of them; with great pain I have seen that the children of noble people are living in camps.

1) *Maestro Georgio Diacono Ecclesiae Witebergensis*. Bretschneider resolves this by "Major", of whom we do not know that he was Diaconus at Wittenberg. We think that M. Georg Rörer is meant. Burkhardt (in his regest) has omitted this name.

2) Instead of *quae* we have assumed *quam.*

lying miserably on the floor. In addition there are great expenses which are unbearable to the more meagre, and we professors here are few. This small number also diminishes the prestige (xx xxxxxx), for which, as you know, there must be quite a large number. Therefore, if you think that the school can be brought back there, we will hurry to you as soon as possible. I, at least, would rather live in the midst of the dangers of pestilential places than struggle with the present troubles, but still I will send for the time. Christ rule us, and also preserve you for the sake of the glory of His name. Today, God willing, which may well be, I will begin the lectures in order to relieve some of those who understand the annoyance that this disturbance brings. I expect from you true letters about the raging of the plague, and not those that are written according to the gossip of fearful or foolish people. Fare you well. "Thursday" after the feast of St. Jacobi [July 29]. Philip.

No. 2147.

(Wittenberg,) July 31, 1535.

To Albrecht, Archbishop of Mainz.

See St. Louis ed. vol. XIX, 1878.

N o. 2148.

(Wittenberg,) 3. August 1635.

To the mayor and council of Augsburg.

Luther allows M. Johann Förster to go from Wittenberg to Augsburg, recommends him especially, and exhorts the council to take care for the education of young people as preachers.

The original is in the Augsburg newly formed city archives, written on half a sheet along its length, with small oblong seal of red wax, in which the shield with the rose and below: M. L. Printed in "Twelfth Annual Report of the Historical District Society for the District of Swabia and Neuburg. For the year 1846. Augsburg 1847". P. 70; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 196 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 161 f.

To the honorable, prudent gentlemen, mayor and [council] 3) of the imperial city of Augsburg, my favorable dear gentlemen and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, prudent, dear gentlemen! Because *Doctor Gereon* 4)

3) "Rath"'is missing in the prints.

4) In the Erlanger: *Gercon.* It will be the well-known Doctor Medicinä Gereon Seiler.

We have allowed him, in order that your fathers may see that we would gladly do so with all our will, so that such unity may be confirmed, so that we may not give rise to any suspicion in such hopeful unity. Without this we would not have let him; for he is a learned, pious, faithful man, whom we would have needed from now on. And if it should come to pass that some of the preachers might not take a liking to him, [we] want him 1) E. F. seriously; for if 2) it would not be convenient for him to stay in Augsburg himself, we have asked him very kindly to come to us again. F. wanted to help to educate people especially to the Holy Scriptures, so that we would have pastors and preachers; for, since God is in favor of one or ten people falling away with us in a short time, we would not know how to provide ourselves with people. May the merciful God help that our unity may remain constant. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. August 3, 1535.

Martinus Luther, Dr.

No. 2149.

Torgau. August 3, 1535.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector grants Luther's request for Johann Mantel and Hieronymus Weller.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji*, *fol.* 115 b. 1535. C. 2. 52. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 236.

Our greeting before. Venerable, dear devotee ! After we have given you an answer to your letter concerning the Chaplain Ern Johann Mantel and Hieronymo Weller, because we were thinking of going to these country places, that we wanted to inquire about it and graciously let ourselves be heard against you further, we have agreed in view of your preliminary request that the said Chaplain Ern Petern Jüterbock's discharged fief income shall follow him all his life long'. We also send you the deed which we have had executed for him, which is to be kept for you.

1) In the prints: "so want him".
2) In the text: "how". Seidemann's conjecture: "where".
3) Burkhardt: "imagined".

you will know to hand over to him for the time being. But for Hieronymo Weller's sake, so that he may no longer be deprived of his outside money, we hereby send you the forty florins, which you will also know how to deliver to him. In our gracious opinion we do not want to hold you back, and we are graciously inclined towards you. Date Tuesday after *Vincula Petri* [3 Aug] 1535.

No. 2150.

(Wittenberg,) August 7, 1535.

To Johann Friedrich, Churfürsten of Saxony.

Luther thanks for the new newspaper and wants to pray for the begun work of the Emperor (the Concil question 2), writes about the plague and the forthcoming doctorate of Hieronymus Weller and the Magister Joh. Medler.

The original is in the Hungarian National Library, ,,507 *fol.* Germ. ª". [4] Printed by Burkhardt, p. 237.

Grace and peace in Christ and my poor Paternoster. Most gracious, most reverend lord, most gracious lord! I send E. C. F. G. the printed new newspaper again and have heard it all gladly and happily, I also want to place my poor Paternoster (on whom I rely in all my needs) among the dear bunch of people who are called Christians and are also Christians, with and faithfully to the dear Emperor, God, the Father of all mercy and consolation, may the dear man blessedly finish the work he has begun, Anten. And I thank E. C. F. G. humbly that they have graciously informed me of such a happy newspaper.

We are here in large Fahr Sterbens halber, without that I wonder how it happens that I can not find out who they are, who die with such large piles. It must be called all pestilence, what becomes ill, just as if before the^) next year had not been just as large and more ill. It has never yet been a miracle where twenty or more people have died.

4) Burkhardt notes: "For the fate of the letter the inscription on the back is remarkable, where it says:

Ego Andreas Segner, p. t. curator redituum Ecclesie S. Georgy memoriam ergo reposui inter alia Ecclesiastica bona, litteras xxxxxxxx *nostri B. Lutheri, propria manu scriptas, quas dono accepi in Academia Jenensi ex Bibliotheca Ducum Saxoniae, Linea Vinariensi Anno Christi* 1625. An interesting piece of liberality, at any rate!"

5) Instead of "the" might want to read "in".

more children baptized a week, whether sometimes also one child or two die a week, besides about one old seven man, so that now such must be called a dying.

But whether we would ever become so proud and make Hieronymus Weller and M. Johann Medler, the Margravine's Chaplain, doctors, I humbly request that E. C. F. G. either graciously receive our letters, or order that a wild boar be sent to us from the Lochau. For we have decided to doctor the two before St. Michael arrives, and to send the one in Meissen, this one to the Mark, if it is God's will, so that death does not have to throb and defy us so much.

My weathercock") is also gone, not for fear of dying (as I thought), but for the sake of his father (how cheap). We have enough room in the city, praise God, but I hope it will get better. Command me hereby E. C. F. G. Christ be with E. C. F. G. blessed here and there, Amen, *The Sancti Donati* [7 August] 1535.

E. C. F. G. subservient

Martin Luther, D.

No. 2151.

(Wittenberg,) August 8, 1535.

To Gabriel Zwilling, pastor in Torgau.

Luther gives a joking account of the plague in Wittenberg and intercedes for someone.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 349; in the Altenburger, vol. VI, p. 468; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 565; in Walch, vol. XXI, 378; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 618, and in the Erlanger, vol. 55, p. 101.

Grace and peace. My dear reverend! I would that at least our letters would come to Torgau, because your city fears us Wittenbergers so much. And indeed your fear is just; for yesterday a whole child died here, that not a hair of it remained alive, but four children were born. I hold that the devil hath now

1) This word: "undertake" is too much.

2) Luther also uses this expression in Letter No. 2141 from the bailiff Hans Metsch. - Burkhardt notes: "I have not been able to find this designation for a personality."

Shrovetide with such vain terrors, or will there be fair in hell, that the devil is so lustful with larvae.

I ask you to plead with your lord of the manor for my sake, Letter pointer, that they lend him 12 silver shocks; for he has been put off, and honest people have forbidden him against me, as Hieronymus Krappe, and the priest of Dessau, whose brother he is. *Fac quod poteris, nam ego istis hominibus libenter obsequerer. Bene in Christo vale* [Do what you can, for I would gladly please these people. Fare well in Christo]. And let me know whether I also come in, where I want to walk to you; for one says here wonderfully how strict you lords of Torgau are, and God does not want that perhaps more die with you than with us. Go on, let fools; herewith God commanded, Amen. 1535, Ciria.3) Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2152.

(Witteuberg.) August 8, 1535.

To Justus Menius in Eisenach.

Luther recommends to him the sister of Hartmuth von Kronberg, who, kidnapped by a Jew, had come to Wittenberg and given birth to a child there.

From the Schmid collection at Helmstädt in Schütze, vol. II, p. 344 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 618f.

To his in Christ exceedingly dear brother, Justus Menius, the very faithful bishop in Eisenach.

Grace and peace, my dearest Justus! This woman, who delivers this letter to you, I commend her to you, that you may stand by her with counsel and with all the help that is in your power. She seems to me to be of some high family, perhaps not far from where your dialect is spoken, as her manner of speech will indicate. With us she hath been respectable, and hath borne a child; I have been godfather. I think it was by some fall, which only she knows, and now weeps for, and laments that she sojourns abroad. If there be any misstep, judge the office of a Samaritan, yet so that thou believest not man heedlessly. We must be without

3) Instead of "Ciria" probably *Cyriaci* is to be read.

To be false, like the doves, but at the same time clever, like the snakes. I strongly believe that she is unhappy, but because I have often been deceived, I must be a little more cautious. You will do according to your prudence what will seem suitable for the (as I believe) very good woman and not unsuitable for you. For she herself hath desired of me that I should write to some minister of this place, perhaps to claim her kinsmen and blood-friends near there. Farewell in Christ, and pray for me as I do for you. August 8, 1535.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2153.

(Wittenberg,) August 17, 1535.

To Johann Friedrich, Elector of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X VII, 299, no. 1286.

No. 2154.

(Wittenberg,) August 19, 1535.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther desires the return of Jonas. Of Melanchthon's journey to France; of the alleged plague in Wittenberg 2c. In the postscript of a scanty recommended to him.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Helmst*. 107 and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 222. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 345 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 620.

Grace and peace in Christ! I wish you happiness in those joys of yours, though I would also wish you all the glories you mention, my dear Jonas, if they could be granted to you in this place (the rumor of our pestilence is quite null and void, or rather the nullity itself), but it was decided in heaven that Satan should separate us according to our bodies; who knows by what monstrosity? M. Philip has been summoned by the King of France, and also by my advice he would gladly travel. But he has not been able to obtain this from the Prince; he has gone from here to Jena again quite unwillingly; what will happen I do not know. We will have the doctor's feast on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross [Sept. 14], the disputation on the Saturday before
her [Sept. 11]. At my request, the most noble Prince has promised us a stag or a hind (if the arrow should go so astray) and the best wine from the castle. Pommer is on his way to us, therefore you will be there at the same time, and the Jena school will be there, if otherwise that can be called a Jena school which is the Wittenberg school. It is a strange loneliness here in the city, but we are, thank God, healthy and live quite comfortably, except that there is absolutely no beer in the city. Blessed is my body that still has a little in the cellar. Certainly the citizens suffer through the lack of drink. What would have happened if the school had remained here? All that all new beer is brewed is still drunk up almost hot before the glowing coals themselves, so that 1) all who can are forced to brew by force. My Lord Käthe greets you reverently with yours and all yours. My Johannes Luther would have answered your: younger Justus, but because he recognized the older Jonas in the letter, he could not write in such a big matter through the older Luther; but he will write next according to his age. Farewell again. August 19, Anno 1535. yours Martin Luther, D.

I would like to serve Bernhard, but because I cannot do it with my own, since I am obliged by God to feed so many household members, since I also owe so much [, I cannot]. 2) Eschhausen does not want to be at home, or rather she never wants to pay. I wonder what it is that this strong man with a strong wife is so oppressed by excessive poverty, who cannot be helped with one or two alms, and that alms are offered to such strong people over and over again is finally not possible. Advise me how I can benefit him, for I would gladly do it for the good man, especially since he is a guest in the church of the Gentiles and a housemate in the Jewish church. Again, farewell.

1) Here we have left out the word "*sitiati* (?)". - Perhaps: *siti acti*, driven by thirst?

2) Added by us.

No. 2155.

Esslingen. 19 August 1535.

Mayor and council of the city of Esslingen to Luther.

They have heard from Dr. Gereon Seiler how kindly Luther received the envoys of the city of Augsburg, and declared his willingness to receive the cities of the upper country in love and unity, therefore they ask that the same may happen to them, and promise all good.*)

From the *Cod. Gothanus* 40, *fol.* 207, printed by Burkhardt, p. 238. - Answered 5 October.

Grace and peace through Christ, our one and only Savior, from God, together with the offering of our friendly, benevolent services beforehand. Worthy, esteemed, especially favorable dear Lord and faithful father! When the honourable ones, our dear friends of the city of Augsburg, dispatched the highly respected and honourable Gereon, the medicine doctor, and Caspar Hubern with a somewhat excellent and appropriate advertisement to your dignity, the reported Mr. Gereon, doctor, when he travelled out to us again, reported to us with the best of diligence all the actions that had taken place, and besides gave to know with what heartfelt joy the said envoys of your dignity were heard, that your dignities also favorably offered that there should be no lack of the same, especially with all will and ability be inclined to strengthen and maintain the accepted love and unity towards us and all other Upper Austrian cities, which accepted the holy word of God, which we, praise and thanks be to the Almighty in eternity, listened to with but joy : We therefore ask your dignities with special diligence to accept us no less than our dear friends of the city of Augsburg as poor and Christian brothers in the Lord, and thus to have and hold us in favorable and fatherly command; Let us, with divine help, alongside our Christian preachers and leaders of divine truth, according to the pure, clear word and command of God, keep ourselves as devout Christians, avoiding all kinds of annoying sects, and thus show ourselves and advance in the work of God that we have begun, so that God's honor may be promoted, His holy name praised, and His divine truth expanded, and be of service to the salvation of all our souls, and also that your dignity as our faithful father may receive special pleasure, commanding us herewith in your faithful and Christian prayer. Date: Thursday, August 19, 1535.

Mayor and town council of Esslingen.

I) Burkhardt's description of the content is incorrect.
2) In Burkhardt: "herauß raißen".

No. 2156.

Strasbourg. 19 August 1535.

The Strasbourg Theologians to Luther.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 2071.

No. 2157.

(Wittenberg,) August 20, 1535.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVI, 1888, no. 1217.

No. 2158.

Wittenberg.. 23 August 1535.

To Jakob Probst in Bremen.

Luther tells him some news.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Helmst.* 107 and in Aurifaber, vol. III. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 147 and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 623.

To Mr. Jakob Probst, Prepositus at Bremen.

Grace and peace in Christ! Since this John of ours, a very good man and exceedingly dear brother, went down to you in those lower parts of the earth, I did not want to dismiss him without letters, although there was nothing I could have written except a greeting. For all the rest is either known to you, or you can hear it from this John in the most abundant and reliable way. There is a concord sought between us and the Sacramentarians, at least with great hope and desire. May Christ accomplish it as a sincere one, and may He graciously take away this great trouble, so that it may not be necessary for it to be taken away by force, as it was taken away at Münster. 3) God crowns the Emperor with great victories at sea against the allies of the Turks in Africa. I am getting very old, not in years but in strength, and have become almost completely unfit for work in the morning. You pray for me for a blessed departure from this exceedingly bad world and be well with all the people.

3) An end was put to the Anabaptist mischief by the capture of the city of Münster on June 25.

Yours. My Käthe and Margarethchen, your godmother, greet you. Wittenberg, on the day before Bartholomew [Aug. 23] Anno 1535.

Your Martin Luther.

The plague reigns here, or rather it rages. For never in a whole year have there been fewer funerals here than now, though never has there been a greater cry about the plague. But thus Satan mocks us.

No. 2159.

(Wittenberg,) August 24, 1535.

To Justus Menius in Eisenach.

About the sister of Hartmuth von Kronberg, with whom Luther, when he was in Wittenberg, talked about the matter.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Gud.* From the Schmid collection at Helmstädt at Schlitze, vol. II, p. 349 and at De Wette, vol. IV, p. 624.

Grace and peace! I have received your letter, my dear Justus, and hope that Hartmuth von Kronberg will be there before this messenger returns to you. I have dealt with Hartmuth with the greatest diligence for the wife, and he, as he is a man of his word, has promised me such things that I hope the wife has been well advised. And would God that the woman had entrusted to me everything that she has entrusted to others now; perhaps there would have been advice sooner. I, who have hitherto often been deceived by pretended (*fictas*) nuns and great whores, had to be cautious and consider my danger, otherwise I would have gutted her with due honors and soon delivered her to her relatives again. That Jew, her seducer, has a very bad name, also his parents. We believe, I also believe, that he is justly slain. Therefore, if they are still with you when you receive this letter, may you also comfort the wife in my name, and charge the brother that he remember my protection, yea, his own promise for the wife. For I am now persuaded by the: Facts, that she has been, and still is, a very good woman, whose case I exceedingly deplore; Christ comfort her.

We are here in the midst of death in the liver: our pestilence is made great without measure, though no man dieth any other death than that which is common in all times of dying. If a child die, it must have been the pestilence. The devil has mocked us by several deaths that were carried off two months ago by a *contagious* disease (*contagio*). In the meantime there is such peace as can only be for mortals. Farewell and pray for me in Christ. On St. Bartholomew's Day [Aug. 24] 1535.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2160.

(Wittenberg,) August 24, 1535.

To Justus Jonas.

Of Jonah's health - circumstances; of the alleged plague in Wittenberg, and news from thence.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Helmst.* 107 and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 220. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 348 and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 624. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1426 f.

Grace and peace in Christ! I wish you happiness, my dear Jonas, on this happy outcome concerning your health, and yet God would that your stone would find another stone there, or rather a pestilence by which it would die in you. We do not sing, "In the midst of our fief we are embraced with death," but, "In the midst of death we are in full life," for there is nothing here of death or corpses but what dies from Adam, according to the ordinary fate of the whole world. When thou goest to Torgau, I pray thee that thou deliver or send this chant to that unreasonable and unquiet promoter (*exactori*) Marcus, the wine-giver (*Vinario),* for I have had no other messenger.

Hartmuth von Kronberg has been with me, seeking his sister, that strange woman (as you know) with us; of that another time. I wonder why Pommer hesitates to come to us, since he has been in the vicinity of Wittenberg, I know not where, for almost eight days. I send here to you, as the Visitator, the matter of a certain Kirchner,

as you will see; I have written for the Kirchner at Jessen 1). I am now busy writing the theses and preparing the things for the doctoral examination. The festivity (*aula)* will take place on September 14, but the disputation four days before. You will be called at the proper time. Farewell and pray for me. Greetings to all yours. On Tuesday Bartholomew [August 24] Anno 1535.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2161.

(Wittenberg,) August 27, 1535.

To Justus Jonas.

Of a marriage bargain; of the permission denied to Melanchthon by the Elector to travel to France, and of Bugenhagen's return.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Helmst*. 107 and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 221. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 350 and by De Wette, vol. I V, p. 625. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1425 f.

Grace and peace in Christ! With regard to the marriage case, my dear Jonas, I defer judgment to you and the lawyers, because you know that I do not wish to be a judge in these matters for the sake of the lawyers, who, wherever they wish, mock us in them, and the peasants are nothing more grateful to the Gospel when they have seized freedom from canonical rule.

I have read the letter of the prince to Philip 2), but with a not very happy heart, because I know that Philip will be greatly disturbed by such a hard letter. And I think many things; God would that I did not think them. More at another time, because I have been quite sad. Pommer has also returned cheerfully and has been received by all of us. Give my love to his wife and children. Johannes Luther will be with your Jonas as soon as

I) This is Walch's assumption for *Hexinensi*. Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 667, offers (incomprehensible to us): *Hexinensis* [Axien.) *aedituus*.

2) Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth., lib. III, p. 110a*, states that the notice (*rescriptum) of* the Elector to Melanchthon (which in *Corp. Ref.,* Vol. II, 910, is correctly dated Aug. 24) was sent on Aug. 30, but that his answer to the King of France was sent on Aug. 28. The latter letter is dated in *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. II, 905, Aug. 18.

as possible. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. Friday after Bartholomew [27 August] 1535.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2162.

(Wittenberg,) August 29, 1535.

To Melanchthon in Jena.

Luther sends the theses for the upcoming doctorate in Wittenberg. The state of health in Wittenberg and the rejection by the Elector.

Manuscript at Gotha in *Cod. chart.* 185. 4. from *Manlii Farrago epp. Philipp, p.* 458, in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 626.

Grace and peace! Behold, we send the theses for the disputations, best Philip, which you will kindly distribute to the candidates of theology at our request, and at the same time invite everyone in our name to the disputation on the aforementioned day and place. For I do not believe that it is necessary to post them at the doors there, if it does not seem advisable to you, since you are strangers, not at the place of the university. But when you come, you will find them posted at the doors in the usual manner and form; then we shall also invite you solemnly to the banquet, though (as you know) we wish to know how many of you will come. But the solemnity (*aula* == promovirung) will take place on the day [of the exaltation] of the holy cross. We await you with joy. For now another conjunction [of the stars] has passed harmlessly, and there has not been even one natural death in three days. Today there was one, but it had nothing to do with the plague.

I have heard nothing from the court about the meeting you report. Perhaps they keep such great secrets from us, and I like to know nothing of such great secrets, Dr. Brück arrived today, to whom I will go tomorrow if I can. For yesterday and today I have suffered from a constant diarrhoea, and am weakened in body by the fact that sleep flees me, and I desire no food, and we suffer from a lack of drink. I hope that I shall be better tomorrow. In the last two days I have had fifteen bowel movements...

had. Write me whether you have swallowed the letter from the prince by which I have been greatly disturbed on your account (as I wrote), and how your health is. I (as thou hast read) have begun to think those thy envoys suspicious. Thou knowest that my faithless and lost disciple, 1) and he hath many that make fellowship with him, and are not unlike him. The LORD guide thee and keep thee, Amen. On the Sunday after Bartholomew [Aug. 29] 1535.

No. 2163.

Wittenberg. September 1, 1535.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther is glad that the court does not involve him in the negotiations with the King of France, and now wishes himself that Melanchthon does not go to France. About the forthcoming doctorate.

Manuscript at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. HeImst*. 107 and in Aurifaber, vol. III. From the Frick Collection at Ulm in Schütze, vol. II, p. 351 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 627. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1428.

Grace and peace in Christ! I know nothing of the letter of reply to the king, my dear Jonas, and since the king has not written, in my opinion the most advisable thing would have been that nothing be answered to him, and it is a matter of perhaps giving them an opportunity to reply also. But the Court is wise, and rejoices that it is a doer, and we even prefer to be spectators than doers. One day they too would like to have been spectators and not so wise, acting persons. For I now begin to rejoice especially that we are despised and excluded from the court, and I interpret it to mean that this is by God's grace, so that we are not mixed up in these troubles, over which we may one day have to groan. But now we are sure that everything that is happening is happening without our knowledge, and we obtain early what Demosthenes wished for late, namely, that we will not be called upon to govern. God confirm this, amen.

There is a general rumour about the French envoys, even from the best men.

1) Luther means the Archbishop of Halle; see the following letter.

So that now I also did not want Philip to travel with them. The suspicion arises that the right envoys have been killed on the journey, and that the papists have equipped them with letters to draw Philip away. And thou knowest the bishops of Mainz, Liège, and others, the devil's worst instruments, who increase my concern for Philip; I have written to him diligently about this matter. "The world is of the devil, and the devil is of the world." My disciple at Halle I hold very suspicious, if only for the reason that he has trampled under foot Philip's expositions of the Epistle to the Romans, which were dedicated to him, under frightful rebuke. 2) "He has St. Velten by the neck," and many other evils, but so much is lacking in them that he should be led to repentance and self-knowledge by these punishments and disgraces, that he even grows angrier daily; perhaps because he is unwilling (after the manner of the devil) that God does not give, do, and suffer as much as his rage desires. Enough of this.

By the way, by this letter the new future doctors are calling you and asking you to come to the disputation and preside over the doctorate, performing the office of doctor. We would give you a speech to praise theology, but we feared Roscius would laugh at us if he became a spectator. Yet even a cabbage gardener often speaks in a fitting manner. It would please us if you would emphasize the point that theology is such: if in this life by other arts all things have been arranged in visible or even in hidden ways, yet in the end, when one must die, and wander from the exceeding beautiful and happy and lovely scene of this life, mau must still care, seek, call for that poor, scanty, despised manger in Bethlehem, and those people their crowns, majesties, dominions, arts, and gifts will help nothing. There thou hast a spark in the tinder. Fare thee well in Christ. On the first day of September, Anno 1535. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

2) Here De Wette has mistakenly a colon, because he took the following words as spoken by the Archbishop of Mainz (so did Walch), but they are Luther's words about him.

No. 2164.

Ulm. 3 September 1535.

Mayor and Council of Ulm to Luther.

They agree with the Concordienwerk and ask for possible promotion of it by Luther.
From the *Cod. Gothan. 40, fol.* 206, in Burkhardt, p. 239.

Our willing services before. Dear Lord! We gladly and with joy hear that after the cities of Strasbourg, Augsburg, and our preachers, through the special negotiation of Buceri, Strasbourg's church servant, offered you a concord of the dangerous division of the reverend sacrament before this time and have long since begun against you, that the same unanimity has now been brought to good peace, end and decency, for which reason we thank God Almighty and ask Him justly to preserve this well-created work for the time being in perpetuity; and although we, along with all the states of the laudable Christian understanding, have been heard in the command to subscribe to the Confession not only in this, but also in all the other articles, as handed down by our most gracious Lord, the Elector of Saxony, and his co-religionists at the Imperial Diet of Augsburg, and thus to subscribe to the doctrine with their electors. Gn. have been and still are in agreement; Now that all means of harmony and final concord have been found between our towns, our prebendaries and you, we hope for even more fruitful and greater benefits, have a special good pleasure in it, and herewith admonish you out of good zeal and Christian heart, that you will henceforth not take less care of such Christian ways, as we doubt to happen, so that this unanimity will be constantly preserved, and for the time being further peace and reconciliation 1) will be planted and established. We also want to promote this with ours to the best of our ability, and, that this may proceed commendably between both parts, we ask God the Lord for urgent earnestness, and we are also inclined to prove service and friendship 2) to you. Date Friday after Egidii [Sept. 3] 1535.

Mayor and Council of Ulm.

1) With Burkhardt: *son,* what we have resolved by "atonement," reconciliation.

2) The preceding is interpreted by Burkhardt as follows: *also best vermugens furdern vnd dass disz zwischen baidentailn löblich zugang von got dem herrn trungelichs ernsts, pitten auch Euch dinst vnd freuntschaft* 2c.

No. 2165.

(Wittenberg,) 4. September 1535.

To Justus Jonas.

Joking invitation to the doctor's feast.3) Of the emperor's victory in Africa.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Helmst.* 107, and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 225. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 361 and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 629. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1430.

Grace and peace! I hope you have received the letters and the disputations, my dear Jonas, and at the same time that we, as the pig [you], have wanted to teach Minerva what you should say at the graduation. Now the head cook (*Archimagirus*) asks you, my mistress Käthe, that after receiving this thaler you buy for us birds, fowl, and flying creatures, and everything that is subject to the rule of man (that can be eaten) in that airy realm of the feathered, but (for God's sake) no ravens; but the sparrows we very much wish to devour even all at once; and if you lay out something more, it will be reimbursed to you. Next, if thou canst buy any hare or the like, or hunt for nothing, send it, for we think to satisfy the bodies of you all, if otherwise that drink shall succeed which is called *cythus* [beer]. For my lord Käthe has cooked seven quarters (*quartalia*, as they are called), into which she has mixed 32 bushels of malt, wanting to satisfy my taste. She hopes it will be a good beer. What it will be, you will taste with the others.

There is no news, except what you know of the Emperor's victories in Africa. But Duke George and the Bishop of Halle had a meeting and decided to enjoin their people to fast three days every week for the Emperor, and to take the form of the Sacrament, so that in the future everything will go out more happily. Now, if the Emperor should gain Constantinople (which God wants to give), it will not be because of God.

3) The two doctorands are, as Luther writes in No. 2150 to the Elector, Hieronymus Weller and Ül. Johann Medler. Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 518, Note 2, erroneously names Georg Rorarius [Rörer] instead of Weller.

but the three days of fasting and the one form of the Sacrament. This is indeed the poet's word: 1) that those who have the wit that you have easily transfer to themselves the honor that is brought about by other people's work. Now I understand why Terence calls that Thraso a shameful 2) man. But these words are those of Scipio and of Lälius, not of Terence. But Christ lives and sees these unspeakable wickednesses of devils and men. But we also live and are merry at this wrath of devils and men, and even want to feast and make a feast, while those miserably bare their teeth, especially when you come merrily to us with these captive feathered beasts, and force them, after they have left the quite free realm of the air, to go into the prison of the pots among the urban flock. My Käthe greets you and all of your kind with friendship and reverence. But listen, again, if mine greets you, I greet yours as well; like must be repaid with like. Fare well in the Lord. 1535 Sept. 4, 3)

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2166.

(Wittenberg,) September 6, 1535.

To Spalatin.

Intercession for a displaced pastor, and news.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a, fol.* 228. Printed by Luc1(i6U8, p. 247 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 630. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1269.

To the highly famous man, M. Georg Spalatin, Superintendent in Meissen, his brother who is extremely dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! This pastor in Burkhartshain, named Wolfgang Gotzel, is driven out by his nobleman. He is already old and has several children

1) *Terent. Eunuch. III, 1, 9: Labore alieno magno partam gloriam verbis saepe in se transmovet, qui sal habet, quod in te est*. Luther does not quote the passage literally.

2) *perditum*. Walch, on the other hand, has read *peritum* (skilful).

3) Only Walch gives this undoubtedly correct date. Schütze lists the letter under November 7.

and has hitherto administered his office faithfully; to him, my dear George, assist as much as you can. For it is cruel that Christ's poor should be thus afflicted by ours, and this licentiousness of the nobility will do great harm to the gospel. I therefore earnestly commend him to thee.

There is no news, except that Doctor Antonius is here, that black Englishman, as envoy of his king to our prince, and he desires that M. Philippus go to England to talk with the king. Hartmuth von Kronberg was here and sought his sister. For this very honorable woman was indeed here for some months, unknown to us all. A certain Jew had kidnapped her, who was a widow, and made her his wife. But he was killed on the journey by his relatives; she, called in peace by her relatives, came here from Silesia. It is written that the cities of Greece summon the Emperor Carl as a deliverer from Turkish tyranny. This man's fortune is unheard of, Christ grant it be accomplished, amen. Of our plague I know nothing, so all lie all. It is said of many persons that they have been buried for three days, and behold, they live quite well. May God punish these wicked people who are masters at lying and deceiving the people. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. September 6, 1535: My Lord Käthe greets you respectfully with all your flesh.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2167.

Augsburg. 8 September 1535.

The Council of Augsburg to Luther.

The council expresses its thanks for Luther's two letters (No. 2144 and 2145), likewise for the efforts to procure a preacher for them. Joy about the Concordia work that has come about, against which they do not want any sects to arise.

From *Cod. Goth. 40, fol.* 205 in Burkhardt, p. 240.

To the worthy, highly esteemed Mr. Martin Luther, Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, our dear Lord, we, the mayors and councillors of the city of Augsburg, offer our friendly, willing services beforehand. Worthy, most reverend,

Dear Doctor! We have received two letters of your dignity, pleasing and offering, besides our envoy, Doctor Gereon Seiler's, relation, done to us for his homecoming, of which everything, especially also the diligence, on our part, first with our dear Lord Doctor Urbano Regio, and subsequently, when he could not be raised, with Magister Johann Förster, and then proved other goodwill to the aforementioned our envoy, we thank him kindly, and request that he return this to us for E. W.'s sake. W. to return and owe the same. Then we further enjoy the beloved settlement, achieved by means of divine graces. As much as we (whether God wills it) do not want to omit anything that might be in its favor, but do not want to undertake or permit anything that might be detrimental to it or be present, but [promote it, so] 1) we have given our special dear and good friends, those of Strasbourg, Ulm and other cities in the upper country, such an accepted agreement and received joy through the above-mentioned Doctor Gereon, who have been pleased with it no less than we have, and, as much as they are willing to keep it, as E. W. has also heard from them themselves. W. will also hear from them himself. Hereupon to your dignity comes our friendly request, whether sooner or later something (important) would be attributed to the association, in advance by special persons or otherwise indicated, that they do not believe the same indications behind the back of the superiors, but always want to make such indications and other their concerns known to the 2) superiors themselves, and then hear their report. For if some misguidance, sects, or repugnant teachings, which God would mercifully prevent, should arise among us, we are inclined to put a stop to such seductions with God's help in due time and to turn them to correction according to E. W.'s *well-founded* counsel, nor are we less inclined than other Christian estates or members of eager diligence. May God Almighty graciously preserve E. W. for the comfort of the Christian churches in long-lasting health and keep us all in constant unity. Date on September 8, 1535.

No. 2167a.

Augsburg. 8 September 1535.

Johann Forster in Augsburg to Luther.

(Regest.)

Förster reports that the council, after hearing him preach for thirteen days, gave him the parish of St. Johannis with the approval of all the preachers of the city.

1) Added by us.

2) Burkhardt: "dem".

The ceremonies and customs were quite different from those in Wittenberg, but he believed that they could be tolerated. They publicly confess that the body and blood of Christ are present at the Lord's Supper, but not as really as the Wittenbergers; this can be attributed to their ignorance and not to their malice, for they strive to maintain the concord. The baptism they have right. In preaching and treating the Word, the clergy are very like their masters Zwingli, Oecolampad, Pellican, Bucer 2c. Forster wanted to push the article of justification, then also the doctrine of the two sacraments. Of the plague that reigns in Augsburg and continues to spread. He asks "Luther" to answer the imperial cities, and that he keep Melanchthon from going to France, because of the king's disloyalty and cruelty. A series of greetings.

The original is at the Hamburg City Library in the Wolff Collection, *Cod. I, fol.* 61 f., printed by Kolde, p. 210.

No. 2167 b.

(Augsburg.) 8th (?) September 1535.

Dr. Gereon Seiler to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2124.

No. 2167 c.

Augsburg. 8th (?) September 1535.

The preachers at Augsburg to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2139.

No. 2168.

Wittenberg. 12 September 1535.

To Mrs Dorothea Jörger.

Thanks for a gift; answer to the question if she could hold a Protestant home service.

In Raupach, Evang. Oesterreich, 1st cont., p. 76; in Moseder, Glaubensbekenntniß, p. 90 f.; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 631 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 105.

Grace and peace in Christo with my poor Paternoster 2c. Honourable, dear wife! I have heard He Andres, and received your writing, and I thank you for the gift, especially of the Gröschlin, although I would like to be sure whether it is the right one, because it looks so new; but it may be conterfeit or cast off 2c. He has also begotten me another, as you would like to know, whether it is the right one.

You may in good conscience (because the pastor does not suffer it) allow the gospel to be preached at Halls for your household alone, 1) but excluding the other parishioners. For because the priest will forbear you in the house, you may take so long to do so, until it is forbidden by force; for you are not guilty for the sake of others, who are compelled by force majeure to oppose you. In this every man must venture himself, and stand his own adventure. Further, be not deceived, whether the preachers be not smeared or shamed by the suffragan bishop; for they are not ordained to the ministry of preaching, but to the corner mass, and are the priests Baal and Hieroboam 2c. He that is called is consecrated, and shall preach unto them that call him: this is the consecration of our Lord GOD, and right Chresem 2c. My housewife sends her friendly greetings to you and the festering ones. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, Sunday after the Nativity of Our Lady [12 Sept.] 1535.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2169.

(Wittenberg,) 12. September 1535.

To the Elector John Frederick of Saxony, together with the other theologians.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 283, no. 1280.

No. 2170.

(Wittenberg,) September 17, 1535.

To George, Prince of Anhalt.

Luther sends back the written remarks of George about the Papacy praising, says that it is nothing with the plague in Wittenberg, and thanks for his gifts to the Doctorschmause (Wellers and Medlers on 14 Sept.).

In Lindner, Mittheilungen, p. 27 and in De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 163. The postscript found in Seidemann to this letter (in Lindner, p. 29 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 198) belongs, according to Burkhardt's investigations in Dessau (Burkh. p. 496), to the letter of Sept. 29, 1536.

1) In the editions: "to let", but it is in any case the same as the immediately following "to let up".

To the highly famous and very good Prince and Lord, Lord George, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien, Lord in Bernburg; highly respected (*magnifico*) Provost of the Church in Magdeburg, his most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! I am sending back to E. F. G., Most Serene Prince, the very meaningful thoughts which E. F. G. has compiled against the pontifical unrhymed ungodliness, and not only the matter itself has pleased me, but much more the wonderful diligence of E. F. G. in collecting and explaining them. F. G. in collecting and explaining them. May the Lord Jesus beget and increase this spirit in the heart of E. F. G., and may he also plant it with much fruit in the church, amen.

As for our plague, I have heard that extremely frightening things are being raised by it abroad, although, as Christ is my witness, not even one person has been found who has had a bump (*apostema*, as it is called), which, after all, tends to occur with this disease; if there is any plague, it must certainly be an internal poison, a pestilential fever, as it were (as the physicians call it). Then the deaths are very rare; often neither a corpse nor a disease is found in the city for three days. On one or two days there are two or three corpses, but most of them are children and people who have been carried off by a long illness, as also happens outside the plague season. For four years ago there were either as many or more deaths, although there was no plague, than there are now. Summa: "If it is a dying, it is a secret dying, since more are born than die," so that we may say: In the midst of death we are in life, and both in Torgau and Leipzig there are more dying than in Wittenberg. But Satan, since GOD permits it, has by this larva of pestilence scattered this school and troubled the Church. This he has willed of old, but may Christ tread him down speedily, Amen. This is what I thought I had to tell E. F. G., so that she would not be moved by these rumours of Satan; the other will be communicated by the very good man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann.

We, the new doctors and I, thank the princely lords (*Pr. Dnis*) for the generosity with which E. F. G. has deigned to honour them. Christ bless E. F. G. for ever and ever, Amen. September 17, 1535.

E. F. G.
devoted
Martin Luther.

No. 2171.

(Torgau.) September 0 1535.

Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony to Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen, Melanchthon and Cruciger.

News of the incoming embassy from England and instructions for its reception.
The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H*, *fol.* 99. 42. Printed by Burkhardt", p. 233.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotees and faithful! Since it has not been made known to you that the King of England recently had his orator, Doctor Antonia Barnes, with us and had him do some canvassing: Because the same doctor has let himself be heard, among other things, that the said king would send a noble embassy hereafter, which would talk with you as our theologians about some articles and hold friendly discussions and *colloquia*, he has sought from us on account of the said king that we would order you to listen to the embassy's arrival, and to talk and confer with it. Since we are inclined to comply with the king's request, and have agreed to do so with respect to the above-mentioned orator, we graciously request that, when the aforementioned embassy arrives in Wittenberg, you wait for it to arrive there, or if it is likely to remain in Wittenberg because it has died, or if it is likely to remain there because it has died.

1) Burkhardt has placed this letter at the beginning of July, but remarks on it (p. 233, note): "The letter of credence for the first English embassy is dated from Greenwich Feb. 8, for the second from Windsor for Dr. Barnes from July 8. Nevertheless, this letter cannot be placed chronologically. It belongs to the time when the plague had seriously broken out in Wittenberg, but the university had not yet moved to Jena." On the other hand, Köstlin, M. Luther, vol. II, p. 669 *ad* p. 375, note 2, says: "Fox's legation was (*Corp. Ref.*, vol. II, 941) announced by Barnes to the Elector in September, by which the letter is to be placed in the same time by Burkhardt, p. 233 f." We have followed the time determination adopted by Köstlin.

We request that you, at our expense, take your message with you to Torgau, and listen to it with good will, and let us hear it with a good reply, and otherwise show us as much fairness and dignity as we can graciously provide for you. What you will also hear of the same message and consider for conversation, let it be reported to us in a favorable manner and before the arrival of the messages at our place, so that we can be heard all the more comfortably with an answer to their advertisement afterwards. We do not wish to deprive you of this, and do us the favor of doing so, and we are graciously inclined to you. Date.

Note: Because we may well consider that no final settlement will follow between the embassy and you, just as you will not enter into a final union or consent to it, even if it were to happen, but want to delay the decision for moving causes until our return, God willing, and report to us about it beforehand in the content of this document of ours, we also did not want to restrain you.

No. 2172.

Wittenberg. 19 September 1535.

To an unnamed nobleman.

See St. Louis ed. vol. x, 196.

No. 2172a.

(Wittenberg,) September 28, 1535.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

In the matter of Antonius Schönitz because of vidimirung of several letters.
The original is in the Hauptstaatsarchiv zu Dresden (Registrande Stift Magdeburg, Schulden), *Locat* 8580, now 8948, Hansen Schenitz und seine Erben belangend 2c. 1534-1538, *fol.* 60. Printed by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 443.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony and Elector, Archmarshall of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

G. and Peace in Christ and my poor Paternoster 2c. Most illustrious, highborn prince, most gracious lord! It writes to E. C. F. G. Antonius Schenitz about the letters of the bishop

to Halle, whether they could be vidimirt, and has asked me that I also want to write next to him. I see that the good people are distressed with the heavy great matter of the evil lindworm, 1) and may well need advice and consolation. Therefore, I humbly ask E. C. F. G. to give them good advice on how they should deal with the letters. For if it should happen for the Court's right 2) I do not know whether good or bad will follow from it, because all this may become known to the bishop, perhaps also the contents of the letters, as the world has now become secretive and full of faithfulness, unfortunately! I am inexperienced in these matters and know what kind of herb the priest is. E. C. F. G. would graciously and comfortingly show themselves against the good people, so shamefully humbled 2c. Christ our Lord be with E. C. F. G. graciously here and there, Amen. *Vigilia Michaelis* [28 Sept.] 1535?)

E. C. F. G. subservient Martinus Luther.

No. 2173.

Wittenberg. 30 September 1535.

To Gabriel Zwilling, pastor in Torgau.

Response to Twin's complaint about the Torgauer.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Helmst.* 107; printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 77, no. 135; in Walch, vol. XXI, 382; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 634 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 108.

Grace and peace in Christ. My dear Magister Gabriel! I am sorry that your Torgauers are so ungrateful against the Gospel, and dare to make you, pastor and chaplains, their servants out of their own thirst, to demand their pleasure in the town hall. Who taught them such power?

1) In the original: "lintworms", that is the Cardinal at Mainz.

2) "for the right of court," that is, at pleasure.

3) At the above mentioned location in the archives at Dresden is the concept of the answer of the Elector to Luther, dated October 6th, 1535, in which Antonius Schönitz is promised protection, and is advised to let the letters go out in print.

that is not theirs to steal? Are these the fruits of their faith? Well then, because they have been thus forgotten, and have fallen from the faith, ye shall again do nothing that they would have. For we have redeemed them with great toil and labor from the pope's infallible tyranny, and still fight without ceasing for their liberty, and they go to trample us under foot, and strengthen the pope, and revile us: so let their presumption be accursed, amen. But if no other city but a few of nobility do... But if they will have a priest for a servant, they must hire him, and give him food, and lodging, and all his necessaries. If you have nothing from them, they will not let you have any common food, nor will you be sworn or bound to them; and you will be held in bondage like another commoner, and even more. I will do this, that they may lose the election of a priest. For all is due to the prince, who shall give a stork to peck at the head of the rude frogs. Can they not suffer, the unreasonable fellows, that they have all church services in vain, and have been freed by the pope without any help? And Halle, Leipzig, Dresden 2c. would probably give a lot of money for it, and gladly carry such preachers on their hands. I must come, and break the bristles of the pulpit's mother. So now stay away from the council house, and do not mix the two regiments together, nor let them mix them together; for it would be annoying to the common man, and unpleasant to the prince, if he should find out that his servants, who have fiefs and everything from him, are made servants to foreign lords. 5) If they are rude, proud, and unruly, the prince will not let them mix together. If they have become rude, proud, and unreasonable, and God blinds them because of their unbelief, we must not follow them, nor grant them. Hereby commanded by GOtt, Amen. Martin Luther.

This writing is given in Wittenberg, the next day after Michaelmas [Sept. 30] between 6 and 7 o'clock in the morning Anno 1535, and Doctor Luther has said, this writing may be shown to princes and lords.

4) In the editions (misunderstood): "that one should so hire distant servants, and all" 2c.

5) Added by us.

No. 2174.

(Wittenberg,) 4. October 1835.

To Johann Riedtesel.

About the rumor of the plague in Wittenberg.

From the original in Uckert's manuscript collection in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 635 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 109.

To the strict, honourable Johann Riedtesel zum Neumarkt, my favourable lord and dear godfather.

Grace and peace in Christ. Dear sir and godfather, dear sir and godfather, dear sir and godfather! I had nothing to write about this time, but I did not want to let Magister Jacobum come alone, so he will tell you everything about the situation here. The dying is said to be very great here, as they say. For out of Wittenberg all things are better known, neither we ourselves in the city. And the farther from Wittenberg, the more they know it, as it is wont: the farther the lie wanders, the fatter and thicker, bigger and stronger, more beautiful and [complete] 1) it becomes. One must grant it that. Should all (truth) become smaller, leaner, when it runs far in length. Give my regards to your dear (housewife) along with all yours, also to our student Johann Riedtesel, who has probably forgotten ours, and write us nothing. My Lord Käthe and your (little) godfather greet you kindly. Hiemit GOtt befohlen; he gebe seine Gnade, dass der Mann ihr [in Gnaden] gedenken, wie ihr begehrt, Amen. 1535, on the day of St. Francis [Oct. 4].

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2175.

Wittenberg. 5 October 1535.

To the preachers in Strasbourg.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 2074.

No. 2176.

Wittenberg. 5 October 1535.

To the clergy in Augsburg.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 2076.

1) These and also the following gaps are filled in by us with the words in brackets.

No. 2177.

Wittenberg. 5 October 1535.

To the mayor and council of Augsburg.

Luther wishes that the unity of the two churches may always exist from now on.

The original is in the city archives of Augsburg. Printed in the twelfth annual report of the historical district association for the administrative district of Swabia and Neuburg for the year 1846, p. 70; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 197 (with the wrong date: "Oct. 25") and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 164.

To the honorable, prudent gentlemen, mayor and council of the imperial city of Augsburg, my favorable lords and good friends.

Grace and peace in Christ! Honorable, prudent, dear sirs! I am truly delighted in Christ from E. F.'s writings, from which I have heard how E. F. and your church preachers, leaders and congregations have so warmly liked my answer through Mr. Gereon, Doctor, and are so earnestly inclined to unity with us. May the Father of all comfort and peace continue to give the spirit of his dear Son JEsu Christ in all our hearts, to increase and increase, so that such unity may remain thorough and pure from now on, so that one day the sighing of many pious hearts may cease, which spirit has been saddened by such a rift, and the papists have stopped their revenge: Papists their revenge be stopped, who always boasted, Behold, they themselves are not one among themselves, and are splendidly strengthened thereby in their abominations. I will (as I wrote before) leave nothing to be lacking in me, if God wills, and will not let such comfort and joy, which my dear God still shows me before my end, be taken away nor hindered, and I stand in right good hope that Christ has come with grace between and among us and wants to cast out the discordant spirit, and, as E. F. asks, I will not believe what else would be said to yours, for I have previously reported it all to E. F. and them. What I have also written to your preachers about a convention, they will report to you and know how to use E. F.'s advice. F.'s counsel in this matter.

Christ, our dear Lord, strengthen E. F. with a right spirit, to promote his holy name, kingdom and good pleasure, Amen. Wittenberg, *quinto Octobris* 1535.

E. F. willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 2178.

Wittenberg. 5 October 1535.

To the preachers of Ulm.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2077.

No. 2179.

Wittenberg. ch. October 1535.

To the town council of Esslingen.

Luther invites the people of Esslingen to participate in a convention to be held by other cities and preachers because of the settlement negotiations.

The original is in Eßlingen. Printed in Keller, Geschichte der Stadt Eßlingen, p. 199; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 640 and in the Erlanger Ausg. vol. 55. p. 110.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, prudent, dear lords and friends! I am heartily pleased with your writing that I notice how your hearts and minds are inclined by God's grace to a settlement between us, so that the discord may come to an end. May our dear Lord God confirm such grace in you, and you should take it for granted that with God's help I will allow myself to be found unsaved in all things that are possible; for I have come into such hope that God has allowed such a rift and tear to come among us, that we might be tempted and humiliated. But he is able to make all things good out of evil, as he makes all things out of nothing. Therefore pray, and continue to help, praying and striving, that such unity may become firm and lasting, and that your devil's jaws may be stopped, who has boasted of such disunity and cried out at once, "Hah, I have won! ...and cried out...

I have written to the other cities and preachers, that they would take counsel, whether it should not be necessary that we preachers should partly meet together in one place, to speak orally of this and other things. This I put to your consideration, and you will know how to act with the others, and let it be known to us. Command you hereby to the dear, faithful God eternally, Amen. Wittenberg, *quinto Octobris* 1535.

Eur more willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 2180.

Wittenberg. 5 October 1535.

To Gereon Seiler in Augsburg.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 2078.

No. 2181.

(Wittenberg,) October 5, 1535.

To Caspar Huberinus in Augsburg.

Huberinus had asked Luther whether or not he should accept the assistantship offered to him by the Council with Wolfgang Mäuslin (*Musculus*), a Sacramentarian. Luther advised him to do so, since it was a sign that they wanted to be unanimous in doctrine.

From an old writing: How the Imperial City of Augsburg City of Augsburg was first besieged by the Rottengeistern, but finally conquered by the Schwärmer, in the *Cod. chart.* 91. f. *Bibl. Goth. f.* 95. In De Wette, vol. IV, p. 642 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 111.

To the faithful disciple and servant of Christ, Casparn Huberino, his dear brother in Christ the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Perhaps the matter for which you have asked me has now been accomplished, especially if the messenger has remained so long. For the messenger fell among the robbers, who took everything from the messenger and tied him to a tree. I have had many thoughts because he has been out so long and has not come back soon. But now to the matter. It seems to me that the council of Augsburg has its special concern that they want you to be Mäuslin's helper, namely that they want to have publicly testified that they are unanimous with us in the doctrine. For I cannot, nor do I wish to, be accustomed to contradiction, especially so soon in the beginning of the renewed Concord. For this reason, it is my honest opinion that you will serve them in this case. For the time being, I know nothing more to write to you, except that after the end of winter, as I hope, we will come together in a convention, where we will act in the presence of all sorts of things. Meanwhile, suffer and endure whatever you can and may, so that we may not be a cause to prevent the friendship we have begun. God keep you, and pray God for me. May the Lord be with you always with His Spirit of abundant blessing, Amen. Oct. 5, 1535. Martin Luther.

No. 2182.

(Jena.) 17 October 1535.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Melanchthon complains about the unpleasant conditions in Jena, so that he wants to work towards his return to Wittenberg. About the negligence of the officials in paying the salaries.

From Melanchthon's own manuscript in *Cod*. Rhedig Vratisl. Vol. V, copied by *S. V. Schulzius*, printed in *Corp. Ref. vol.* II, 954.

To the venerable Mr. Martin Luther, Doctor of Theology, fine exceedingly dear father.

Hail! After the Prince's departure we have, here at least, received no news; nor has Christoph, that English messenger, returned to us. Therefore I will write only of private things. There is such a great lack of many things here that I think, as far as I can judge and foresee, that we will not be able to maintain our household here in the winter. Therefore, as soon as we meet, I will speak to the council concerning the return. For now Cruciger is absent, and the lawyers are absent. We are suffering severe punishments for our foolishness, and especially I, that we left there by following a foreign judgment rather than our own.

Brück has reminded the Prince about your salary. If you haven't received it, let me know. For the prince's commandments are greatly neglected. Blank (? *Pluncus*) doesn't pay us. Also the others, from whom the *scholastici* (== students) who belong to the school receive money, send nothing. Therefore you can easily calculate the state of our affairs. What do you say to the fact that the Prince himself has withdrawn from our academy people whose absence does not do little harm to our studies. But I will stop. You are quite well and happy and greet respectfully in my name your most honorable wife. On the day before Lucä [Oct. 17].

Philip.

No. 2183.

(Wittenberg,) 18 October 1535.

To Justus Jonas.

News.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection in Schütze, vol. II, p. 277 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 643.

Grace and peace in the Lord! So that I am not compelled myself, my dear Jonas, to write everything to you in detail, I am sending you, as my laziness advises me, the reading material myself, which you will send back. The Augsburg messenger had gone away when your letter arrived. I will send it to Leipzig 2c. if I can.

With the robbers 1) the matter is as follows: When he had departed from Magdeburg, and was still three miles in the episcopal territory, near Andersleben, he fell among the robbers, who had laid an ambush for those returning from the fair to Magdeburg. These held "the deadly thing" under his nose and forced him to give up his horse, at the same time also the excellent animal which the Augsburgs had sent as a gift to Duke Ernst, and, after they had received his travel money, 13 florins, they tied him to a tree and went away, after they had received the sworn promise that he would not raise a cry or complaint before three hours. Thus for two hours he stood abandoned in the forest, exposed to the wild beasts; at last, after the ropes were loosed by tugging and pulling, he came on foot to the captain of some castle. He sent to the prince, who returned him with clothes and money for his journey, and also with a horse. Again, these robbers dare many things. I also send [the report of] the wedding bash of the Polish bride. Besides, there is nothing I can write. Schnepf will put your smith (*fabrum*) before you by his letter. But that faithless Jew, to whom we have procured ten florins here, runs these things. For Philip describes him in his letter as being very bad. Magister Sehusen is buried yesterday; the plague has carried him off, and he has followed his wife. My waggoner put my Hans in a fright, but when the matter was properly looked at, he soon got up; he was troubled with a slight fever. Else all is well, and they are pure, but perhaps not all; yet One Swallow Makes No Summer.

Greetings to you and yours my lady

1) Compare No. 2181.

Käthe, who will give me a feast (*coenam*) tomorrow, because on that evening the twenty-third year of my doctorate 1) will be completed, and I will enter the twenty-fourth. Christ grant that I may enter heaven in this year, Amen. Anno 1532 s1535^. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2184.

(Wittenberg,) 25, October 1535.

To an unnamed person.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2046.

No. 2185.

(Wittenberg,) 28 October 1535.

To Jnustus Jonas.

News. Of Luther's condition, his works, and the occupations of his wife.
From Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 227, with Schütze, vol. II, p. 357 and with De Wette, vol. I V, p. 644 f.

Grace and peace in Christ! Doctor Christian Baur 2) passed away eight days ago today. Thus writes M. Philippus. The illness was a fever, to which a cough and an outpouring of moisture (*stillicidium*) from the head into the chest had been added by the journey. I am sending the letter. Drück is not in Prague, as you will read in Philip's letter. We have not yet heard anything about the Austrian journey 3). Last Sunday the plague took away Schadewalt, our best citizen. Now again peace [before the plague] has been and still is. My chest also suffers from a salty 4)dampness (*stillicidium*) and at times a little cough. Many students are returning. Besides this I have

1) Luther received his doctorate on the 19th of October in the year 1512. Therefore, the year M. Dr. XXXII, which appears in Latin at the end of this letter, is wrong. This is also proven by the report about the messenger who fell among the robbers.
2) In a letter of Melanchthon, *Corp. Ref.,* vol. II, 961, "he is called "Bair," and according to the letter of the same, ibid. *Col.* 964, the churfürstlicher Rath Christian Bayer will be understood.
3) The Elector made a journey to Vienna in the late year to receive the enfeoffment (De Wette).
4) Aurifaber bids *sulsum*; Sagittarius and De Wette: *falsum*; we assumed *sulsum.*

nothing [to write]. I wonder where the Pope's legate may be or where he may have gone, about whom, as about the whole Concilium, there is such a great silence. Give my love to all your family (*carnem*) and pray for us. On the day of Simonis and Jude [Oct. 28].

I am busy thinking about the theses against the private mass, likewise about 1 Cor. 13 [v. 2], 5) and several other passages for the doctrine of justification. My lord Käthe greets you, who is driving, tilling fields, grazing and buying cattle, brewing 2c. In between this business she has also begun to read the Bible, under the promise of 50 florins if she finishes it before Easter; "there is great earnestness there". Now she goes to the fifth book of Moses. On the day of Simonis and Judä [Oct. 28] Anno 1535. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2186.

(Wittenberg,) Before the 2nd of November, 1535.

To the preachers of Soest.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XIX, 643. - On the timing of this letter, the Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p.235, "After the middle of November 1539," see the detailed exposition, St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 32 f. Compare also Köstlin, M. Luther (3rd), vol. II, p.669 *ad p.*373, note 1. Even the first printing has the date 1535 (Erl. Ausg., vol. 65, p. 96).

No. 2187.

Wittenberg. 2 November 1535.

To Bernhard, pastor in Dinkelsbühl.

Luther's advice on how to deal with a possessed woman and others.
Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod*. *Helmst*. 107 and in Aurifaber, vol. III. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 359 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 645, German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1433.

To Bernhard, the loud priest in the church at Dinkelsbühl (*Dunkelspulensi*).
Grace and peace in the Lord! The brother in the Lord has given me your letter.

5) In the text (unintelligible): *1 Corinth. I. c. 13.* - A little disputation on the passage we have set is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1459.

I brought you a question about a certain woman who is plagued by the devil, my dear pastor, and although I am forced to write very briefly, since I am burdened with such a large amount of business, I still wanted to answer you, because this Theobald Diedelhuber was supposed to be the postman, if only to recommend him to you.

First, your congregation must do this with you, that they may pray hard and stand firm in the faith against Satan, even when he stubbornly resists. We suffered a very wicked devil in these parts about ten years, but at last we subdued him by perseverance with continued prayer and undoubted faith. The same will happen to you, if you continue to despise that mocking and hopeful spirit in Christ again, and do not cease 1) to pray. By this counsel I have subdued many spirits in many places, because the prayer of the church at last prevails. Therefore you also will not doubt that if you pray truly and persistently, that spirit will be humbled.

The second is this, that thou take careful heed lest any deceit take place in that woman, by which ye are all mocked. For I too, through my own experience (not to mention what I have read in books), have found such deceit, so that afterwards my simplicity brought me great reproach. For this spirit hath his pleasure (as he hath been wont to do from the beginning), if by a woman he can make Adam a fool, if he cannot make him an ungodly man, though he much more desireth this. Summa, whatever it may be, whether in this woman or in others whom you mention, whether it be an incubus, a succubus 2) and disguised [disguised] in all monstrous shapes, still we know that it is the devil. Therefore we must not rashly accept either his poems or his deeds, nor even his searches and his ghosts, but fight against him in faith and prayer. He liveth whom he crucified. But again

1) Instead of *cessare* will read *cessate.*

2) "Buhlteufel." See St. Louis Edition, vol. I, 447, § 33 ff.

the crucified has triumphed over the crucifier through himself, so that we too might triumph in him against him. Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, November 2, 1535. Martin Luther.

No. 2188.

(Wittenberg,) 2. November 1535.

To Leonhard Beier in Zwickau.

Luther advises him to refer a marriage matter to the lawyers. Of several articles that Melanchthon should have written.

Manuscript in *Cod*. 689, p. 74 and at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Gud*. Printed from the Gleichische Sammlung at Dresden by Schütze, vol. II, p. 358 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 647.

To Leonhard Beier, pastor at Zwickau.

Grace and peace in Christ! It would be best, of course, my dear Beier, if you dismissed the marriage matter from you, which I also tend to do when I can. Thus saith Christ, "Let the dead bury their dead." "If the lawyers will be wise, let them be so upon their consciences; what ask we of their shithouses" who preach the eternal kingdom? We counsel consciences; we give not laws, that, when men have done contrary to the law, we may save them in peril. Therefore depart thou in this matter, and let them do what they will, What is their court to us, who teach all things in the court of conscience? But to the peasants, who everywhere ridicule the gospel, and yet are fond of liberty, I would forbid [marriage] even in the tenth degree, or rather in prison. Therefore nothing is to be conceded to them in conscience, since they do not allow themselves to be bound by any conscience. "Let the peasants come and remain among the lawyers," Amen.

I am sending copies of the articles 3) about which you write. The papists have made miraculous things of these articles everywhere, but their fame will be disgraced. M. Philip did not publish them, and great injustice is done to him, more [but even more] to the Elector 4) and to all of us; it has

3) This is the writing of St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 640, No. 110.

4) See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, introduction, p. 32 b, note 3.

appear as if they might have been brought together from some of M. Philip's writings. "Well! The devil hath often cheated himself; who knows whether he may not cheat himself this time, than I doubt not." Given Nov. 2, 1535. Martin Luther.

No. 2189.

(Wittenberg,) November 10, 1535.

To Justus Jonas.

Of domestic affairs; of Luther's interview with the papal legate; of a letter from the Frankfurters to him; of the Elector's journey, etc.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Helmst*. 107 and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 225. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 363 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 648. German in Walch, HP. XXI, 1435.

Grace and peace! I thank thee for the hare and the birds, best Jonas. I would have too much to write, but I am indolent, and the matter is too vast for me to write before my business. Of that bawd I have written. What will happen I do not yet know, but I hope she will be taken out of the city.

The legate of the Roman pope appeared suddenly in this city. Now he is with the margrave; man, they say, must fly, not ride. But God would have wished you to be here. He invited me and Pomeranian to breakfast, since I had knocked off a meal in the evening in the bath. I came and ate with him in the castle. But what speeches I have had I must not write to anyone.1) During the whole time at table I represented Luther himself, and the envoy of the Englishman Antonius, whom he had invited in the same way, I played (as the latter has written to you) with the very most annoying (*verdriesslicissimis*) words. Of this verbally.

The Frankfurters have written to me complaining that they are being urged by the Bishop of Mainz to restore the masses and ceremonies. In all these things

1) An account of Luther's conversation with Vergerio is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1890 ff, no. 1219. Similarly in the Tischreden, cap. 54, 8 18, ibid. vol. XXII, 1362.

your presence would be needful to me. But I am forced to bear and answer this alone, by this pestilence, which (that is, the devil) rejoices that it has been able to keep us so long apart by one or two deaths. God save and keep his word.

I am sending you the letter of Augustin, 2) the pastor of Colditz, in which you will see the restless sect of the Epicureans among these boasters, nevertheless, that God can also avenge when He is despised. I also send Dolzig's eloquence.

You need have no doubt about the happy journey of our Prince to Prague. Philip writes for the third time that Brück is in Jena. Perhaps it is Bleikard.3) For he is with the Prince, and things and people are mixed up, both because Brück was ill before and Bleikard went with the Prince as if he were Brück.

My Lord Käthe greets you and all yours, but she continues reading, 4) only that the tragedy of this bawd has robbed her of eight days. And to your sale of the canvas she replies that you could easily guess for yourself what she would do in this dangerous case, especially in such great hope and permission to bring in the lesson again, and the fear of losing the opportunity. Greetings to all yours. On the day before Martinmas [November 10], Anno 1535, your Martin Luther.

No. 2190.

Wittenberg. 10 November 1535.

To the preachers in Frankfurt.

Luther answered the preachers in Frankfurt, who had turned to him for advice on what they should do, since the Bishop of Mainz wanted the Mass restored: since they themselves were not in agreement, and he also did not know the conditions in Frankfurt, and had no good hope for the Gospel there, he could not give them any advice.

2) Instead of *Augusti* we have assumed *Augustini*; Augustin Himmel was pastor in Colditz.

3) Dr. Bleikard Sindringer. De Wette presumes: *Burkhardus*.

4) namely the Bible, cf. no. 2183. - Walch notes: "[read] without doubt in the flax (gäthen)".

From the original in Frankfurt in Ritter's Evang. Denkmal der Stadt Frankfurt, p. 224 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 650. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1437.

To the highly respectable and worthy men, the faithful servants of the church at Frankfurt, his brothers who are exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace, in Christ! I have received your letter and your letter which you handed over to the council, worthy men. And what shall I do, who to this day have been uncertain both of the state of your church and of the will of the Council? I meant that Cellarius was expelled, Dionysius dismissed, and I saw that all of you are not yet agreed among yourselves: since my ignorance is so great, I can determine nothing among you as an arbiter. It pleased me indeed your exhortation to the Council, which is too strong for them to heed the same, as I understand from their letter. What shall I advise, when they (as they say) cannot do what you teach? Let them therefore do what they can or will. For I am suspicious of many, even in other places, who, after the gospel has been lost and the ministers of the church have been cast out, nevertheless want to have the liberty of the gospel that they have obtained preserved. That is, the world wants to be *papist* (*papistare*) and epicurean with contempt for all religions of all people. Now even the papists despise the pope through the gospel, only that they worship the pope in a masque of the theater, as it were, for the sake of appearances, and with other things in mind. Again, they despise the Gospel, and that under another pretence: But I have bought a country house, I have taken a wife, I cannot come. What can be done here but to let them be unclean that are unclean, and let them that err, and let the seducers be worse? "They will have it so." Act ye faithfully, and, as Jude saith, pluck out of the fire, as it were, them which ye can; and them which ye cannot, let them be burned, and be not grieved of them. What more can ye do, though ye would tear yourselves asunder? Ye shall not bring the whole multitude unto Christ, but the firstfruits only, and the rest, or the rest of them.
the outermost lobes of the ears, as Amos [Cap. 2:12.] saith. Be well in Christ, and, if it please you, write once of the state of your church; if it please you not, it shall not grieve me, because I have not set my hope for my gospel on your Frankfort. Given at Wittenberg, on the tenth day of November, in the year 1535 .

No. 2191.

(Wittenberg,) November 23, 1535.

To the Council of Frankfurt.

The council had written to Luther about the expelled Joh. Cellarius, whom he wanted to have back, or instead of him another preacher. Luther has written to the latter, but does not know whether he will come, nor can he promise another.

The original is in the Frankfurt archive. From it in Ritter's Evang. Denkmal der Stadt Frankfurt, p. 224; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 651; in Walch, vol. XXI, 1268 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 113.

To the honorable, prudent gentlemen, mayor and council of the city of Frankfort, my favorable gentlemen and good friends.

Gn. and F. Careful, dear Sirs! I have written diligently to M. Johann Cellarium after receiving your letter, and for many reasons I would like to see him back with you at Frankfort. But what to do for him I do not know, and where it should be lacking, I would also like to know a capable and skilful man in his place, and faithfully help as much as I can. But it is so, that we ourselves seem to lack it, and that which grows from it is still too immature (as St. Paul says) and is like a newcomer, to whom such a great thing, as little experience, is not so easy to trust. For you yourselves have well experienced what a fare it is to set such great churches in the ways of such men, who boast much, are also learned enough, and yet have not cast off their beaks, nor can anyone hear them when they gain the following, which must be considered in such great churches among you, as necessity itself teaches us at last. I am willing and ready to serve you with all my ability. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. *The Clementis* [23 Nov] 1535.

No. 2192.

Wittenberg. 27 November 1535.

To Martin Schalling at Strasbourg.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 2082.

No. 2193.

Wittenberg. 27 November 1535.

To the preachers of Strasbourg.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 2081.

No. 2194.

Wittenberg. 27 November 1535.

To Nicholas Gerbet in Strasbourg. . .

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 2079.

No. 2195.

(Wittenberg,) In December 1535.

To Melanchthon in Jena.

Of the English legation which was to come to Jena; something from the papal legate and from the archbishop of Mainz.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Helmst*. From the Börner collection at Leipzig in Schütze, Vol. III, p. 25 and in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 655.

To M. Philipp Melanchthon, the faithful disciple of Christ, his exceedingly dear brother, who lives in Jena.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Since Doctor Antonios is coming himself, I had nothing to write; from his oral speech you will learn everything that is and goes on here. You will now see to it that you prove yourself a worthy comrade and disputant to the two envoys for the honor of their king and our prince. I am glad that Doctor Antony is freed from his worries 1). For I, too, had begun to think very evil, since the other envoy was so delaying. For it is easy that he is moved in his mind who knows what traitors, thieves, robbers, and even devils the most venerable lords cardinals, the popes, and their envoys are. Would that

1) He had been anxious about the arrival of the other messengers.

GOD, that they had several kings of England, which they slew! For with these words the legate Paul Vergerius answered me here: Hem! "I know," 2) the King of England kills the Cardinals and Bishops, but 2c. Then with a movement of his hand he grudgingly threatened greater things to that king than emperors ever suffered before, not in open words, but by biting his lips. "There are evils in the skin, yea, in the heart." The Lord grant that thou mayest believe this also. "The priest Albrecht of Halle has taken away the abbot's staff at Zinna and the monstrances at Jüterbock, along with many other chalices," with great devotion, so that he has also laid down letters sealed by him in their place. It is said that the shepherd's crook (*pedum*) of an abbot and the monstrance amount to a great sum. In truth, he is worthy to have become a cardinal, since by his gifts he happily competes with all cardinals, and will shortly surpass them if he is allowed. For even in Rome and in Italy they have stripped all the churches of altars, masses, revenues, and jewels, and yet they still strictly demand the masses and the services (*cultus*) *of* the churches. You think that Verres or Dionysius is something important, if you believe Cicero; but now a reverend cardinal of the holy Catholic Church not only has a hundred Verres, a thousand Dionysius in his heart, but practices them publicly and brazenly in open works. "How suffer such princes and lords" who so plague us with the crime of raping the churches! We expect you to return, and if a rumor should come to you, bear it and overcome it. We hope, if there be any pestilence, yet (instead of this scythian heaven) to have a pure air. "It should prove otherwise" if it were a pestilence; everywhere men are mortal, are born, and die. "After all, we must not all remain alive here on earth, or we shall not get there." My lord [Käthe] greets you reverently, and remembers you often, and you see that you do not make me zealous.

2) In Latin, there are brackets instead of speech marks.

...since thou hast one to revenge me upon. Fare well in the Lord, and greet the Lord Caspar Cruciger and all our people, and pray for me. Anno 1536 1) [1535]. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2196.

Schneeberg. 6 December 1535.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector summons Luthern to Jena to negotiate with the English Embassy. 2)
From the Weimar Archives, Concept 8, x. 97, No. 41, in Burkhardt, p. 242.2)

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! After the royal dignitaries of England have now sent their messages to us, which also arrived a few days ago in Erfurt, which we have now sent to Weimar, for things such as you have undoubtedly heard from Doctor Antonio, the Englishman, 3) who has now been in Wittenberg for some time, and although it was stated that the said embassies had first arrived in Wittenberg, and that they were to hold discussions with you and other of our theologians on account of the matters concerned, for which they were dispatched; But since this did not happen, and they are so close to our city of Jena (Jhene), where at this time Magister Philippus Melanchthon and our 4) university is, I consider that such a discussion at this time cannot be held in any place better and more convenient, and especially since we are closer at hand than in Jena, than there: Therefore, it is our gracious request that you rise up in a favorable manner and dispose of yourselves to Jena, and that, in addition to Magister Philippo and other of our theologians, you may be granted an audience with the above-mentioned embassies, so we have also required Doctor Antonia to make the same audience to Jena, and we do 5) also herewith grant to our theologians the right of audience.

1) The year is wrong. (De Wette.)
2) Burkhardt notes: "On the same day a similar invitation was sent to Anton Barnes, from which it follows that the second English message did not take its way to Wittenberg, as it was intended, but arrived in Erfurt a few days before December 6th. In three days, so on the 9th of December, Johann Friedrich wanted to be in Weimar and to humble the embassy there, in order to let then the discussion with Luther proceed in Jena. Nevertheless, the English embassy came on December 31st, 1535 to Wittenberg, where it stayed several months and was fed.
3) In concept: "des Engellenders".
4) Burkhardt: "ours".
5) "do" put by us instead of: "him".

Hansen Putschen, the governor of Saxony, to order you wagons and horses as well as provisions for such a journey, so that you may get there without hindrance. To this you will know how to deliver our letter, and do us favor. Date on the Schneeberg, Monday Nicolai [Dec. 6] 1535.

No. 2197.

Jena. 6 December 1535.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Melanchthon hopes for a happy conclusion of Saxony's affairs with King Ferdinand, reports the arrival of the Englishman Antonius in Jena and the results of an Anabaptist examination.
From the *Cod. Mehn.* , III, p. 94b, in *Corp. Ref. ,* vol. II, 1005.

To Doctor Martin Luther.

We hope that the Prince's affairs with King Ferdinand are in order, for Franz 6) wrote extremely pleasant things in his last letter. The Prince has written the same to Brück. I have, however, seen Faber's intrigues; but I shall hear [more] 7) from Franz, for we expect the Prince's arrival today. Antonius, the Englishman, has come here, but I have not yet greeted him, for I am just returning from an examination of the Anabaptists. We have discussed five articles. For they hold that there is no sin in little children; that Christians are not permitted to administer a magisterial office or to take an oath; they teach that all goods are common; they deny that marriage is between an Anabaptist and a non-Anabaptist. These gross things have I drawn out, that they might be convicted. Be well. Greetings in my name to your honorable wife, Dr. Jonas and Dr. Pommer. Jena, on the day of Nicolai [Dec. 6] 1535.

To Jonas I will write next about the matter of Antonius Musa.

No. 2198.

(Wittenberg,) 15 December 1535.

To Friedrich Myconius in Gotha.

Luther informs him that John, who had been appointed by them, had been examined and publicly ordained.
6) Franz Burkard von Weimar.
7) Supplemented by us. Bretschneider notes: Something seems to have fallen out here.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Helmst.* 107 and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 227. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 368 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 656. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1432.

Mr. Friedrich Myconius, the faithful servant of the church at Gotha. 1)

Grace and peace in Christ! We are sending back your John, who was called and chosen by you, examined by us, and publicly ordained before our congregation with prayers and praises of God as your fellow minister and confirmed by order of our prince, although Dr. Pommer was not at all willing to do so, since he still thinks that each one should be ordained in his congregation by his elders. This will finally happen when this new cause and ordination has taken deeper root, and the custom has become firmer. We commend him to you as he is worthy. And at the same time pray for us, as we do for you. There is nothing new here. Fare well all of you in Christ. Wednesday after Lucia [Dec. 15] Anno 1535.

If he should ever need a testimony, it will be enough that it be given by you after he has administered the office for some time. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2199.

(Wittenberg,) 20 December 1535.

To Stenzel Guldschmidt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 692. - According to Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, 501, note 3, in the fifth line of the text instead of: "Barlitz" probably: "Görlitz" is to be read.

No. 2199a.

Wittenberg. 27 December 1535.

To Wolfgang Brauer, pastor of Jessen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2224. - There this letter, as in the other editions, is dated "December 30, 1536. But it belongs to the year 1535, because with Christmas Day one was accustomed to begin the new year. According to Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 477, Note 2, it is written: "On the day of Johannis Evangelistä in Feiertagen 1535," that is, December 27, 1535. Compare: Trostschriften, Jena, Rödingers Erben, Bl. a vij[b]. (There without name.)

1) This inscription is taken from Walch, in De Wette it is missing.

No. 2200.

Wittenberg. 30 December 1535.

To Urban Regius in Celle (cell).

Luther comforts him in his temptations.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Helmst*. 107 and at Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 228. Printed in the Innocent News 1705, p. 639; at Strobel-Ranner, p. 247 and at De Wette, vol. IV, p. 660. German at Walch, vol. XXI, 1439.

To the highly venerable brother in your Lord, Urban Regius, the sincere and faithful servant of Christ at Celle in Saxony.

Grace and peace in Christ, "which is peace and our consolation. I am not much grieved, my dear Urban, that thou showest thyself to suffer the angel of Satan and a stake in thy flesh. For by this I know that thou art being conformed to the image of the Son of God and of all the saints. And I hold that to thee, as well as to other brethren who are in high position, this affliction shall befall us, which shall humble us. Therefore "be thou confident and undaunted, and wait for the Lord" [Ps. 27:14.], who saith to Paul [2 Cor. 12:9.], "My power is mighty in the weak." He that hath called us is faithful, and will make us perfect in that day, Amen. This LORD have I heard, and have comforted, as much as the LORD hath given. I have commanded [you] to be of good cheer, and to know that he who is sometimes afflicted is not alone. For the same is done to all our brotherhood, which is in the world. Brotherhood, which is in the world. We must bear one another and be borne. So Christ carries us all from the beginning of the world to the end. We cannot always be firm and strong, nor always weak and infirm, but as it seems to Him who blows where and when He wills, that He may instruct us by this change, that if we were always firm we should not be hopeful, if we were always weak we should not despair. "He knoweth what manner of made things we are," says David [Ps. 103:14.] "and that we are dust," and then are best in this, if we likewise know that we are a very dusty and made of dust.

But what am I saying to you, who are Christ's own? Only that one brother must address the other, and one must reach out his hand to the other in this valley of tears, until that day dawns which we await. Respectfully greet your worthy prince, to whom I wish great happiness (God is my witness), to the spirit that loves the Scriptures, and pray that the Father of mercy may increase the so great blessing in him and in all of us, amen. Fare well in this Lord with your own, and at the same time pray also for me a sinner. Wittenberg, on the day of St. David [30 Dec.] 1535. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2201.

Lochau. 9 January 1536.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector demands Luther's opinion: since Melanchthon had already given his opinion on the marriage case of the King of England, but now the English Embassy has expressed the wish that Melanchthon also be present at the negotiations, whether Melanchthon should be summoned to Wittenberg for this purpose?

From the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, fol.* 99, No. 42, printed in *Corp. Ref.,* vol. III, 10, No. 1387.

To Doct. Martin Luther. Johanns Friedrich 2c.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! After our bailiff in Saxony, Hans Metsch, arrived here yesterday, he reported to us, among other things, that the English embassy would like to see and want us to require and describe Mag. Philipp Melanchthon to Wittenberg, so that he, along with you and other of our fellow sojourners, may also be present at the hearing concerning the marriage of the King of England, for which reason the said embassy to Wittenberg has been ordered.

Now we do not want to reassure you in your gracious opinion that we noted Philippi's mind next to Schmalkalden: that he would not be of any use in such a conversation, because he had indicated his reservations beforehand; so necessity would also require that he remain at our university in Jena 2c. Thereby we have left it at that time, and considered, where one could dispense with his touched speech, that it would be best, he would be left at our university in Jena.

But because we note from our bailiff's report that the English embassy also wanted to have Philip at the lower speech,
and we do not know whether this is necessary or not, since we do not know about these matters beforehand: our gracious request is that you inform us of your doubts and, if you think it is good, inform us of them beforehand. For if you think it convenient and useful that Philip should come to Wittenberg to speak, we shall not be in want to require him to come there. We have not wished to restrain you from this in our gracious opinion, and we are graciously inclined towards you. Date at Lochau, Sunday after Epiphany [9 Jan] Anno 1536.

The original of this letter received by Luther, which is in the von Wallenrodt library at Königsberg, still has a handwritten postscript of the Elector, which unfortunately is not completely preserved, since the inserted note is missing, and only what is written down on the third page of the letter is still present. It reads (Burkhardt, p. 244, note):
- - don't you also Magister Franz continue
report what is our concern for Philippi's (Philip's) sake, after he has now reported to us how it is happening because of the dislocation of the university.

As far as the marriage affair with England is concerned, do not doubt me, you will take good care of the matter, 1) that nothing is admitted which may not be Christian and honest in the sight of God and the world, and may be misinterpreted and misinterpreted by our opponents, as no doubt all kinds of inquiries will be made of you for this reason by the embassy, which I have graciously informed you of, with gracious desire, how things will turn out with the king's fortunes and yours, that you may actually report such things to me in writings, in which you do me special favor, and commend me to your Christian prayer.

Jo. Friedrich Churfürst *m. ppr. sspt.*

No. 2202.

(Wittenberg,) II January 1536.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Answer to the previous letter. Luther thinks that Melanchthon should be present at the conversation with the English embassy. On the matter of the King's marriage to England.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. M*, *pag.* 402. 6. Printed by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 662 with several reading errors, which Burkhardt, p. 244, has improved, and (likewise) in the Erlanger Ausg. vol. 55, p. 117.

1) Luther refers to this in his answer.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

G. and peace in Christ JEsu and my poor Pater Noster. Most illustrious, high-born Prince, most gracious Lord! E.C.F.G.'s writing I have humbly understood. First of all, regarding Magister Philipps, whether he should be required by E. C. F. G. to discuss the King's affairs with the English Embassy along with the rest of us: my humble objection is that Magister Philipps (if he does not want to speak out for himself) should also be present, because E. C. F. G. has not spoken out before the English Embassy. C. F. G. wrote to Doctor Antonio before the journey to Austria that he should call us theologians together as soon as the other message arrives, either here or (if the other legate would shun the pestilence) to Torgau. And that E. C. F. G. indicates that they have well heard M. Philipp's opinion at Schmalkalden, I do not know how this happened, or whether they are satisfied with it. Put the same again to E. C. F. G. to mean, because I would not like that they should bring the glow and cry against us of it, as if they were despised, because without that all the stars are so lappish against them, that I must be almost highly astonished; and is yet of the high fame and praise no measure, how splendidly they are held from E. C. F. G. to therefore 2c.

For my part, I can well grant Philip that he will be spared such things. Because I am under the suspicion that I will have to pour out this bath, and be it no one or everyone: so it will almost (I think) be a big part of me. But I would not like to have Master Philip's glimpses in this.

Secondly, that E. C. F. G. so faithfully admonish me to take good care of the matter 2c., I thank E. C. F. G. with all my heart. But because they are based on E. C. F. G.'s ascription of our own previous offer, I must see and hear what they bring; for E. C. F. G. (to indicate in confidence and secretly) should well know that I will not allow myself to be stuck in such a conscience that

the queen and young queen together with the whole kingdom should be judged *incesti* and *incesta* (incestuous) publicly, as they boast that the pope and eleven universities did before. I do not want to delve into their incest, and I can say nothing more about it than a goose gag. But I hold, my previous sentence shall also remain, and that I will not otherwise show myself unkind to them in this or other things, so that they do not think that we Germans are stone and wood 2c. Such I speak not about tables, as they then also pause till the sting 2c. Otherwise all stable boys must justify this thing beforehand in the alley and everywhere. Such E. C. F. G. graciously wished to hear for a gracious answer. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, und dank auch E. C. F. G. unterthäniglich für das geschenkte Wildpret 2c. Tuesday after Epiphany [11 Jan.] 1536.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2202a.

(Wittenberg,) Before the 12th of January, 1536.

To Cardinal Albrecht at Mainz.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XIX, 1884, no. 33.

No. 2203.

Wittenberg. 14 January 1536.

To Veit Dietrich, preacher in Nuremberg.

Congratulations on getting married and becoming a teacher in Nuremberg.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. 185. 4; at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Helmst.* 85 and at Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 229. Printed from the collection of Caspar Sagittarius at Jena at Schütze, vol. III, p.3; in Strobel's Miscell., I, 166; at *Strobel-Ranner, p.* 249 and at De Wette, vol. IV, p. 664.

Grace and peace in Christ! We wish you happiness, my dear Veit, that the desired marriage has been granted to you, and I implore your well-being. But that it may not be too much, that is, that not everything may go beyond the common fortunes of husbands.

Go, lest thou make a liar of St. Paul, who presumes to stand against us happy and hot-tempered husbands, and say [1 Cor. 7:28.], "Such men shall have bodily affliction." Now, if at any time it should seem to thee that Paul spake more truly than thou wouldst like: then be thou mindful that thou proveest thyself a man that can bear and boast of the weakness of the female, as Peter [1 Ep. 3:7.] teacheth, and rather keepest the Lesbian Rule than bringest righteous wrath upon thyself, and even then thou wilt not admit all power over thee. But what do I instruct, like the sow to Minerva, since the love of marriage still glows so impetuously, since I must know that thou canst happily rule a hundred manable (*marititius*) wives (as now is thy new one). Much more do I wish thee happiness in thy profession of the administration of the Church. I pray and hope at the same time that you will not depart from the form of the doctrine which you have absorbed rather than drunk here. And I have charged Doctor Hieronymus Schaller that he should tell thee in my name not to let that pagan way (*gentile*) of thine govern thee, though it may tempt thee at times, 1) in German it is called "Dünkelfein," that is, one who "does the dance well. For thou seest how great trouble they cause us that are gone out from us. Therefore I will that thy wife be saluted by me, and beseech her to be diligent with all her strength of body and soul to prevent thee from becoming an adulterer with that exceeding lovely whore, which is called self-conceit (*philautia*), but to prevent and deliver thee from the rut of pleasure to her, if she should provoke thee, as Paul teacheth in the Epistle to Titus, Cap. 1:7: xx xxxxxx [not complacent];

You know what he means. Fare well in the Lord. My Lord [Käthe] greets you and wishes you all happiness, both in marriage and in the ministry of preaching, and you pray again for us. Wittenberg, 14 January Anno 1536. Yours Martin Luther, D.

1) We have agreed with *Cod. Goth*. and *Strobel-Ranner*: *tentaverit* assumed instead of *tentavit* in De Wette.

No. 2204.

(Wittenberg,) January 17, 1536.

To Balthasar Raide, preacher in Hersfeld.

Luther answered him, who had asked for something from Luther's hand, very kindly and wished him luck that he was free from rebaptizers and other sects.

From the Wernsdorf collection in Wittenberg in Schütze, Vol. III, p. 4 and in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 665.

To the highly venerable brother in the Lord, Balthasar Raide, the exceedingly faithful and sincere servant of the church at Hersfeld (*Hirsfeldensis*).

Grace and peace in Christ! Your letter has been delivered to me, dear brother, but by a messenger by chance, so that I have not been able to answer it. And because you desire to see my hand, I have written on the back of this paper in large letters. 2) If thou canst know my hand from this painting, good; if not, yet from my mind; I believe that I know not only thy hand, but also, by thy letter as a witness, thy mind. The Lord Jesus Christ keep thee unto that kingdom of his. But in the meantime pray also for me, that I also may be delivered from certain ungodly men, as thou boastest in the Lord, that thou art delivered from Anabaptists and sects. New prophets are always rising up for me, and always one after the other, so that I almost wish to depart, so that I will not see so many evils without end, and so that I will finally be freed from this kingdom of the devil. This thou wilt ask for me, for I desire it of thee. Our Lord Jesus Christ keep thee; in him be thou well. Given on 17 January 1536. Yours, Mart. Luther.

2) De Wette notes: In the original of the letter Luther had written on the other side, which he calls *dorsurn hujus chartae*, with somewhat larger and very legible letters the words:

Manum meam petiisti
Ecce manum meam habes Martinus Lutherus.

- From these words one has made "Luther's shortest letter", addressed to "Georg Hirsfelder". See De Wette- Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 416.

No. 2205.

(Wittenberg,) 17 January 1536.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Dessau.

About a matrimonial matter. About the provision of a priest. About the English legation.

The original is in Dessau. Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in Cod. Helmst. 85 and at Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 234. From the Hanische Sammlung at Kiel at Schütze, vol. III, p. 6; at *Strobel-Ranner, p.* 250 and at De Wette, vol. IV, p. 666. German at Walch, vol. XXI, 1440.

To the worthy and highly venerable man, Mr. M. Nic. Hausmann, servant of the Word in Dessau, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! I beg you, my dear househusband, to let M[eister] Peter's marriage 1) proceed. For Master Peter has no power over her, since she, as a widow, has long since been removed from her father's power (*emancipata*) and is independent, and M[eister] Peter has also been deprived of the house and all possessions by a public court. She marries at her peril, and it is enough that M[eister] Peter had such a sad deal with the former son-in-law that he does not bother much with it now, too, but takes care of his own.

For the pastor at Wörlitz I do not know of any vacancy now (so that I do not make him nice promises in vain); but if I can, I will gladly be of service to him where any vacancy occurs.

1) That is, the marriage which Master Peter opposes. We have no doubt that by *M. Peter is* to be understood the "Master Peter Balbierer", who shortly before Easter 1535 (Easter fell on March 28) stabbed his son-in-law Dietrich at the table. By Luther's use of the Elector, the death penalty was averted from him (see Veit Dietrich's letter to Fesel at Coburg, Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 209 f.), but on July 30, 1535, he was sent into exile. If our conjecture about the person of *M. Peter is* correct, we see that Master Peter (probably also through Luther's use) had found lodgings at Dessau. Twice more we meet *M. Peter* in Dessau in letters of Luther, namely on February 23, 1538, where Luther's *Ketha* respectfully greets *M. Petrum,* and on March 27, 1538, where Luther himself greets M. *Petrum. It* is remarkable that in the latter place Aurifaber, Schütze and Walch have the reading: "Master *Peter*". Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. IX, 1821 ff.

News I have keilte besides that which thou heardest there no doubt from M. Francis. The English legation waits here for M. Philip, that he may promote the King's cause. But I, who am busy with many things, become less and less skillful to the particular ones. My Käthe greets you respectfully; farewell in Christ. I will write about Spiegel's and your cause shortly at another time. Again, farewell. On the day of St. Antonii [17 Jan] Anno 1536.

No. 2206.

(Wittenberg,) January 19, 1536.

To Caspar Müller, Chancellor at Mansfeld.

Of personal and family affairs, and of the negotiation with the English envoys and the papal legate.

From the *Cod. Palat*. 689, p. 20 b, at De Wette, Vol. I V,
P. 667 and in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 55, p. 119.

To the honourable and careful Caspar Müller, chancellor of Mansfeld, my favourable lord and dear fathers.

Grace and peace. My dear Lord Chancellor and Godfather! I would write much to you for your desire; so I am also ill with cough and cold; but the greatest illness is with me, that the sun has shone on me so long, which plague you know well is mean, and almost many die from it. For men are blinded at last by such long shining; some grow gray, black, and wrinkled with it. Who knows whether your thigh might have trodden on a star that, heated by the sun's brilliance, has sent you such days of pain? Though it be not the dear sun's fault that the dung grows hard and the wax soft from his glare. The nature of things is in every thing, and in the end all things are found.

I would have liked to have the cone 3) as a boarder for all sorts of reasons, but because

2) sich eugen (äugen) - to show oneself; to catch the eye.

3) In the *album, p. 98: ,,Andreas Gegel de Mansfelt Halberstaden. 15. oct.* "

Porse 1) comes back from Jena, then the table is full, and I cannot expel the old company in this way; but where a place would be free, as may happen after Easter, I will gladly make my will known to you, where Herr Käthe will then be gracious to me.

Of the English Embassy (how you Mansfeld gentlemen are so curious [nigern]) I know nothing special to write. For the Queen is dead; so they say the Fräulein, the daughter, is also deadly sick. But the cause has lost her with all the world, without with us poor beggars, theologians at Wittenberg. They would gladly keep her in royal honors, where she should have lived. That was the end and the decision.

The pope has acted in this matter as a pope, given *contrarias bullas,* and thus acted that it has served him right that he is expelled from England, *etiam non Evangelii causa*. He has diced the king so well that I must almost excuse the king's person, and yet I cannot approve of the matter.

Dear, curse the *Pater noster* against the papacy once, so that it gets Sanct Velten. The Pope's *orator* has been here, as you know; but the answer given to him in Schmalkalden I cannot send now in haste. For I had to cough, and could not look for it because of the coughing; and where the cough should subside, I would look for it. But I think the cough should cease where you pray for me.

Because the division of the huts has happened to you, I wish you happiness in it. But I have evil hopes out of measure; for my theology tells me that men's goodness and God's blessing are contrary to one another. If it is granted to my dear fatherland, let it be unprovoked on my part.

But that neither you, nor Jacob Luther, nor the merchants write how they are doing here, you are almost good fellows, and with your silence you make us poor children (who are here) think that you and they have all become beggars. Nevertheless God shall feed us, amen.

1) Porse, borse, burse, *bursa* == cooperative.

2) In the editions: "Joraff", read from Jacoff. - "Die Kauflent" are the members of the Kaufmann family. Cf. No. 2073.

Tell my brother that my cough and his silence have forbidden me to answer. And greet me his black hen together with the chicks. I must cough and think to Torgau to the carnival; do not know what I shall cough there. Perhaps I will have to keep Hans full of company. 3) My Lord Käthe sends you her friendly greetings and asks if the sun wants to shine on me too much, that you do not let yourself shine on me before it is in your power.

Your Pathe *Dominus loannes* greets you; wants to become almost (evil not) great, that God prevails! Hiemit GOtt befehlt.

Let my manner please you (as you know it); for I am so very hard and coarse, large, gray, green, overloaded, overmixed, overrun with things, that I must sometimes break such little pleasures from a fence to save the poor *cadavoris.* A man is no more than a man without God being able to make of him what he wills, but not without our anointing. Greetings to all good lords and friends. 1536, Wednesday after *S. Petri Cathedrali* (Jan. 19).

Dr. Martinus Luther.

No. 2207.

(Wittenberg,) January 24, 1536.

To George, Prince of Anhalt.

Luther asks him not to be used as mediator between the Cardinal of Mainz and Anton Schönitz.

In Lindner's Mittheilungen, II, p. 30; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 199 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 166.

To the most illustrious, reverend Prince and Lord, Lord Georgen, Provost of Magdeburg, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien and Lord of Bernburg, my gracious Lord.

G. et p. in Christo and my poor *pator noster etc*. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! I perceive that my ungracious lord, the bishop 2c., Antonii Schenitz wishes to bring matters into delay, and, as I am always anxious, the expiation and goodness, to the mockery of

3) That is, to have moles feil. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1079, note 2.

of the wretched and also mine. For because he again threw the rope over E. F. G.'s horns and brought it to him again, he can well find and lay so much business on E. F. G. daily, that E. F. G. must out of one fortnight find and lay five 2c. F. G. daily, that E. F. G. must make of one fortnight four, five 2c. Fortnight, and when he finally sees his time and mood, he may also reward E. F. G. once, like M. Georgen, 1) Schenitz and others more. For he does not only have the suspicion with me, but a big enough cry that he is not to be trusted, and if God already gives him a true word, one should not find those who believe him. Therefore it would be my heart's desire that E. F. G. would leave the man idle and let him be a holy and pious cardinal, where it would be possible for a cardinal to be holy and pious. For they are not called *Cardinales a quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus,* as the work praises the master and the fruit the tree. Therefore my request is, E. F. G. would let the things go and come to the end; where skin and hair is not good 2) 2c. I have to let this go out a bit now, so I will take the Cardinal with me, as God wills, amen. E. F. G. I am willing to serve. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. *The S. Timothei* [24 Jan.] 1536.

E. F. G. willing Martinus Luther.

No. 2208.

(Wittenberg,) January 25, 1536.

To Franz Burkhard, Electoral Vice Chancellor.

Luther wishes him luck on entering his new office; from the English legation; invitation to a disputation.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection in Schütze, vol. III, p. 7 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 669.

Grace and peace from the Lord! The wine of which you write has been sent to me and given to me, about six buckets, my dear Francis, and I wish you happiness for your fortune and the new honour or work,

1) Georg Winkler, preacher in Halle, whom the Cardinal had murdered.

2) The continuation of this saying is: "no good fur will come of it".

and I pray the Lord (*Deum*) Christ that he may increase and preserve this thy happiness with all blessings, Amen.

We dispute here with the English, if to dispute means to quarrel. It is unpleasant to me that our prince is burdened with such great costs. I, at least, am sick and tired of them, and have long since begun to hate, with Carlstadt and Zwingli, these useless quarrels about words, by which, as Paul says [1 Tim. 6:4], the hearts are darkened, and by which one loses all that he knows and becomes a fool. "Thinking themselves wise (saith he [Rom. 1:22.]), they are become fools." But of this verbally a more.

The disputation on the private mass will take place, God willing, next Saturday [Jan. 29] 3), and the summa of the same is in this conclusion:

All human service in divine things is an abomination.

But every private mass is of a kind, So every private mass is an abomination. Fare well in the Lord, and come if thou canst. Given on the day of the conversion of St. Paul [25 Jan] 1536.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2209.

(Wittenberg,) January 25, 1536.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 284, no. 1281.

No. 2210.

Torgau. 27 January 1536.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector rejects Luther's thanks for the gifts sent; speaks unfavorably of the fact that the English envoys have spoiled the matter by quarreling, and designates Eisenach as the place of meeting for discussion with Strasbourg and Augsburg.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, fol.* 97, No. 41. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 244.

3) This results in a correction of the time of this disputation. All previous editions place it in the year 1535, but that the conclusion given by Luther here is identical with that given in the St. Louis edition, Vol. XX, 1298, can be seen at first glance.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have read your letter, which has now been sent to us, and would have been without need of your thanks for the wine and the wild boar which we have had sent to you, for we are inclined to give you many more gracious gifts. Where the wine also pleased you and tasted good, we granted you with all graces, for we also ordered to send you the best.

But that you report that the English embassy is delaying matters by quarreling and doing little, we would not have provided for that and do not like to hear it, but we do not bear the burden of the delay and expense, because we know that they also do such delay of the place for other reasons.

Since the people of Strasbourg and Augsburg strongly urge you to appoint a time and place for their meeting, and since you consider such a discussion necessary, we also put up with it and have gladly heard it, for we hope that it will be sufficient for many good things, and we consider Eisenach to be the most convenient place for this. Therefore you will know how to name such a place and time according to your opportunity, and when you have united with them in such a place and time, then let us know the same day, and we will provide you with horses, wagons and food to visit such a day. And because you do not consider it useful nor necessary that your many come together, we would have you take with you the Doctor Pomeranum or Magister Philipp Melanchthon, whom we have hereby appointed for you. In our gracious opinion, we do not wish to restrain you from doing so, and we are inclined to show you all our special graces. Date at Torgau, Thursday after *Conversionis Pauli* [27 Jan.] Anno 1536.

No. 2211.

(Wittenberg,) 1. February 1536.

To Johann, Georg and Joachim von Anhalt.

Luther is ill and therefore cannot come to them and the Margrave on 2 February.

First printed in 1830, after the original, in Lindner's "Mittheilungen," II, p, 36; then in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 203, and by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 168.

1) "you" put by us instead of: "ever".

To the noble, high-born princes and lords, Johanns, Georgen and Joachim, brothers, princes of Anhalt, counts of Ascanien and lords of Bernburg, my gracious dear lords.

G. and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn princes, gracious lords! I have no lack of good will to come to E. F. G. in the morning. But I have been coughing and suffering from catarrh and such things for three days now, so that I have never been able to get some air, and I am not allowed to go out yet. Otherwise E. F. G. would know how I am inhibited, if I were healthy at once. I therefore request that Your Grace graciously grant me such a remission, and against my Lord Margrave 2c. Margrave 2c. my excuse to the best of my ability; for I would willingly and gladly do this and much more to the best of my ability. That knoweth GODr. Christ, our dear Lord, 2) be with E. F. G. all, Amen. *Vigilia purificati.* [1 Feb.] 1536.

E. F. G.

willing

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2212.

(Wittenberg,) February 8, 1536.

To Anton Lauterbach in Leisnig.

Concerns about the blessedness of mothers who die in childbirth and of children born dead.

Handwritten at Gotha in *Cod. chart.* 402, *fol.* 168. 4. and at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Gud.*214; also in Aurifaber, vol. III. Printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 8 and in De Wette, vol. IV, pp. 671 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1441.

To the highly venerable man, Mr. Anton Lauterbach, the faithful servant of the church at Leisnig, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace in Christ! "Ah, my Anton, have patience, it will soon be better. On the other, of the miscarriages (*abortis*) and the dying child-bedewomen these are my thoughts." First of all, of the child-bearing women themselves there is no doubt, if they die in faith, that they will be blessed, since they are in the duty of their generation created by God.

2) "HErr" is missing in the original.

And so faith is found active in its work, even completed in the cross, so that it surely awaits the day of judgment or rather of consolation. For this reason women must be admonished to make the greatest effort to bear fruit in this emergency, even if they should die in childbirth itself. For some take more care of their own lives than of the fruit, fearing death or avoiding pain.

Secondly. Of the fruit that dies either in the womb or in childbirth, this is my opinion: that this sign of the wrath of God is not to be despised, but for the sake of unbelieving and wicked men, who, if they knew that it was of little consequence, would do many things that are frightful to think of. Therefore I would like this misfortune to be made great (but privately) among hard and unintelligent people, in order to deter them from future presumption, of which the world otherwise already has enough, for whose sake God allows such things to happen, whether they want to be frightened. But since such things also commonly happen to the godly (to the seduction and annoyance of the ungodly), we must think that they are a temptation to our faith. Therefore, if the women are godly, thou canst comfort them in this way, that first they should commit this matter to the goodness of God, who is much kinder than a man can think. 1) Then he did not bind himself to his sacraments in such a way that he could do nothing else without the sacraments, as under the law he made many (even kings) blessed without the law, namely Job, Naaman, the king of Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt. But for this reason he did not want his law to be publicly despised, but rather to be kept under the penalty of cursing. So I hope that for these little ones, who are deprived of baptism through no fault of their own, and since there is no contempt for a public commandment, the kind and exceedingly merciful God will think of something good for them,

1) The following is in the consolation writings: "A beautiful, glorious consolation for pious godly women 2c. 1542", inserted. It is missing in the first printing. See Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p.339, also St. Louis edition, vol. X, 733 f.

But which, because of the wickedness of the world, he did not want to proclaim or allow to be believed in general, lest there be contempt for all things that he decrees and commands. For we see that many things are commanded by God for the sake of the wickedness of the world, which He clearly does not regard as anything in godly people. In short, the Spirit works all things for the best; with the perverse He is perverse. 2) Therefore take heed that thou teach not this opinion of mine openly, which is only for the consciences of the godly. For the great multitude immediately take this as a certain law, which they may safely follow, and so it will come to pass that even with knowledge and will they will either kill or neglect the fruit. Therefore, this matter must rather be kept silent publicly, and the good consciences must be comforted privately. For God has not revealed to us what he would do with the little ones who have not been baptized, but has reserved them to his mercy, but has commanded that the word and the sacraments be publicly insisted upon; "then we shall leave it at that." He is not unjust. Be well. Give my love to your flesh, Agnes. 3) 1536, Tuesday after Dorothea [8 Feb].

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2213.

(Wittenberg,) February 11, 1536.

To Lorenz Castner and his comrades at Freiberg.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XX, 1758.

No. 2214.

Torgau. 6 March 1536.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Elector renews for Luther the prescription given on February 4th 1532 by the Elector John (No. 1872) about the so-called black monastery at Wittenberg.

In the Weimar Archives, Copial *B. X, pag. 206. N. 6a, fol.* 148. The above regest in Burkhardt, p. 246.

2) So far this section is in the comfort scriptures.

3) Instead of *Nisam* we have adopted *Agnetam,* because that was Lauterbach's wife's name.

No. 2215.

(Wittenberg,) 11 March 1536.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Dessau.

Recommendation of a man seeking a school position. Luther goes about attacking the Archbishop of Mainz in a writing. Of the marriage of Duke Philip of Pomerania with the Elector's sister Maria.

The original is in Dessau. Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 237. From the Hanische Sammlung at Kiel in Schütze, vol. III, p. 10; in *Strobel-Ranner, p.* 251 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 679. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1444.

To the worthy and godly man, Mr. M. Nicolaus Hausmann, the extremely faithful servant of Christ in Dessau, his very dear brother.

"Grace and peace in Christ." Werther, brother in Christ and man of high esteem! I commend to you this bearer of the letter, who tells me that he has been given hope or opportunity to obtain some position in a school with you. Therefore he has asked me to write to you about it and to recommend him to you. I do this all the more gladly because he has a written certificate from the Count of Hoya in Westphalia, which is issued to me for him, so that he is not to be considered a stranger or suspicious. Therefore, if his work there at the school is necessary for you, do what you can for him.

There is nothing new but that I deal with it. To attack with a public writing the Crocodile of Halle, whom I have made a dragon and cardinal of the devil in a private letter to him. 1) Pray that Christ may accomplish what he has begun in him, namely, judgment, since he, as one who is unrepentant to the end, does not cease to pursue the grace of God.

I have nothing to say about the wedding in Torgau, except that everything was wonderful. I married the bridegroom and the bride in the evening; early in the morning Dr. Pommer blessed them (since I, overcome by dizziness, was unable to do so), entirely according to our manner as it is contained in the Catechism, for that is how the Prince had wanted it. The princely bridegroom is a very good young

1) This cannot be seen from the corrupted reading found in De Wette and (according to him) in the Erlangen edition. See the reading corrected by us according to the old editions, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 1885.

man, sober and humble, so that his appearance, his manners, his gestures and everything filled me with great joy. May Christ keep and multiply him with all blessings, amen. My Lord Käthe greets you reverently. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. On the day before Reminiscere [11 March] Anno 1536.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2216.

Wittenberg. 13 March 1536.

To Johann, Georg and Joachim von Anhalt.

Intercession for Heinrich von der Loche, who was dispossessed of an estate.

First printed in 1830, after the original, in Lindner's "Mittheilungen," II, p. 37; then in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 204, and by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 168.

To the noble, highborn princes and lords, Johanns, Georgen and Joachim, princes of Anhalt, counts of Ascanien and lords of Bernburg, my gracious lords.

G. and peace in Christo and my poor *pater noster*. Sublime, high-born princes, gracious lords! I have received E. F. G.'s answer to Heinrich von der Loche's matters and thank E. F. G. for his gracious letter. Since the day after tomorrow has been appointed by E. F. G., and he is old and weak, I once again ask E. F. G. to find a relief from the severity of the law with grace, considering that the good man has been in possession for so long and has laid aside much, which cannot be believed to have happened without the knowledge or will of E. F. G.'s father. F. G.'s father, and yet (if it is so) it might be dangerous, if he should thus be cast out of the estate, and it might be said that it was just as much the fault of the authority, which let such a thing go and happen, as of the subject, who *bona fide* submitted to the inheritance and paid for it 2c., and because now things are found which seem unjust according to the present severity and yet the debt is still of the ancestors on both sides. E. F. G. will know how to show mercy and Christianity. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, Monday after Reminiscere [March 13] 1536.

E. F. G. williger

Dr. Martinus Luther.

No. 2217.

(Wittenberg,) 19 March 1536.

To Spalatin.

About a scholarship thing.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a, fol.* 263. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 250 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 680. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1270.

To the worthy and highly honored man, Magister Georg Spalatin, the faithful servant of Christ, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace! We have, dear Spalatin, obtained a grant from the most noble Prince for the young nobleman Johann Rotstock, which I believe you already know from the letter of Dr. Jonas. Therefore, I ask you to stop as much as you can, so that he gets something as soon as possible. For (as one must easily believe) Jonas is burdened by the food of so many friends, therefore you will promote the grant that is cheap and necessary for him according to your kindness and loyalty, which we both have always experienced in you towards us. Fare well in the Lord with the berries, grapes, and white stocks of your household. 1536, on the Sunday of Oculi (March 19).

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2218.

(Wittenberg,) March 20, 1536.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

A joking letter, in which Luther asks for the sending of all German publications published in Nuremberg in the last year.

Handwritten at Gotha in *Cod.* 185. 4. and at Hamburg in the *Wolf Library, O, 14.* From the collection of Caspar Sagittarius at Jena in Schütze, vol. I, p. 394 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 680 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1445, and in Strobel's "Sammlung einiger auserlesener Briefe des s. Dr. M. Luthers" (Nuremberg 1780. 8.), no. 35. - The two Codices and Walch have *fer*. III. (Tuesday) instead of "Monday."

To the highly famous and highly honored man, Wenceslaus Link, theologian and servant of Christ, his brother in the Lord!

"Grace and peace in Christ!" Because it is now long since several ages "that I neither write nor speak Latin," best wen
ceslaus, so that I fear I would not know even my old Latin,-except 'that I believe thou sufferest from a like peril: therefore I hope this faith will justify me before thee without evil and good works, because thou art a gracious God towards so great sinners, as thou wouldst have them do unto thee in like sins, Amen.

There was nothing I could have written, except that I did not want to let these very honorable evangelists go away without letters, namely Mrs. *Detzelin* (*Detzelinam*) with her daughters. I would also have sent a number of golden mountains, but our Elbe has often gone out during these years and has carried all the gold sand with it, leaving us stones and pebbles, of which a number of atoms have stuck in the pages of Justus Jonas, 1) although he is an extraordinary enemy of the Epicureans, who disputes about atoms. But thus have I jested, even sick and sound, weak and strong, a sinner and a righteous man, next dead and alive in Christ. Thou that art there among streams of gold and silver, pray send me not these dreams (*somnia*,) but poetical seeds (*semina,*) which please me much. Do you not understand?

"I will speak German, my gracious Lord Wenceslas. If it is not too difficult for you, nor too much, nor too long, nor too far, nor too high, nor too deep, and the like, I beg you to let some boy collect all the German pictures, rhymes, songs, books, master songs, which have been painted, written, made, and printed by your German poets and form cutters or printers this year, for I have reason why I would like to have them. We can make Latin books here ourselves; we are learning to write German books here diligently, and hope that we would make it almost so well, where we have not already done it, that no one should like it." Farewell in Christ, and pray for me. The Lord be with thee and all thy fletch, and greet all ours. Monday after Oculi [March 20] 1536.

Dr. Mart. Luther, "as well Doctor as yourselves".

1) Jonas often suffered from stone complaints.

No. 2219.

Weimar. 24 March 1536.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector asks Luthern to take care of the preacher of the Count of Neuenar during his stay in Wittenberg.
The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N, p.* 109. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 246.

Our greeting before. Venerable, dear devotee ! After the well-born, our councillor and dear faithful, Wilhelm, Count of Neuenar, has now been here with us, he has taken with him his preacher that he may address [you and others] our scholars at Wittenberg and inform you, and has asked us to be helpful to him towards Wittenberg. Since we are inclined to the said count, who loves the divine word above all others, with all graces, and the said 1) preacher has been known to Spalatino and Frederick Mecum on the next of our journeys in the country to some 2) who declare him to be learned and pious with us, you want to let him come to you and prove good will to him, and also entertain him with food during the time that he will be there; therefore we want to let you pay him. We would not have you do so, and do us a gracious favor. Date Weimar, Friday after Oculi [March 24] Anno 1536.

No. 2220.

Eilenburg. 25 March 1536.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

Request to propose a suitable preacher for Naumburg.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji, fol. 121a. 1536 C. 4. 40.* Printed by Burkhardt, p. 247.

No. 2221.

(Wittenberg,) March 25, 1536.

To Martin Bucer.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2084.

1) Burkhardt: "gedachtem".
2) That is, to some extent.

No. 2222.

(Wittenberg,) March 28, 1536.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

About the negotiations with the English envoys on account of the doctrine; about Duke George; a request for Cruciger.
The original is in the archives at Weimar, Reg. M 402. 6. Printed by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 683 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 128 f.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c., Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord with my poor prayer. Most illustrious, high-born Prince, most gracious Lord! We have received E. C. F. G.'s command from Magister Francisco, Vice-Chancellor, 3) humbly for the sake of the Anglicans 2c.; and the said M. Franciscus will hand over the articles all in German, therein E. C. F. G. will see how far we have got with them here. But because they do not know how their Lord King will accept them, especially the last four, they have therefore taken a step backwards to inform H.K.M. of this. Now, if His Majesty would accept them, the covenant may proceed, for such articles rhyme well with our doctrine; whereupon, in time, if they so desire, a message may be made herein to report the king more clearly. But if His Royal Highness does not want to accept these articles or seek much reflection or change in them, then for their sake we can truly not confuse and mislead our churches anew, which have hardly yet been brought to peace and tranquility.

E. C. F. G. may conclude the King's affairs with marriage from this religious matter, or, if it is considered good, offer to answer for it as far as we have approved it.

With Duke George's things, ours have acted almost carelessly, that it has moved me greatly. But E. C. F. G. have a good conscience and have honestly and Christianly offered to drop all displeasure; in this is GOtte

3) Burkhardt: Vicecanz., in the editions: "Vicelaus".

He will not forget it in his time. But that revengeful, unpeaceful man remains as he has always been, bloodthirsty and murderous, until one day it may happen to him according to Psalm VIII [v. 3]: "That you may put to death the enemy and the revengeful." The best thing is that he cannot pray before such hardened wickedness, with all who cling to him; for he also has no need, so proud is he. But we can pray, praise God, who seek and offer peace and forgiveness; 1) therefore God will also hear us, if we humbly confess our sin and seek His glory. May Jesus Christ, our dear Lord, strengthen and comfort E. C. F. G.'s heart against the devil's threatening and evil eye. He has probably had it in his mind more than once, amen. Tuesday after Lätare [28 March] 1536.

E. C. F. G., subject Martinus Luther, Dr. and the others 2c.

Enclosure.

Doctor Caspar Creuziger has also asked me to write to E. C. F. G. and ask that E. C. F. G. graciously grant him the castle of Eulenburg for his wedding; for he does not know where else to go, because it cannot happen in Leipzig or Wittenberg. E. C. F. G. will know how to graciously keep him. For such things must be helped. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen.

No. 2223.

Wittenberg. 4 April 1536.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Jonas, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

Answer to No. 2220: You propose Hieronymus Weller or Michael Cölius as preacher for Naumburg.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji*, *fol.* 121 u. 1536. 6. 4.10., without personal signatures, but with three original seals, which are well preserved. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 248.

Most illustrious, highborn prince and lord! To your churf. Graces are our ver

1) "offer" put by us instead of: "worship".

...in all obedience to the service I have leased from you... Most gracious lord! Ew. ch. G.'s letter concerning a pious Christian and learned preacher to provide the city of Naumburg, we have received it in submission and have heard all its contents, and are eager to comply with Ew. ch. G.'s request, but we would like to humbly submit the same to Ew. F. G.'s humble opinion that at this time there are few skilled preachers to be had, especially those who can be dispensed with here, with the exception of Doctor Hieronymus Weller, who at our request might perhaps be used for this purpose. In addition, he has written Michael Celius, Count Albrecht of Mansfeld's preacher, before me, Martino Luther, Doctor, and asked that I provide him with a ministry and preaching chair elsewhere, assuming that he will perhaps obtain and take his leave and leave of absence from the said Count, my gracious lord, who is also skilled and pious for such an office. Which of these two would please Ew. ch. G., we want to deal with him diligently, and to be able of our hope to accept such service, so that the people of the place may not be deprived of the divine truth they have recognized, but may be supplied with it. We therefore wish to have this graciously sent to the consideration of your chf. Gn. in submissiveness to the best of our ability, we are willing to serve them obediently at all times. Date Wittenberg, on Tuesday after Judica [April 4] Anno 1536.

E. churf. G.

subservient, obedient Martinus Luther, Just. Jonas, provost, Johann Bugenhagen, pastor, doctores, and Philippus Melanchthon.

No. 2224.

(Wittenberg,) April 6, 1536.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Request to give Hieronymus Weller the income of the Wartburg estate.

According to the original in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Oo,* Eisenach, reprinted in Burkhardt, p. 249.

Grace and peace in Christ 2c. Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! The time is now approaching Walpurgis, that according to E. C. F. G. prescription Doctor Hieronymus Weller is to receive the 40 fl. on the castle Wartemberg from a fief. Now Er Inst Menius writes that because the same fief is ordered to the Sequestratoribus, he will not be able to obtain anything either in Eisenach or in Weissensee 1) on the said prescription, where E. C. F. G. does not give the Sequestratoribus order that they let such fief follow the Schösser or Schultheißen in Eisenach, and that, as before the year, messenger's wages and letters will be in vain. I have humbly notified E. C. F. G. of this letter with the humble request that they graciously arrange for the 40 fl. to be paid to the aforementioned Doctor Hieronymo, or where he should wait for it. For since the Sequestratores sit scattered, it is difficult to find them or bring them together, as he also indicates. E. C. F. G. will know how to show gracious counsel in this matter. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Thursday after Judica [April 6] 1536.

E. C. F. G. submissive Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2225.

Torgau. 6 April 1536.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

Answer to No. 2223 The Elector decides in favor of Michael Cölius as the preacher to be appointed in Naumburg.

From the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji, fol.* 121a.

C. 4. 40, printed by Burkhardt, p. 250. - Burkhardt remarks: From the acts it does not appear whether the Cölius made the choice. Until the definite filling of the post was provisionally and temporarily Dr. Jonas in Naumburg, who left there on Thursday after Egidii [Sept. 7] 1536 with great praise of the town, what was announced to the Elector in a special letter.

1) In these places the fief had the income (Burkhardt).

No. 2226.

Torgau. 8 April 1536.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

Answer to No. 2224 The Elector fulfills Luther's request for payment of the Wartburg loan to Hieronymus Weller.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Oo*, Eisenach. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 251.

Our greeting before. Worthy, dear devotee ! We have received your letter concerning the forty florins which we have given to Doctor Hieronymo Weller for the fief at Wartenberg Castle, and we do, according to your request, write to the appointed sequestrators at Thuringia. 2) to send the forty guilders in question to our mayor at Eisenach, who would know how to answer it in its proper place. He may boldly *apply to the mayor*, [so] the money of our oversight will follow him immediately. [This again we do not want to restrain you in your gracious opinion. Date Torgau, Saturday after Judica [April 8] Anno 1536.

No. 2227.

(Wittenberg,) April 8, 1536.

To the Vice-Chancellor Franz Burkhard.

About a legal (probably marriage) trade.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 230. From the Börner Collection at Leipzig in Schütze, vol. III, p. 11 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 684 (with the wrong date: April 9).

To the highly honored man, Mr. Franz Burkhard (*Burgardo*), Vice-Chancellor of the Elector of Saxony, his especially dear friend.

Grace and peace in Christ! I ask you very much, my dear Francis, to be so kind as to hand over this man's petition to the noble Prince and to support it, so that the Prince may issue a very strict command in this matter, namely, that both parties be forced to act presently either with Justus Menius, or whoever else is agreeable, and then simply to remain with the verdict. For they have plagued us so often and are not satisfied even with our last judgment. I know not what devil

2) This happened under the same date, April 8 (Burkhardt, p. 249).

has mingled in this matter, that we, as absentees, can advise nothing lasting (*firmi*) for the absentees. Do what you can. They are related to me, on both sides, by blood, therefore they afflict me more than another. Fare well in the Lord, cheerful and strong, Amen. On the Saturday before Palmarum [8 April] 1536.

Your Martin Luther.

Consideration must also be given to the expenses incurred by those who travel such a long way so often, since Justus Menius alone could easily settle this matter in the place itself.

No. 2228.

(Wittenberg,) April 9, 1536.

To Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt.

Luther asks him to grant the ailing pastor Schlaginhaufen zu Köchen the pastorate in Wörlitz to strengthen his health.

According to the *Cod. Dessav. B "ex chirographo Lutheri*" mitgetheilt von Prof. Lindner zu Dessau in den theol. Studien und Kritiken von 1835, Heft II, S. 347; in the Erlanger Ausgabe, Vol. 56, S. XXXVII f. und bei De Wette- Seidemann, Vol. VI, S. 169.

To the illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien and Lord of Bernburg, m. g. Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn Prince, gracious Lord! I have long since wanted to write to E. F. G. and also speak orally to E. F. G. on account of a preacher, Johann Schlainhauffen in Köthen, but I have always forgotten, for I am getting old, lazy and completely forgotten in addition to all my business. And is that the matter. I have often heard from him how the air and the elements in Köthen are almost difficult for him, but because he has such a gracious, kind master in E. F. G., he has been persuaded, also by me, to stay until then, whether he would have liked to have been in healthy air [beneficial] 1) for his body; for he was brought up and accustomed to fresh air. Now, at last, I talked with him whether it would not be possible, where he could not be in Köthen,

1) There seems to be a word omitted here, such as "zuträglicher" (Lindner).

that he would not leave the dominion of Anhalt, but because Wörlitz would now be vacant, he would let himself be transferred there, as there might be fresher air in the wood; for I would not like to have him leave the dominion altogether. So he answered, where it could be done, he would like to try it, especially because he would come close to Wittenberg. Accordingly, my humble request to E. F. G. is that you will graciously help in this matter, so that the good man may also provide for the needs of his body (which is now approaching its end), as is right according to God's command. Request of the E. F. G. gracious answer. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. On Palm Day [9 April] 1536.

E. F. G.
willing

Mart. Luther, D.

No. 2229.

Wittenberg. 9 April 1536.

To Thomas Cromwell, Chancellor of Henry VIII.

Luther thanks him for his letter, rejects the praise he receives, and expresses his joy at his evangelical efforts.

The original is in the British Museum in London, *Mss. Harlei*, No. 6989. p. f. 36. Printed by Kolde, S. 213.

To the most illustrious and excellent man, Mr. Thomas Cromwell (Cromweller), of the most illustrious lord the king of England 2c., secretary and councillor, his lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! That I have not yet answered the letter from E. W., 2) which Dr. Barnes handed over to me, dear sir, is the fault of this same Dr. Barnes, who left suddenly, and did not bring himself to greet me or say goodbye to me, so much did he hurry. But there will be time and opportunity, when I can avenge this neglect against me. But for your exceedingly kind and agreeable letter I say great thanks, and yet would to God that

2) In Latin: Dr. T., which is usually resolved by *Dominatio tua,* but we have preferred D*ignitas tua* (Ew. Dignities).

I would be and be found, by the grace of Christ, such as E. W. has pictured me. 1) For I consider myself far too small for the merits by which, as E. W. believes, I excel; this one thing I confess to the Lord, that by his grace I do not lack zeal and will, or, as Paul says, the will is present in me, but I do not find in myself the accomplishment; but he who sees my imperfection is perfect, and will finally make it perfect in his time according to his good will. To him be glory forever and ever, amen. But Dr. Barnes has pleased me exceedingly, since he told me of your W. so earnest and inclined will in the cause of Christ, especially since you can do much good by your reputation, by which you are able to do much throughout the kingdom and with the most illustrious king. I pray and will beseech the Lord that he may happily strengthen his work which he has begun in E. W., may he happily strengthen it to his glory and many people's blessedness, amen. From Dr. Barnes, E. W., whom I commend into the Father's mercy, will abundantly learn all that there is and is done among us. Wittenberg, on the day of Palmarum [April 9] 1536.

E. W.
devoted
Martin Luther, D.

No. 2230.

Wittenberg. 16 April 1536.

To Johann von Riedtesel.

Luther recommends two young students for renewal of a scholarship.

From the Schöttgen Collection in Dresden in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 396; in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 685 and in Erl. Ausg., vol. 55, p. 130.

To the strict and honourable Johann Riedtesel, Elector of Saxony Chamberlain and to the new market, my favourable lord and dear godfather.

G. n. F. Gestrenger und Ehrenfester, lieber Herr, freund lieber Gevatter! The two sons of Michael von der Straße, formerly Gleitsmann at Borna, have humbly

1) Instead of *depinxerint* will read *depinxerit.*

after she had received a tax for her father's life for the study of a prebend at M. G. H., and needed three years to get her study off to a good start, and because her father had left her in great debt, that she should not be able to conduct such a study of hers well, and yet it would be a pity to let such a good start fall. I would forbid them that such taxation should be extended another three years. Since I know and have experienced sufficiently that G. is inclined to such good things, so that the dear youth may be educated in a praiseworthy and Christian manner, I kindly ask that G. will do the best for M. G. H., and appear beneficial to the poor children, that I will provide myself comfortingly to G.. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, und grüt mir eure Liebste, ihr weiß wohl welche, wenn sie es auch, so ist mir es so much the better. Dat. Wittenberg, *April* 16, *anno MDXXXVI.*

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2231.

(Wittenberg,) April 18, 1536.

To Hans Reineck, metallurgist at Mansfeld.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2040.

No. 2232.

Wittenberg. 20 April 1536.

To the Vice-Chancellor Franz Burkhard.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 282, no. 1279.

No. 2233.

(Augsburg.) April 28, 1536.

The Council of Augsburg to Luther.

(Regest.)

Credentials for Bonifacius Wolfhart (*Lycosthenes*) and Wolfgang Mäuslein (*Musculus*) for the meeting in Eisenach.
From the concept in the city archives of Augsburg printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 214.

2) "inclined" put by us instead of: "irritated".

No. 2234.

Aarau. 30 April 1536.

The Confederates to Luther and the other theologians assembled in Eisenach.

(Regest.)

The Confederates assembled at Aarau express their pleasure at the intended unification negotiations, and ask to be excused for not sending deputies to Eisenach because of the long distance and short time.

From a copy in the city archives of Strasbourg, 462, printed in Kolde, *Analecta* p. 216.

No. 2235.

(Wittenberg,) 1. May 1536.

To Johann Brismann in Königsberg.

Luther excuses his silence with his much business; of his overcoming illness, and greetings.

The original is in the von Wallenrodt Library at Königsberg. Printed in Vogler's collection, Königsberg 1622; in *Acta Borussica,* I, 802 ; in *Strobel- Ranner*, p. 253 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 689.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Johann Brismann, a true doctor of theology and now an extremely faithful preacher at Königsberg, his very dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace! Your letters have always been pleasant to me, my dear Brismann; that I have not always answered them, you give yourself the reason for this in your letter, for I am very busy. But my preoccupations are not so much to blame as the messengers, who, either out of prudence or preoccupied by their own affairs, often neglect me, even when I have written. Besides, being already old, and more than once seriously ill, I am compelled to refrain from much greater things than writing letters to friends, to whom I have a firm confidence that they will not need this irritant of friendship, but will also, when I am dead, be lively and busy ministers of Christ's doctrine, among whose number I have always thought you one of the first. Christ hath begun the good work in thee, who bless and strengthen thee in these exceeding evil times. But Christ conquers and reigns, amen.

Greetings from me respectfully to Mr. Poliander and all colleagues, but also Dr. Basilius Axe with his.

I was raised from death with Christ this Easter, for I was so ill that I was convinced that I had to go to Christ our Lord, which I eagerly expected and desired, but there was another will in heaven, namely that I should see more evil until the pit. For the evil spirits, who have so often been beaten by God, still do not cease to rage, as you also write, because their God does not cease to roar and seek whom he may devour. Let us pray, let us pray, let us pray bravely in faith and be watchful. Surely he sleepeth not.

Farewell in Christ, my dear brother, and pray for me that our Lord Jesus Christ may take me away from this evil world at a good hour, amen. On the first day of May 1536.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 2236.

(Wittenberg,) May 12, 1536.

To Anton Rudolph, Wine Master at Weimar.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 720.

N o. 2237

(Wittenberg,) May 18, 1536.

To Wolfgang Capito in Strasbourg.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 2101.

No. 2238.

Torgau. 14 May 1536.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 2085.

No. 2239.

(Wittenberg,) May 21, 1536.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther supports a request of the council of Minden.

From the Archives at Weimar in the Leipzig Supplement, p.77; in Walch, vol. XXI, 384; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 691 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 135.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Mr. John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall of the Holy Roman Empire and Elector 2c, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

G. u. Friede. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! The Council of Minden in Westphalia have sent their Superintendent, Briefs-Zeiger, to E. C. F. G. with writings, and have also asked me in writing to faithfully command their present distress to E. C. F. G. and to ask for gracious counsel. The clergy cannot rest, and strengthen themselves by the miserable case at Münster with defiance, to also exterminate the Evangelion at all other places. God will defend them, amen. What now in this E. C. F. G. knows or can advise, that they will certainly know how to do graciously for the good of the good people; although there is little counsel against violence, if God does not control it with great power. Hereby commanded by God. Sunday *Vocem Jucunditatis* [21 May] 1536.

E. C. F. G. subservient Martin Luther.

No. 2240.

24 May 1536.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther, Melanchthon, Jonas, Bugenhagen 2c.

(Regest.)

The landgrave asks for an expert opinion on how to act against the Anabaptists.

Reprinted in Hochhuth, Mittheilungen aus der protestantischen Sectengeschichte in the Zeitschrift für historische Theologie 1858, p. 557 and in Bindseil, p. 102. The above regest in Kolde's *Analecta,* p. 230.

No. 2241.

Torgau. 25 May 1536.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther and Melanchthon.

The Elector asks them to inform him as soon as possible of the conclusion of the negotiations with the cities of the Upper Lands.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotees and faithful! The reverend, our councilor and dear faithful, Bleikard Sindringer, doctor, reported to us when he arrived here today in Torgau, among other things, that the matters with you and the preachers of the cities of Upper Austria, who are now in Wittenberg, are to be brought to a good and harmonious conclusion, which we, and first of all, that such is without doubt conducive to the praise, honor and glory of God the Almighty, as well as to the increase and spread of His holy Word, 1) graciously and gladly hear.

But because the said Doctor Bleikard did not actually know how, in what manner, and to what extent the reported matters should lead to agreement, and we would like to know this, our gracious request is that you report and inform us of these things, as well as how you will take and establish a farewell with them, in a beneficial manner and without delay with your own proper messenger to Naumburg, where we are not to be found here in Torgau, by means of writings. You have our favorable opinion, and we are graciously inclined to you. Date Torgau, Thursday *Ascensionis Domini* [25 May] Anno 1536.

No. 2242.

(Wittenberg,) May 29, 1536.

To the Council of Strasbourg.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 2119.

No. 2243.

(Wittenberg,) May 29, 1536.

To the City Council of Augsburg.

Luther exhorts the council to strengthen and help promote the unity established with the Augsburg preachers.

Handwritten at Gotha in *Cod chart*. 91. k., col. 109. Printed by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 693 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 137.

To the honorable, prudent gentlemen, mayor and council of the city of Augsburg, my favorable gentlemen and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, prudent, dear lords and friends! I have heard your preachers, both of them, among others, and, as much as I could, I acted kindly as

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, fol.* 97, No. 41. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 252.

1) Burkhardt: "to be".

they themselves will show you everything. And since it is so far, praise God! that we have become one in these matters, as much as can be humanly discerned, then again my humble, friendly request is that you will thus help and do that such unity may be strengthened and remain constant, as I have then most earnestly requested and most faithfully admonished both of your preachers, so that we may not only teach with one accord in words, but also trust one another in Christ with our hearts (all suspicion eradicated), as true love should and does. And if this union of ours shall please you and your preachers, as we have done here, ye shall in time know how to make it known unto us, as we also will make it known unto you, how it shall please our lords and preachers. Then let it be publicly printed in praise of God, and shame on the devil and his members, amen. May the Father of all comfort and peace strengthen and guide all your hearts with us in the right knowledge of His dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom are hidden all the riches of wisdom and knowledge, Amen. Monday after *Exaudi* [29 May] 1536.

E. E. willing

M. L.

No. 2244.

(Wittenberg,) May 29, 1536.

To the Margrave George of Brandenburg.

Condolences on account of the death of his father; of the Ansbach students in Wittenberg; of the settlement negotiations conducted there.

From the Ansbach Archives in Reinhard's Contributions, I, 143; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 694 and in the Erl. Edition, vol. 55, p. 138.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Mr. George, Margrave of Brandenburg, Duke of Stettin, Pomerania 2c., Opole 2c., and Prince of Rügen 2c. 2c., my gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! I have now received two writings from E. F. G., both graciously written. The first, as E. F. G. Herr Vater, Markgraf Friedrich, requires from this world of God 2c., and

I am sincerely pleased that E. F. G. has shown such faithful filial honour to her Lord Father, that she also wants to ascribe such to me 1) as a small person so graciously and kindly, although E. F. G. also have the glory before (by God's grace) that they have kept highly-named E. F. G. Lord Father in all honours in his F. G. life.

The other, what the students (whose E. F. G. entertains here a lot) study, I don't know any other way, because it's right; because walking in the streets and screaming at night is, praise God, not special, as it used to be in times past. But E. F. G. shall provide himself to me, if I should find one who thus behaved, I would certainly paint him E. F. G. very shortly and soon, and call him home, as I have done to some. But what happens secretly I cannot judge, and it is quite possible that I do not learn everything; everything is ordered publicly with all diligence.

What is done here by us, who have come together in the matter of the sacrament, will be communicated to E. F. G. in writing after the final act, as will all other princes, lords, and preachers who are related to this matter; for without their knowledge and consent we will and will not, nor can we conclude anything final, because more is at stake than some might think. But they have already gone so far that they want to keep and teach our Confessio and Apologia faithfully. However, we have negotiated with them on this matter and in several other articles, so that all danger and cunning would be put aside and a true Concordia would be established; we want to send all of this to E. F. G.. For since E. F. G. is one of the confession, they will certainly (like all others) also be present or must know how such a concordia is decided and made.

E. F. G. want to do their best to help the preachers, so that the old things are not counted too harshly, and the stupid are not deterred. I trust they are in earnest; if not, they can easily be punished with the accepted Apologia. And there is nothing in it, if they violate the papists' procession and ciboria.

1) This is De Wette's Conjectur instead of: "with little persons" in the prints.

of which we have not thought anything until now. Hiemit GOtt befohlen; in kurz[em] will ich weiter schreiben. Monday after Exaudi [May 29] 1536. E. F. G. williger

Martin Luther, D.

No. 2245.

(Wittenberg,) June 5, 1536.

To Nicholas of Amsdorf.

Luther sends him the Wittenberg Concord. Of the letters of Zwingli and Oecolampad.

From a Weimar manuscript in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 256 and in De Wette, vol. V, p.,2.

To the highly esteemed and worthy Mr. Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Licentiate of Theology, his in the Lord exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I am sending you, my dear Amsdorf, what we did in our meeting, and at the same time I ask you to share this with others, especially with the pastors of larger cities, on whatever occasion you can, and to write your and their judgment about it here, if you can.

That book of Bibliander or Letters 1) has been published against the will of those who were here, and they are unwilling about it. For the churches of the Swiss are not yet in this matter of concord, although they have good hope and say that the commonwealths and the people are tired and weary of this discord, and desire that a concord be established. May God bless you according to His goodness, amen. I wrote this when I was tired and full of a sermon; more at another time. Fare well in the Lord. On the second day of Pentecost [5 June] 1536.

No. 2245a.

Wittenberg. 5 June 1536.

Opinions of Luther, Cruciger and Bugenhagen to the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1752. - There, according to Walch, and the Wittenberg edition alone, it is given to the

1) This refers to the publication of Zwingli's and Oecolampad's letters in 1536 by Theodor Bibliander at Basel, to which Bucer added a preface.

Melanchthon assigned. But it is the answer to No. 2240, thus from Luther, as the main person, it may also be "gestellet" by Melanchthon. *Corp. Ref*, vol. III, 195 also assigns it to Melanchthon alone. But it was Hochhuth, Protestant Secten-Geschichte, in Niedners Zeitschrift 1858, 560, who communicated this writing in its entirety. There, at the end of the writing, the following additions are found in Luther's hand, which are printed in Burkhardt, p. 303, note 3.

And since our gracious Lord Landgrave reports that several leaders and teachers of the Anabaptists are imprisoned, who are to be expelled and have not kept their promise, E. F. G. may in good conscience have the same punished with the sword because they have been disobedient and have not kept their promise or oath.

This is the common rule. But our Lord may at all times Lord may always let mercy go alongside punishment, according to the occasion.

Burkhardt, p. 303, has a registry of this document with the wrong date 1538. We have taken the date from him because it is very probable.

No. 2246.

(Wittenberg,) June 7, 1536.

To Henry, Duke of Saxony.

Luther asks the duke to punish a citizen of Freiberg, who had committed blasphemous or false teachings and had fled, not with his life, but with temporary imprisonment.

From a contemporaneous copy in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, p. 369. 184, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 1, with the incorrectly resolved date: "4. Junius" and, likewise, in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 139 f.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! A citizen of Freiberg, called Matches Lotther, has offended with words against our doctrine and also against the Pope's 2c. Thereupon I strongly admonished the citizens, who reported such to me in writing, that they should see to it and help that it was forbidden to him 2). Thereupon (I hear) E. F. G. has taken a great seriousness against him, so that he is worried about his life and has had to flee, which I do not dislike to hear from E. F. G.. Now he comes to me, and asks, through the intercession of many good people, that I should put him on the hook against E. F. G., and solicit that E. F. G. should nevertheless give him the

2) In the prints: "him".

punishment in such a way that he might sell his possessions and leave the country alive with wife and child. Now I think it would be better if E. F. G. would let him be punished with the dungeon for a while, and stay with wife and child, with duty, where he would do more of the thing, should have his head neglected straight away. For such boys, when they come to their equals, help to make the fire 1) bigger, and nothing can happen to them that is worse than that they are kept in the country and made to do their duty, as my most gracious lord, the Elector, ordered Carlstadten to do and many more. But E. F. G. will know all this to mean, for I myself do not know how to keep these people. If they stay, they do not stop their throwing; if one chases them away, they make it ten times worse. But if this Matthes were serious, that he so humbly surrenders to repentance, it would be better to keep him in the country with duty, than that he desperately causes greater misfortune outside the country. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Wednesday in Pentecost [7 June] 1536.

E. F. G.

willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 2247.

(Wittenberg,) June 7, 1536.

To Justus Jonas.

Of the Concord. Luther warns him against drinking too much wine during his presence with Spalatin, lest he bring the stone with him to Wittenberg.

Handwritten at Gotha in *Cod.* 187. 4. printed by De Wette, vol.V, p. 3.

To the highly famous and worthy man, Mr. Justus Jonas, Doctor of Theology and Provost at Wittenberg, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! You throw, my dear Doctor Jonas, greetings to the Lord Spalatin, because I could not write to him. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. 1536, Wednesday in Pentecost [June 7].

Your Mart. Luther.

1) In the prints: "Schwer", read from: "Fewer".

But hear what I had forgotten: your letters seemed to me far too cheerful, and to give off the odor of a righteously enjoyed red wine, although you, you and Spalatin, have not indicated this, and have put forward other causes. I am glad that the hope of harmony is so great, but soon that old man, easily inclined to quarrel and restless, will invent another discord, since, as the salamander lives by fire, so he lives by hatred, strife, and disturbance of himself and all. I write little, because yesterday all day I suffered the precursor of the stone, which with your horror you call 2) lead; but, shunning wine, a number of grains came off, and so I have recovered. I was glad to hear everything from the Landgrave, especially that our Prince treated these our united or to be united so liberally and graciously. My lord Käthe greets you reverently and is glad that you are cheerful, but she fears that the goodness of the wine may deceive you, that you may accumulate stones through too abundant use of the same and bring your kidneys full of them, "as rough and sharp" (these are her words) "of stones as the wine casks are, when they are drunk out," but afterwards you may say that they arise for you here at Wittenberg, although you always sow them elsewhere, which you are forced to give out here and to give back again, as Michael Stiefel once said, that you sometimes let out a wind outside, but when you come in again to your comrades, you bring the stink with you. You will undoubtedly recognize philosophy, as I also recognized it in Coburg through her 3). Everything in your house is fine. Again, be well.

No. 2248.

(Wittenberg,) June 10, 1536.

To Spalatin.

Recommendation of a displaced person; a news item; personal items from Spalatin and his wife.

2) *cum tuo paveria*. Instead of: *Paveria* we have, to give some sense, adopted *pavore.*

3) *per ipsam* will probably refer to "Käthe".

The original is at Gotha in *Cod. chart. 122. fol.* Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 252; by *Schlegel, vita Spalatini,* p. 246 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 4. German
in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1272.

To the worthy and truly godly man, Mr. M. G. Spalatin, the exceedingly faithful servant of Christ, a brother very dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Werther Spalatin, here comes Kilian Zimmermann, who has either been expelled from Glaucha or has fled, and has asked that he be helped to some position. But since so many poor people are streaming in from all places, there can of course be no positions left for them. Therefore he has at last asked that I may recommend him to you, and I pray that you will take it that this may be done by this letter. For he also belongs to your district, since he lived near Altenburg.

I have no news of which I must not assume that it is already something old to you, such as the news of the terrible tragedy in England. 1) About your Asmodeus 2) I will write as soon as I can; meanwhile give you Christ to overcome by patience. Give my love to your most lovely wife and tell her that I think the best and most right of her, and may she bear these motherly (not to say stepmotherly) insults. At last all will turn out well and happily, but those will be put to shame who have put a stain on her. Fare well in Christ with all your own, amen. On the Saturday after Pentecost [10 June] 1536.

Your Mart. Luther.

No. 2249.

(Wittenberg,) June 12, 1536.

To Spalatin.

On the use of the preacher Gotzel. (Cf.

The already very illegible original is at the Ministerial Library in Erfurt. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 253 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 5. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1273.

I) The execution of Anne Boleyn.

2) About Asmodeus (Asmodes) see St. Louis edition,
Vol. XIV, 77.

To the highly famous and valuable man, M. Georg Spalatin, the extremely faithful servant of God, his very dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! You have done well, my dear Spalatin, that you have taken pity on this man, Wolfgang Gotzel, and have written for him to the most noble prince, and I ask that you continue in this way to let him be fine under your command, as he is worthy and in need of it. I did not want to intercede for him at the same time, so that I would not be a hindrance to your intercession. For you know well enough the suspicious nature at court, and that there are tender ears there, lest they should think as if the matter were being carried on as it were by appointment (*compositо*), and that we were acting as it were by forceful petition. Therefore I have advised that you first make your application. If this should not be of much use, you may denounce it to me, and then mine will follow. Fare well in the Lord with your own and yours. June 12, 1536.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2250.

Frankfurt. 13 June 1536.

Capito au Luther.

(Regest.)

On his way back to Strasbourg, he thanked Frankfurt for the friendly reception, expressed his joy about the work of Concord, and asked Luther to write to the Swiss and express his agreement with their efforts to unite. He would see to it that the Strasbourg and the other communities from which they had mandates signed. There was also no doubt about the Constanceers. Finally, he complains about his heavy debts, which Luther may help him to pay off by allowing him to have his writings printed and translated in Strasbourg.

The original is in the Wolff Collection of the Hamburg City Library, *Cod*. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 231.

No. 2251.

(Proßnitz in Moravia.) In June 1536.

The Moravian Brethren to Luther.

(Regest.)

They send their corrected Confession together with the Latin Apology, which was sent to Margrave George of Brandenburg.

and about which the Augsburg preachers first wrote to the brethren with the request to have both printed together with Luther's assessment.

According to *Gindely, font. rer. austr.* , XIX, 24. above

Regest in Burkhardt, p. 253, with the note: When the printing was delayed, they wrote again in Nov. 1537.

No. 2252.

Roeremunde in Limburg. 17 June 1536.

Michael Dalenbrock, Carthäuser, to Luther.

(Regest.)

He writes, explaining the circumstances of his life, why he calls Luther father, rebuking monasticism, and intends to convert to Lutheranism, for which he asks Luther's advice. He rejects the doctrine of good works and describes the dangers he faces because of his correspondence with Luther.

In *Deliciae epist. sine centuria epist. etc. ex autogr. Joh. Henr. a Seelen, pag.* 8. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 253.

No. 2253.

(Wittenberg,) June 20, 1536.

To Wolfgang Koech and Peter Thun (Thym), citizens of Zwickau.

Expert opinion on the admissibility of a second marriage of Wolf Hayn. 1)

In the Weimar Archives, collated copy from 0, p. 508. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 254.

G. and peace in Christ! Honourable, dear good friends! On account of your writing on the matter of marriage, which you have indicated, it is my judgment that the man who has been the husband of the senseless woman is not at all obliged to marry the woman who has become pregnant by him before the death of the woman, because no betrothal has taken place. But there's the rub. He would be obliged to marry her and bring her back to honor, because she was humiliated or destroyed by him, as the Scripture says.

1) Burkhardt remarks about the situation: Wolf Hahn of Zwenitz, whose wife had gone mad shortly after the wedding and was wandering, had impregnated a related maid (his brother's granddaughter). He had been conscripted by the courts, the captain of Grünhain. The court (on Nov. 5, 1536) spoke out against the marriage; consequently, the conclusion of the marriage and the cohabitation of both was permitted only outside the Churfürstenthum, despite repeated requests until 1542.

Ohu, that the friendship or union is too near according to spiritual law. But if you are able to keep it from your authorities that they suffer such a marriage, then it is my counsel that they be kept conjugally together. For such a marriage is not forbidden by God and imperial law, but for the sake of the will of wicked men such an example is not to be admitted for law, although in the case such a thing may be admitted and tolerated by some after the fact, as has happened here. 2) For if the woman were not weakened, it should not be tolerated in 3) any way, for the sake of the wild people. But because it is done, one may let it be so good, where the authorities want to be satisfied, and may then spare no conscience in it, because it tolerates imperial (law). Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Tuesday 4) after Viti [20 June] 1536.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2253a

(Wittenberg,) June 30, 1536.

To George, Prince of Anhalt.

Luther advises him to get rid of the mediation between Schönitz and the Cardinal of Mainz as soon as possible, because the Cardinal is only trying to delay the matter.

First printed in 1830, after the original, in Lindner's "Mittheilungen," II, p. 31; then in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 200, and by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 170.

To the illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Georgen, Prince of Anhalt, Provost of Magdeburg, Count of Ascanien, Lord of Bernburg, my gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn Prince, gracious Lord! Antonius Schenitz now writes to E. F. G., I also want to write to E. F. G. and humbly ask E. F. G., because they are so graciously involved, to stop at the Cardinal so that he puts an end to the matter, or let E. F. G. again be released from the mediator's office and us together ourselves. F. G. out of the mediator's office again and us together ourselves. For I notice that the man of the Cardinal's kind wants to put things in delay with lists, if

2) "will be" put by us instead of: "have been".

3) in" put by us instead of: "ime".

4) Another transcript has: "Thursdays".

If death should take him, or our part, yet the foundation shall not die with him. If he rightly keeps the field, our part is free; but if he lacks it, he may have it. God will remain the right judge, *convictus iste Epicurus*. E. F. G. are hereby commanded to the dear Christ, Amen. Friday after *Petri et Paul* [June 30] 1536.

E. F. G.

willing

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2254.

Wittenberg. 4 July 1536.

To Henry, Duke of Saxony.

About the same matter as No. 2246.

From a copy in the Weimar Archives, Reg. N, *pag.* 369, No. 184, printed in De Wette, vol. V, p. 6 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 141.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn Prince, gracious Lord! I have previously written to E. F. G. for Matthes Luther, 1) citizen of Freiberg. Now he complains to me that such a letter of mine was more harmful than helpful to him because of some words, which could be interpreted far, and yet he offers himself for interrogation and justice; if he is accused that he spoke or did something against the baptism or sacrament, or pulled someone to himself, then he wants to suffer about it, what he should. Accordingly, 2) my poor request is to E. F. G. that E. F. G. have these matters investigated and, if he is found innocent, that he be mercifully restored, lest there be a clamor as if no one wanted to hear or see; especially because there are many who consider him 3) innocent, some of whom are also in E. F. G.'s country. F. G. lands. E. F. G. will graciously know how to keep this in mind. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, Tuesday after the Visitation of the Virgin Mary [July 4] 1536. E. F. G.

willing

Martinus Luther, D.

1) In the earlier letter he is called Lotther; he was a map painter, as we see from a later letter.
2) "accordingly" put by us instead of: "nevertheless".
3) "him" put by us instead of: "him".

No. 2255.

(Wittenberg,) July 12, 1536.

To Johann Forster in Augsburg.

From the Wittenberg Concord.

From the Cyprian collection in Gotha in Schütze, vol. III, p. 12 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 6 f.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Joh. Forster, Magister and faithful servant of the church at Augsburg, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace in Christ! I beg you very much, my dear Forster, to take it kindly and patiently that I have written you nothing from our meeting here, as I see that you expected it, and thought enough of it that you expected it. But thus overwhelmed with letters from others, then also with actions, I was forced to postpone my closest friends until I had finished with those to be newly won, in the opinion that you and other already old friends would rather suffer the delay and wait happier than those who insisted on the recently undertaken concord, as was also chiefly the case with your magistrate. But to this day I have not yet written about these matters to all of us, and I am forced to use the Prince's Chancellery in this matter.

Certainly I protested at length and clearly and again and again in this meeting that if they did not have a sincere and honest mind about the matter itself, they would want to renounce the Concord, because this discord would be safer than a fictitious concord, which could give birth to endless discord. But they accepted everything so sacredly and seriously, including our apology, that I could not reject them. I also said: if you should act otherwise, we will oppose you with this very apology. Christ knows what will happen, and he, if he makes this Concord a firm one, will have done a great miracle. But now we await the answer of the churches and their authorities as to whether these agreements of ours please them, so that the Concord may finally be decided and publicly published. For without the consent

Both parts alone can nothing be decided by us, what they have in command from us. And so we show it to ours. M. Bucer (as I hope) has been told sufficiently that he will not allow the magistrate to be stirred up against the possessions and rights of the canons, or that he will do so. You pray with all of us that everything will go out happily, and finally (by God's mediating hand) so many and such great ailments in the church will cease, amen. Greetings to all your relatives. My Käthe sends you her love. The Lord be with you. July 12, 1536.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2256.

(Nuremberg.) July 12, 1536.

Andreas Osiander to Luther.

(Regest.)

Osiander explains how it came about that he was not able to appear at the convention (originally) called to Eisenach, and expresses his astonishment at the concord that came about. From a letter of Mrs. Jörger to Luther, which he received from Wolfgang Seldner (see No. 2013) and sent to Luther through Bernhard, the converted Jew.

The original is in Meiningen. From it printed in Förstemann, "Neue Mittheilungen", Vol. III, Heft4, p. 165 and in Kolde's *Analecta,* p. 235.

No. 2256a

(Wittenberg,) 17 July 1536.

To George, Prince of Anhalt.

Concerns the same matter as No. 2253a.

First printed in 1830, after the original, in Lindner's "Mittheilungen," II, p. 32; then in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 201, and by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 171.

To the illustrious, high-born prince and lord, Mr. Georgen, provost of the archdiocese of Magdeburg, prince of Anhalt, count of Ascanien, lord of Bernburg, my gracious lord.

G. and Fr. in Christo. Sublime, highborn Prince and Lord! E. F. G. have now tried hard enough and more than too much in the Schenitz matter. But while the Roman Cardinal, in his own way, intends to bring the matter to a head and to delay E. F. G. as well as all of us. F. G. as well as all of us to monkeys, then I ask you entirely

humbly, E. F. G. want to let go and give God room, who has to judge such fellows. Antonius Schenitz must desist from the matter. Thus I will also be rid of my thoughts against the hostile tyrant; for I also have more to do and am decreasing. Accordingly, I will die with the XXXVI Psalm to the Holy Father and the 1) Hellish red hat, if God wills it. Let it be as God wills. I see that they mock our goodness and my prayer, so let them find something to mock. E. F. G. should be grateful for such a discussion, for it almost distorts me that the red hat also abuses and mocks E. F. G., who has a loyal heart, and will not forget it (whether God wills it). Too much tears the sack. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Monday after Margaret [July 17] 1536.

E. F. G.
willing Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2257.

(Augsburg.) July 18, 1536.

The Council of Augsburg to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Council reports that it was pleased to hear of the acceptance of the Concordia and that it is committed to the same.

The concept is in the city archives of Augsburg. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 236.

No. 2258.

Strasbourg. 20 July 1536.

Wolfgang Capito to Luther.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 2120.

No. 2258a.

(Wittenberg,) July 21, 1536.

To Johann, Georg and Joachim von Anhalt.

About a marriage case.

First printed in 1830, after the original, in Lindner's "Mittheilungen," II, p. 38, and in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 56, p. 205.

1) So put by us instead of: "at the holy fathers and the" 2c.

To the noble, high-born princes and lords, Mr. Johanns and Georgen and Joachim, brothers, princes of Anhalt, counts of Ascanien and lords of Bernburg, my gracious lords.

Gratiam and peace in Christo. Sublime, high-born princes, gracious lords! It is true that the matter of marriage, written to me by E. F. G., came before me a short time ago, and I said that neither divine nor imperial law forbade such a degree, but they should seek it from E. F. G., and if they could obtain it there, they would go there. For since the emperor has subordinated his law to the papal law, it is up to each authority whether it wants to follow the imperial law or let the imperial law remain under the pope, as the emperor does. Therefore it is now up to E. F. G. what they want to do or not do in this matter. I like to do such things (although I am antipodean) in this way: if the things have come *ad copulam carnis,* then I advise that they be punished *civilly, the* other as a deterrent, and then leave them with each other; but to make a public law out of it, I have not been able nor do I want to submit, because people become too wild, and through Christian freedom want to do everything that they desire. For I have written much of such things for the sake of captive consciences (which God has awakened me to), and not for the sake of wild, raw, coarse, carnal, wanton people. If, therefore, E. F. G. will, and the people are after it, they may let this marriage take place, but that the others should not make a right or an example of it. There may well be people to whom such a thing may be indulged, therefore it is not to be condemned or indulged at all. It is up to the *prudenti magistratui, qui aequitatem spectet, consideratis circumstantiis locorum, personarum, tempus, necessitatem etc.*. Hiemit Gott befohlen, Amen. *Vigilia Magdalenae* [21 July] 1536.

E. F. G. willing Martinus Luther.

Strasbourg. **No. 2259** 21 July 1536.

Martin Bucer to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2122. - Kolde, p. 240, has as date July 22; Burkhardt, p. 255, July 21.

No. 2260.

Augsburg. 23 July 1536.

The clergy at Augsburg to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2131.

No. 2261.

(Wittenberg,) July 24, 1536.

To Leonhard Beier in Zwickau, together with other theologians.

One should distinguish between spiritual and secular government, and the secular authorities should not employ church and school servants without the knowledge and will of the pastor.

In Walch, vol. XXI, 1449; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 375 (very erroneously from an Uffenbachian copy); in De Wette, vol. V, p. 8 and in the Erlanger Ausg. vol. 55, p. 141.

Since our gospel and doctrine urge in the highest degree that the two offices, secular and ecclesiastical, be well distinguished, and not be mixed together, unless great necessity or lack of persons compels it, that is, where there are persons to govern the city hall and city government, and again where there are persons to govern the parish and churches, neither shall encroach upon nor fall into the office of the other, but each shall be commanded to do his own in conscience, as St. Peter teaches. As St. Peter teaches, we are not to be *alienorum curatores vel inspectores*; as in the beginning such two offices are separated from Christ, and experience too much testifies that there can be no peace where the council or city wants to rule in the church, and the example of the papacy well teaches us: Accordingly, we ask and admonish you, Pastor and Magister Leonhard, good friend, that you hold fast to this in Zwickau, as decided by the articles of visitation and subsequently by the Electoral Decree. For the devil does not celebrate, so flesh and blood is not good, and the people in these perilous times are whimsical and foolish, many of whom do not seek peace and unity, but lust and thought. Therefore, because there can be no peace nor unity where the chaplain, schoolmaster, and church servants know that they may be in the church office without the knowledge and will of the pastor, and thus can defy and insist on the council, since one can see everywhere that there is no peace and unity.

If you find a backholder against the parish priests: You should not set an example and allow them, without your knowledge (where they want to do it) nor will, to accept or tolerate some chaplain, schoolmaster or church servant; just as we here in Wittenberg, according to the visitation, also do not allow the parish priest to accept and take leave of absence without the knowledge and advice of the secular regiment, which also, as far as we know, all other cities do, without the visitators being asked for it (since no one else can be obtained). The secular regiment has enough to do for itself and must not burden itself with unnecessary regiments. It also has an annoying reputation, and neither Zwickau nor any other city council must not be ashamed to follow the example of Wittenberg and other cities, because it is in accordance with the visitation order, from which common orders to deviate does not make good thoughts, but finally separation and devastation of the churches. We should thank God that our churches are somewhat brought into equal order and fasted; and God will not give happiness to those who disrupt such order and unity, and for the sake of their own ambition and conceit, without all hardship. May God help and strengthen us all in right faith and uncontaminated love, Amen. Monday after St. Magdalene [July 24] *Anno Domini* 1536.

Martinus Lutherus, Dr. Johannes Bugenhagen, Dr. Georgius Spalatinus.

No. 2262.

July 24, 1536.

The Electoral Councils to Luther and the other theologians and jurists.

(Regest.)

They call for the drafting of a reflection on the concilium sought by the other party.

In the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, pag.* 123. 54. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 256. - As a result of this request, "the first council of the scholars in Wittenberg took place for the sake of the future Concilii", which is printed in *Corp. Ref.* Vol. III, 119, signed by Luther, Bugenhagen, Cruciger, Hieronymus Schurff, Melchior Kling and Philipp Melanchthon.

No. 2263.

Wittenberg. 31 July 1536.

To Mrs Dorothea Jörger, widow at Keppach.

Rath regarding the writing of her will; request for extension of support for Andreas Hechel.

In Raupach, Evang. Oesterreich, 1st continuation, p. 81; Moseder, Glaubensbekenntniß, p. 93; in the Quartal- Schrift für ältere Lit. und neuere Lectüre, edited by Canzler and Meißner, III. 2, p. 32; from the original in the Dresden library in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 9 f. and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 55, p. 143.

To the honourable, noble woman, Dorothea Jörgerin, widow at Keppach, my favourable wives and good friend.

Grace and peace in Christo. Honourable, dear wife! He has spoken to me of how you are willing to make a will for the benefit of your daughters, but the sons do not want to allow it, because the daughters have previously forgiven both their father's and mother's wills, and have asked for good advice. I think, then, that if you could raise it with the sons with kindness, that they would consent to it, it would have its course; but if that cannot be, and the daughters have previously committed it, it cannot grieve your conscience, where you may not restore what they have forgiven. Therefore do not be troubled in this.

In addition, he has asked Andres to write to you and ask that you complete the good deed done to him by Easter, and that you keep this little time in the studio. In this you will know how to be kind and Christian. Hiemit GOtt befehlt sammt allen den Eure. My house honor, Frau Käthe, sends you her friendly greetings. At Wittenberg, Monday after St. Jacob's [July 31] 1536.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2264.

Frankfurt a. O. end of July 1536.

Andreas Ebert to Luther.

About an allegedly possessed person.

Handwritten in *Cod. chart.* B. 185, pag. 585 b at Gotha. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 241.

To the exceedingly godly and faithful Dr. N., 1) his master and teacher to be honored above others.

Hail in Christ! I am ashamed to complain and call upon you, dear Lord, who are more overwhelmed than busy by the amount of business, with my letter, but the duty towards God and the neighbor urges me, I may want it or not, and spurs me on so much that I must come to the aid of others to the best of my ability. But because I do not have enough knowledge in this matter, I desire your counsel, which will be very valuable to me as well as to all the godly. But so that you, dear teacher, may know the matter better, I will describe it briefly. There is a girl with us, about sixteen years old, possessed by the devil, in such a way as I have never read nor heard of an example of it. For she is seized at certain hours by a rage of Satan, in such a way that she tears out pennies, groschen, and other Mark coins, sometimes from a dress, sometimes from the beard of a person standing there, sometimes from the table: In short, she snatches it from every place, and if someone does not suddenly seize her hand, she puts the money she has seized into her mouth, chews it up with her teeth, and often shows it on the tip of her tongue, which she is wont to stick out. At night, however, she makes such a great noise, just as if she were shaking a great treasure with her hands, which she also tries to swallow in bed, so that the danger of suffocation is to be feared; one believes it was Joachimsthal coin. All that she sees, all that she speaks, is either money or a mouse (*mus*[*sic*]), and often she makes a treasure sound, so that one would like to believe it was great wealth. This a certain measuring priest wanted to cure, who was called to us by the wise council from the next little town, but he did nothing else 2) but with consecrated herbs, waters, rescues, and, if I am not mistaken, with very violent incantations, at last also with threats, until the sixth day; then, deceived in his hope, he finally went away. 3) Meanwhile,

1) "N." stands for Luther; that this letter is addressed to him can be seen from No. 2265.

2) The predicate is missing in this sentence. After *ipse* we have added: *fecit*.

3) This matter caused a great stir at that time. Luther himself referred to it in a sermon, as we can see from a letter of Dorothea Kerstin to her brother-in-law Stephan Roth from the first Advent 1536 (Zwickauer

In order that I, too, may do my duty sufficiently, I admonish the people in every sermon that they should pray to God for her, which has so far been done most conscientiously, and I do not cease and desist as long as I can pray. But she always persists in seizing small coins, nay, she desires to destroy herself entirely, either with a rope or a knife, or by water, if it were not so carefully prevented by the guards; so even does Satan make her desperate by his fear. Therefore I ask you for counsel as to what is to be done in this so rare and dangerous business, and I beseech you for the love of Christ to come to our aid in this matter. You know this adversary's tricks and weapons; you also know how he must be resisted so that he may finally be driven out. If thou canst not do it because of much business, then thou mayest appoint some one else to do it. And if there were any who could deliver them with their prayers, there are citizens here who love godliness and would see to it that it is brought to us at their expense. If this were to happen, you would first of all be doing an extremely pleasant service to the Almighty God, and then also to all who are concerned about the Christian religion. Be well and remember the girl possessed by the devil. 4)

To Frankfurt an der Oder.

Andr. Ebert,

Ecclesiast to Frankfurt.

No. 2265.

Wittenberg. August 5, 1536.

To Andreas Ebert at Frankfurt a. O.

Response to previous letter.

From the *original in Christoph. Stymmelii tractatu de miraculis 1567*; in *Buddeus*, p. 253; in Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth., lib.* III, p. 136 b sq. and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 12. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1274.

School Library, M, 104). According to Spieker, Beschreibung und Geschichte der Marien- und Oberkirche zu Frankfurt a. O., 1835, the girl was called Gertruds Metzke and was the daughter of a fisherman at Lebus near Frankfurt (hence Seckendorf calls her "*Gertrudis Fischeria*"). Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth. lib. III, p. 136 b*, § L,, reports that Dr. Jodocus Willich, professor at Frankfort, in his little Commentary on the Prophet Jonah, 1549, testifies that he had seen such, along with very many others from the university, innumerable times; at that time she was still living at Frankfort and was in the service (*famulari*).

4) Instead of *puellaque*, read *puellaeque.*

To the highly esteemed man, Mr. Andreas Ebert, preacher at Frankfurt on the Oder, his brother much beloved in your Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! To many it seems incredible what you write, my dear Andrew, and before you wrote, I also thought, since it was told here, that I was hearing a joke or a fairy tale. But if the matter is as you write, I think it is a sign by which God allows Satan to display the figure and image of certain princes who steal and devour treasures everywhere, and yet accomplish nothing. Now since this is a merry spirit, and in its leisure ridicules our safety, we must first pray earnestly for the girl who must suffer these things for our sake. Then again this spirit must be despised and laughed at, nor must we attack it with any incantations or serious things, because it laughs at all these in devilish hope. But we must, persevere with prayer for the girl and with contempt against the devil, and at last, if Christ gives grace, he will desist. It would be well, too, if the princes would amend their vices, which are attacked by this sign, in which this wicked spirit, as it here indicates, reigns mightily and surely. I beg you, since this matter is worthy of being published, 1) that you will have everything investigated in the most certain way, so that there is no fraud behind it, and especially) whether the coin or the pieces of money which the girl seizes and swallows are genuine pieces of money which can stand the use on the market. For I have been driven about by so many false pretences, deceits, intrigues, lies, artifices, etc., that it must be difficult for me to believe anything, except such things as I know I do and say. So great is the power of the devil, the wickedness of the world, and the audacity of men nowadays.

1) In 1538 Ebert published the following: "Wunderzeitung, von einem Geldteufel, ein seltzame vnglaubliche, doch wahrhafftige geschieht. To Frankfurt a. O. happen" 2c. A copy is in Berlin: Serapeum 1859, p.239. (Burkhardt.)

Therefore watch, and take heed lest thou also be deceived, and I be deceived by thee. *Experto crede Ruperto*, as the proverb saith. Fare well in the Lord, and pray for me. Wittenberg, August 5, 2, 1536.

No. 2266.

Wittenberg. August 5, 1536.

To Hieronymus Weller.

Congratulations on his marriage, and Rath on how to celebrate his wedding.

Manuscript in *Cod. chart. 181. 4. 402. f Bibl. Goth.* Printed in *Welleri Opp. omn.* to end, p. 205 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 10 f.

My dear doctor! With joy have I heard and read that thou hast at last become a man, and hast obtained flesh to be joined unto thee.3) For what is either a man without a woman, as Moses saith, or a woman without a man, especially when thou lookest to the first marriage? For both know not their sex, so long as they are alone. This manner of life is created by God, and hitherto He hath preserved it against all heresies and thoughts of the devil, yea, against the vexation, the complaints, and the impatience of men. May Christ now bless you and your bride, and grant you to dwell sweetly and in love with one another forever, amen.

With regard to the wedding, I do not yet entirely approve of your intention, for you know the inadequacy of our market and all things from which we still suffer daily, so that neither I nor my Käthe can entertain the hope of how, with such great difficulty of circumstances, we could dine so large a company honourably, and as it should be. And yet I would not bring a stain upon your honor and mine. It seems to me advisable that you either celebrate your wedding at Freiberg, or, if that cannot be done, that after you have arranged a splendid farewell banquet of several tables there, you come here in small company, as Kreuziger, Doctor Brück, and others have done, and to an

2) Seckendorf has the 6th of August.

3) Weller married Anna vom Steige, a ward of his brother-in-law, Georg von Lißkirchen. De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 436.

or a breakfast, two or three tables. I will give thee and thy friends this to consider. For as much as it is in me to assist thee, to adorn thee, and to be of service to thine own, that thou knowest is ready for thee. "Our market is a mess, and when the hemp is to be loaded, the university with all its children, and others that in my opinion cannot be left outside, there will be neither 9 nor 12 tables. You know how at your doctorate the matter was restricted, that children and women were absent and only men were invited, and yet it was a crowd of 7 or 8 tables. What will happen when all these people's wives, children, and household members are also to be fed and dined upon? I write these things, not that thou shouldest suspect that I am putting off the trouble, but that thou mayest consult with thy friends, and determine what thou shalt do. Farewell in Christ, and in my name greet your bride and all yours. Wittenberg, on the 5th day of August, Anno 1536.

No. 2267.

(Wittenberg,) August 6-12, 1536.

Concerns of the Wittenberg theologians and Jurists about the Concil tendered to Mantua.

(Regest.)

Pope Paul III had announced a council for May 3, 1537. On July 24, the Elector sent the Edict of the Pope (see No. 2262) to the scholars at Wittenberg with the request to give their opinion on it. Brück received in a letter, dated Herzberg, July 26, the order to have the objection prepared and delivered in 14 days. This was done. Melanchthon is the author of it. The signers are already named in No. 2262.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H*, p. 123. 54. Manuscript in *Cod. Galli* I, x. 111. Printed in *Corp. ref.* vol. III, 119.

No. 2268.

(Wittenberg,) , August 7, 1536.

To the preachers of Augsburg.

Luther testifies to his satisfaction at the readiness with which the preachers at Augsburg signed the Formula of Concord.

From the Cyprian Collection at Gotha in Schütze, vol. III, p. 15 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 13.

To the men to be highly honored in Christ, the rulers and shepherds of the church at Augsburg, fine brothers to be sincerely loved.

Grace and peace in Christo. Men to be revered in Christ! I have received your letters with joy, and thank God the Lord that you unanimously agree to the Concord. Christ grant that both you may continue and that we may increase with you in sincere love. And I hope that through you these acts of ours have been made known to all the pastors as much as you could, so that this peace may be strengthened by the unanimous consent of all. For this we will pray in the same way, and you will also be concerned with us that the people may also recognize the truthful opinion, and that this harmony may finally be accomplished, in that the misgivings and doubts of the consciences may cease. I will announce your agreement to all our people, and they will rejoice with us and believe all the more easily that it is a sincere agreement after all suspicion has been removed. May the Lord guide our hearts in the love of God and the patience of Christ, Amen. Given this 7th day of August, 1536.

Your 1) Martin Luther.

No. 2268.

(Wittenberg,) August 7, 2) 1536.

To the City Council of Augsburg.

Luther expresses his joy at the acceptance of the Concord by the Augsburgs.

The original with seal is at Augsburg in the city archives. Printed in Kolde's *Analecta*, p. 244.

To the honorable and prudent gentlemen, mayors and councillors of the city of Augsburg, my favorable lords and friends.

G. and peace in Christ. Honourable, prudent, dear gentlemen and friends! I have received your writing beside your preacher's letter, and have heard with joy that

1s "Your" put by us instead of "Yours," as *T[uus]* is in any case inadvertently instead of *V[ester] in* our original.

2) This date is Kolde's Conjectur, which is very probable, since Luther wrote on the same day to the preachers in Augsburg.

you like the Concordia that has been set up, I will report this to my most gracious Lord and others, who, if God wills, will also be pleased with it. Your. F[ürsichtigkeit] thus wish to remain and continue until it finally comes to a decision, and in the meantime help to instruct the people with time and also with reason, so that the truth comes forth, and where there is still error or misunderstanding in someone's heart, it is also eradicated. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen.

Martinus Luther.

No. 2270.

(Wittenberg,) August 7, 1536.

To Johann Förster in Augsburg.

About the harmony not particularly kept at Augsburg and disturbances to be feared from there.
From Cyprian's collection in Gotha in Schütze, vol. III, p. 14 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 14.

To the worthy and godly man, Mr. N. Joh. Förster, the faithful and fair servant of the church at Augsburg, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! My Margarethlein (*Marussula*) thanks you for your gift, my dear forester. I am very surprised that you write that Musculus spoke in such a way that one should incite the magistrate against the canons, while the opposite has been decided and accepted by all of us. But you may act moderately and see whether they want to continue in this way or not; then we will open the whole matter to the Council with complaints. In the meantime it is enough that they themselves confess that the opposite has been decided here, just by saying that they have contradicted or opposed this opinion of ours (although it is not true). Therefore they will at last be convicted as people who want discord and a feigned concord. By the way, it was not our opinion that what was discussed here should be concealed; rather, we asked that it be reported to all churches, pastors, and authorities, so that their opinion might be heard about it, and that we might be informed of it; only it should not be reported before the opinion of all was known, and before the

I do not expect that the agreement, which has been concluded, will be published by the printers, so that an untimely song of triumph will not be sung before the victory, and many will cry out that everything has been done without their knowledge and in a corner. For I expect the consent of all to be sent to us in writing, as you and your authorities have sent the same, so that with public consent there may be a public concord, and the public may be published.

The other day a certain woman at Magdeburg has put Mr. Nicolaus Amsdorf in disarray, so that he has very little hope of the sincerity of the agreement. I believe that the farthest thing known to you fei, namely the wife of Doctor Cubito, "the Hummelsheim of Leipzig." This one had told Amsdorf many and great things of your "Master Michel" 1) against us and our opinion 2c. "It does not make good blood, if they do not want to stop." I still bear everything patiently, and did not want to report to your council so soon, until the cry would be greater. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. My Käthe and all your relatives greet you. August 7, 1536.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2271.

Lochau. 8 August 1536.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector asks Luthern to provide a position for the preacher Tilman von Heussen, who had been expelled from Jülich.
The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N, pag.* 109. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 258.

Our greetings first. Venerable, dear devotee! Tilman von Heussen, Licentiate, has informed us by letter, which he sent to the highborn Princess Sibylla, née von Cleve, Duchess of Saxony, our friendly dear husband, how he had to leave the country of Jülich (*Gulich*) because of the holy divine word, with the humble request to accommodate him in our principality. Since we have always been pleased to provide for him and have graciously promoted him as a preacher of the divine Word, we have given him

1) Michael Keller, a Zwinglian.

10 fl. from our chamber, also 10 shocks of grain from our office in Wittenberg, so that he may entertain himself there for a time. Therefore, our gracious request is that you inquire into the man's skill, and if he is found to be skillful and suitable as a preacher of God's Word, for which we respect him, then you will apply yourself diligently to see whether you can place him in our Electorate of Saxony in time, so that the people will hear him, and he will learn the language in time and have his livelihood. You do us a gracious favor, and in your gracious opinion we would not hold you back. Date Lochau, Tuesday after Sixti [Aug. 8] Anno 1536.

No. 2272.

(Wittenberg,) August 13, 1536.

To Hieronymus Weller.

About Weller's wedding.

Handwritten in *Cod Goth*. 181. 4. 402. f. From *H. Welleri Opp. omn.* to end, p. 206, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 15.

I have written to you before, 1) my dear Jerome, about your wedding, that it should not take place at Wittenberg, but that you should, according to the example of Cruciger and others, bring the married woman here and have two or three tables for a meal in the evening. Now that it concerns your honor, you may consult with your friends whether you want to have a meal here in the evening or the wedding. I understand something different by the [wedding] supper than by the wedding. For if you want to celebrate the wedding here, then you must mean what moved me before to advise you, namely that Wittenberg is the university, that it is a famous place, that you are a doctor, that I am the host, therefore many must necessarily be invited who otherwise could be passed over with honor if the wedding were to take place in another place, for consideration must be given both to the city and to the academy, then also to your and my honor. I therefore send the register, from which you can see how large a number must be invited (although some will be cancelled).

1) No. 2266.

(can), if your and your friends' honor is to be unharmed, especially since your very honorable friends must be served with some pomp, which the present difficult time conditions do not permit. "With 100 fl. you can hardly do it, for to hold a wedding is something different from attaining the doctorate (*Doctoratus*). But it is best that either you or your brother come here, so that we may discuss this matter as soon as possible. For it is impossible to come to a decision by letters and messengers, and in the meantime time is running out. Therefore send thyself, that the matter may be made certain. "For it would not seem so, that we should do dishonor." Summa, let either thou thyself come soon, or some one on thy behalf, that we may not be unprepared. For I am troubled with the thought of your honor and my name; otherwise, if you do not come nor send anyone, I cannot and will not do anything in this matter alone, because I am very anxious for you, as I have always been. Fare well in the Lord, and greet your bride with all your friends. Sunday after Laurentius [13 Aug.] 1536.

No. 2273.

Lichtenberg. 13 August 1536.

Elisabeth of Brandenburg to Luther.

(Regest.)

She asks Luthern to procure the Caplan Lorenz Schröter of Torgau as her confessor.

The original letter, but by Canzleihand, in the von Wallenrodt library at Königsberg. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 259.

No. 2274.

Plötzkau. 14 August 1536.

The monastery Plötzkau 2) to Luther.

The nuns ask that, after their Domina has died, Luther should effect for them the authorization with the Elector to execute the election of a new Superior.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Kk*, p. 135. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 261.

2) Plötzkau, a Benedictine nunnery in Anhalt-Bernburg.

Grace and peace through Christ, our Redeemer and Beatificator, beforehand. Venerable, reverend, and respectable, favorable lord and patron! Because the worthy Kunegundis von Byern, sth. our dear Domina, on Tuesday after Quasimodogeniti [25. April], we have been addressed by the worthy and honorable Johann Talnorden, provost, and Andresen Cölen, co-commanders of our monastery Plötzka (Ploczka), by written order received, and severely admonished to have all the monastery's letters, privileges and justice inventoried; and even though we had diligently appealed to the said provost and co-commandant before that time, that they would help us in the most beneficial way, [that] we would again, within a month, as has always been done before after the expiration of each domina, also choose another domina, which they promised to promote and present to us with diligence. Thereupon we were also willing, according to her desire and received order, to submit letters and privileges and have them inventoried. However, after we found that she was negligent in her promotion, as far as the mention is concerned, and that we, without a head or a commander, could hardly have been in many an obnoxious situation, as E. A. W., as a man of high understanding can easily judge, has hitherto lived, for as soon as the youngest wants to be obeyed, than 1) that the youngest, according to respectable reason, should obey the eldest, as it must be in assemblies and all places where there is no head or commander. Now our poor children (as the desolate in this world) are not of the opinion that we therefore desire to elect a Domina, that some popery should thereby be raised again among us, especially after an order has been issued by the worthy, highly esteemed lords Visitators, concerning the church customs, chants, and the giving of the true body, Especially after an order has been issued by the worthy, highly esteemed lords visitators concerning the church customs, chants and administration of the true body and blood of Jesus Christ, our only Redeemer and Saviour, without any of our poor sinners' works or additions, we have hitherto, by divine grant, always been obedient and obedient as far as possible, as we hope the ordained pastors will not give us any other testimony for this. 2) However, after the above-mentioned visitators and electoral commanders there have again promised us that we will leave the papists and accept their order, which is in accordance with the holy word of God, and that we will continue to follow them.

1) With Burkhardt: "alßo".

2) Burkhardt: "become".

we should, as far as outward regiment and respectable Christian order would be concerned, be left undisturbed by the traditional old Roman custom, privileges and usage. Accordingly, it is our humble and diligent request to your reverence [that you] send us poor desolate children, living without a head, herewith, together with a sufficient enclosure, to the most illustrious, high-born prince and lord, Mr. Johann Friedrichen 2c. 2c., our most gracious lord, humbly and diligently request that you ch. G. would graciously leave us with the choice we have always had and made, only what is outwardly regimental and honorable and not contrary to the word of God in all ways, so that we may receive and have among us in our gathering one head, as reported above, and so much the better according to the holy word of God, as much as the Almighty will bestow, and also live in honorable discipline; this the Almighty God will undoubtedly graciously reward. So let us also, for the sake of the most high-minded C. 4) F. G. unfaithful dignity, with our poor prayer to God, the Almighty, forbid it with diligence. Date Plötzka, under our monastery's seal, on Monday after Laurentia [Aug. 14] Anno 1536, and ask for a gracious written answer from the Elector.

Your Honorable Obedient
The whole collection of the monastery Plötzka.

No. 2275.

(Wittenberg,) August 16, 1536.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther asks that an investigation be made because of the removal of the pastor of Hildburghausen.

From the original at the Gotha Library (?) in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 78, No. 138; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 16; in Walch, vol. XXI, 385 and in the Erlanget edition, vol. 55, p. 144.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most noble, most highborn prince, most gracious lord! It

3) "undisturbed" put by us instead of: "ungehort".

4) "C." placed by us instead of: "E."

Here is the pastor of Hildburghausen, M. Johannes Weybringer 1) 2c., recently deposed from the parish with great disgrace and dishonor, as E. C. F. G. may understand from his report, and the superintendent and some others write to me that everything is done and founded out of envy and hatred, as it seems to me myself, and the people of Hildburghausen are also crying out that they may not have a pastor for long, nor suffer 2c. So my humble request is, that E. C. F. G. will demand a diligent report and testimony from the whole council and citizens, what they think or know of their pastor, or where it should or can be demanded; and what is found to be just, let 2) E. C. F. G. confidently go. For it is true that we preachers are not pious either; but because everyone is hostile to us, St. Paul teaches (perhaps also wittily) that one should not allow everyone's complaint against the preachers. He has been an honest, pious man up to now, we all know that here; should he now suddenly have changed? I hope not. So there is no proof, but only some signs of suspicion, which could be encountered by me. There would be something more behind. E. C. F. G. wanted to consider that without this, there would be few persons available for church service; should these now also be rejected with injustice and disgrace, it would deter much. But if they have wrong, they shall suffer it much more than all others. E. C. F. G. will know how to graciously observe this. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Wednesday after *Assumtionis Mariae* [16 Aug.] 1536.

E. C. F. G. submissive Martinus Luther, D.

(Wittenberg,) **No. 2276.** 17 August 1536.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther sends the petition of the convent virgins in Plötzkau and recommends the same.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Kk, pag.* 135. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 263.

1) In the editions, he is called "Beybringer" here, but he is called, as we see from a letter to Hans von Sternberg (Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 279): "Weybringer". Walch has taken "Beybringer" as an appellative.

2) "let" put by us instead of: "lets".

Grace and peace in Christ. Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! To E. C. F. G. I had to send what the virgins in the monastery of Plötzke wrote to me, for I know of nowhere else to go. E. C. F. G. will certainly know how to find advice in this. May the merciful God help E. C. F. G. and all of us, amen. For the wretched devil gives us much to do in church matters and would like to return to the papacy or force a new papacy and bring it about, so shamefully do the peasants, nobles and citizens take up the cause. Hereby commanded by God. Thursday after Assumption [17 Aug] 1536.

E. C. F. G. subservient Martin Luther, D.

No. 2277.

(Wittenberg,) August 17, 1536.

To Justus Jonas.

Of the papal bull because of the council and news, partly miraculous signs, partly political incidents.
From Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 232, in Schütze, vol. III, p. 16 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 17.

Grace and peace in Christ! That the Bull of St. Paul, that is, of the Cardinals, has not been handed over to me is perhaps due to the fact that M. Philip first received it from St. Bernard at his request, and he has not yet shown it to me (as there is mutual trust or neglect among us). For so I care to do with his letters. But the German one, which is printed here, I saw yesterday; I saw and also discerned, not the cardinal virtues of which Seneca and other philosophers teach, but the cardinals, the supports (*cardines*), the captains, yea, the chiefs of Satau himself. "They are and are cheaply called" cardinals in every sense of the word. For in this bull we are already condemned; but other verbally. "It is," the exceeding righteous wrath of GOD upon the world.

You have correctly interpreted the ghost of Erich. But also this, ours, to Frank-

3) The bull of Pope Paul III concerning the Concilium, which was posted on June 2.

furt in der Mark, I believe I have written to you, or that you have heard it from elsewhere, namely, from the virgin who plucks and devours Mark coins from the beard of a man standing there, or from his dress, or from somewhere else. 1) Finally, a new miraculous thing is told from Halle, which you will discover, namely, that at a shooting match (*ludo sagittario*), which the bishop had arranged, a young bridegroom was carried away from the tent by the storm, leaving behind bow, arrows, skirt, and even the shoes.

Besides, there is this news: The Duke of Holstein has at last defeated Denmark; Copenhagen is taken and conquered, and the Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg released, so that there is hope of peace in these parts, since he is at last already made king by the cause itself, namely, the victor, the Duke of Holstein, unless the Emperor wishes to trouble this region by a new war, which I do not wish.

My Lord Käthe greets you reverently at the same time as all of yours. And send you to return as soon as possible, to report, to repair everything, to restore, to reveal, to create anew, and to restore everything to its former state. Christ be with you, amen. Given this 17th day of August, Anno 1536.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2278.

(Wittenberg,) August 18, 1536.

To Justus Jonas.

Recommendation of two refugees. Of Weller's wedding, and a joke about Jonas' stone complaints.
From Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 230, in Schütze, vol. III, p. 18 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 18.

Grace and peace in Christ! You have had guests at Naumburg, dearest Jonas, but perhaps while you were absent, namely Balduin of Mones, a nobleman of the Picard nation, with his wife, Johanna de la Marcha, his brother's granddaughter, who report here how graciously they are entertained by Erasmus Verder and Veit Lubbert and his brother. And he has asked that

1) See No. 2264 and 2265.

I would recommend him to you, perhaps moved by some hope that they will obtain some help either through my letter or through the promises of those. They have come here poor and exiled, cast out for the sake of the gospel. If this is true, as it seems to be, I am very surprised that people of such a large family should come here. For you know the Bishop of Liège well enough, and the name of his brother, Rupert of Aremberg (*Anborch*) (whom the King of France also calls Lord de la Marcha in his recently published accusation against the Emperor), is sufficiently known to me. The woman, who is ignorant of our language, seems to be with us as with Scythians. Therefore you will take pains that you recommend her to the citizens already mentioned. And this Carl, the Frenchman (*Carolus Gallus*), who served with that Nicolaus *Claudianus* in my house, who testifies that he knows everything, and that it is true. But thou knowest how we are overwhelmed with strangers here. Since you have been away, I have cared for a number of monks who had left, one of whom, after I had paid a *pretio* to an artisan for him, escaped from me again because of "mischief on my neck.

The Doctor Hieronymus Weller has married a virgin from Freiberg, the daughter of "G. am Steige". My Käthe thinks you know her father. You will be at the wedding or at the little banquet, but it is impossible for me what he puts on me, if it is not tempered. Thy stone hath here boasted in a loud voice that he hath not yet left the kingdom in thy body, and it is not necessary to believe thy boast, with which thou dost indicate that he hath been vanquished by the wine and the air in Thuringia 2). He says that you pretend this, while you have experienced it quite differently. Fare well in the Lord and greet your relatives. Friday after the Assumption [Aug. 18] Anno 1536.

Your Martin Luther.

2) Meaningless in Latin: "*illum. Vivo et celo Thurnigico domitum (?*)". We have assumed: *illum vino et coelo Thuringico domitum.* That Jonas was in Thuringia can be seen from the beginning of this letter.

Torgau. **No. 2279.** 19, August 1536.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

Answer to Luther's letter concerning the election of a provost for the monastery of Plötzkau.

The original concept, with many corrections, is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Kk, pag.* 135. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 263.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have read your letter concerning the virgins in the monastery at Plötzka, and have also read the writing of the virgins mentioned, in which they also report the fatal departure of their previous Domina, and ask that they be encouraged to receive 1) another Domina, for the sake of external rule and order, and not contrary to 2) the divine word, to be allowed to choose among them. And although we do not understand such a search of theirs other than that it is based on 3) indicated causes, so that they may want to maintain good discipline and order in their outward being with one another, we nevertheless consider, where a choice is thus permitted in their previous manner, that it would make an introduction to us in other places and give rise to annoyance (pirate). However, in order that the nuns in the above-mentioned monastery may maintain proper external order and virginal discipline, we request that you, as yourselves, give them advice and indicate to them If all of them, or the greater part of them, would indicate to us or to you a brave person, fit and skilful for this purpose, who would have a standing among them before the others, we would give her an open written order and mandate, and command her to maintain the government, order and obedience among the nuns, 4) that you also consider that such lay life should be established and confirmed according to the former old way and order. We did not want to restrain you in your gracious opinion. Given at Torgau, Saturday after Assumption of the Virgin Mary [Aug. 9], Anno 1536.

(Wittenberg,) **No. 2289.** 22 August 1536.

To Franz Burkhard, Vice-Chancellor of Saxony.

Luther asks whether he may dare to intercede with the Elector for a mad widow.

From the Schmid collection at Helmstädt in Schütze, vol. III, p. 19 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 19.

1) Burkhardt: "would like".
2) Burkhardt: "the".
3) So put by us instead of: "nit anderst derselb".
4) Burkhardt: "so ferner".

To the highly famous man, Mr. Franz Burkhard, the Vice-Chancellor of Saxony, his special friend in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! My dear Vice-Chancellor Franz, I ask you to find out whether I can successfully intercede for the insane old woman, "the cross-binder. Her daughter here howls piteously, and it is nothing new that she is in the habit of raging in this way, which the licentiate Blank can also testify to, as her neighbor. We have often laughed at Dell, because he quarreled with her through the intervening fence, until they got into a rage against each other, and she chased him off with a large spear. And it is no great praise when the prince punishes this insane (*male sanam*) woman (especially a widow) so severely, who thinks the whole town insane here; she was also once driven out of Halle, almost for the same reason. "She is a fool, you must report her to my most gracious lord on my faith; and when she is punished enough, my most gracious lord will do well to let her go; she will not become wiser nor better by it." Some consideration must also be given to the virgin, her daughter, whom the raging of the mutant has harmed enough, since she is a completely grown-up girl and even sensible, so that I myself wish her a worthy husband. But by these evils (*calamitatibus*), which affect her mother as well as her, those are more and more alienated from her who might marry her; "it is" the misery of men chained together, but yet mercy must break the fetters. Inform me, therefore, whether it be time for me to intercede for her, and I will do it; for it grieves me, not the mother, nor the son-in-law, but the daughter, because she is in need of mercy. Fare well in the Lord. On Tuesday after Agapitus [22 Aug.] 1536. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

Dessau. **No. 2281.** 24 August 1536.

George, Prince of Anhalt, to Luther.

(Regest.)

The fact that the cause of Antonius Schönitz was delayed was not the fault of the Cardinal of Mainz, nor was it his own, for he had been prevented by illness and other postponements.

It is not the case that the matter was prevented by a lack of business, but by Antonius Schönitz himself, who refuses the place of negotiation that he himself has indicated. 1) Now Luther may work with Schönitz so that the matter is not held up by choosing a new venue. He, the prince, will spare no effort, that the matter will come to a good end.

The original concept is at Dessau. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 264.

No. 2281a.

(Wittenberg,) August 28, 1536.

To George, Prince of Anhalt.

Response to previous number.

Printed by Lindner, p. 34, no. 23 and by De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 174.

To the most illustrious and illustrious true Prince and Lord, Lord George, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien, Lord of Bernburg, Provost of the Church of Magdeburg, his most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have never doubted in the least the loyalty of E. F. G., noble Prince, therefore it was not necessary for E. F. G. to apologize so carefully, but I must always hold that extremely bad man suspicious because of many things that I know for certain, not from Schönitz, but from Rome and the Roman world. And I fear only that for our Germany, you princes may begin too late to sigh and mourn over your safety; for it is the secret of wickedness that we do not want to become wise before we have experienced the damage. If it be possible, I pray, E. F. G. will not trust this monster. "But if it be not, let (it) go as it may." We have here no abiding city (*civitatem*), only that I also wish peace and welfare to this Egypt and Babylon (in which we are prisoners). "But E. F. G. will graciously grant it to me": I cannot believe, nor even entertain the supposition, that this man acts or says anything in earnest. For this reason I wish very much that E. F. G. were free from this monster, "that God knows. E. F. G. look forward",

1) So instead of: "aufschlecht" is to be read in Burkhardt.

as God will give. For the sake of the petitions of all of us, I therefore gladly, but with fear, place myself at E. F. G.'s service, but "God make it better than we think, amen. For the devil always makes it worse than we think. Herewith, amen. Monday after St. Bartholomew's Day." (28 Aug.) 1536.

E. F. G. williger
Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2282.

St. Gall. 30 August 1536.

Joachim Badian to Luther.

(Regest.)

In order to counteract the agitation in the Swiss church, he wrote a paper last winter, which he published at the request of friends who hoped that it would do good for the establishment of harmony. To his joy he had seen that the Concordia which had been concluded in the meantime was in complete agreement with what he himself had taught long ago. Nevertheless, in order to avoid possible slander, he sent Luther his book and again briefly explained his position on the question of the Lord's Supper, with the request that, after reviewing his work, he notify him by letter of any objectionable passages.

From the *Thes. Baum*. printed in *Kessler, Sabbata, ed. Götzinger*, II, p. 463 and in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 244.

No. 2283.

(Wittenberg,) August 31, 1536.

To the council of Leisnig.

Luther asks to relieve Anton Lauterbach, because he does not get along with the priest.

Handwritten in *Cod*. *Seidel.* in Dresden. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 73, no. 139; in Walch, vol. XXI, 386; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 20 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 145 f.

To the honorable and wise gentlemen, mayor and council of Leisnig, my good friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear lords and good friends! I kindly ask you to show Antonio, your preacher, kindness, and help him to come here from Leisnig with his family, as he desires, and as is his need and benefit. For I see that it cannot be otherwise, nor may it be. He must go from there, if the good Lord will grant mercy that you may get another.

...who might well get along with the priest. Let us try it with another; for I have asked Mr. Antony, and most earnestly admonished him, that he should give way and depart, which he then consents to do; and we shall know how to use his here, for such stones are not to be found on all the streets. And because the priest does not like his, he will probably find a gap, just for him. You want to mean that the trouble that has arisen from the discord between the two is not to be suffered at last, so you also help them to get away from each other. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. *Ultima Augusti* 1536. Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2284.

Strasbourg. 4 September 1536.

Capito to Luther.

(Regest.)

Capito fears that the letters he wrote to Luther earlier, since his departure from Wittenberg, are lost, so he recounts what happened in the Concordia matter. Of the reluctance of Abbot Volsius and the vain attempts to induce him to change his mind, in which the machinations of Schwenkfeld and comrades must have been in play. Of the reasons for the delay in signing. The Swabian cities, with the exception of Ulm, have declared themselves in favour. He sends a letter from Basel, where there will be a Convention before Michaelmas. To Augsburg, where the papists boast that jurisdiction has been restored to them, a request has been made to avoid immediately urging the magistrate to abolish the Mass, and Capito has been asked by a member of the Augsburg magistrate's office to ask Luther not to say anything there about the question of jurisdiction. His opinion about this 2c.

The concept is in the archives of the Thomasstift in Strasbourg. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 249.

No. 2285.

(Wittenberg,) September 5, 1536.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther asks him to be mediator in the legal transaction of Antonius Schönitz with the Cardinal of Mainz besides the Prince George of Anhalt.

From Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 232, in Schütze, vol. III, p. 20 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 21.

Grace and peace in Christ! My dear Jonas, it must at any rate be granted that you are at the service of Antonius Schönitz in his cause, after the Bishop of Halle has given up his

I have not been able to understand why you have given your consent that you (since you were named to him) should be one of the mediators next to Prince George of Anhalt 2c. For this I would have asked you very much, if I did not trust in your kindness and love. Therefore send you on, so that we may not be deceived in our hopes, while this furious bishop thus condescends, and prepare yourself to be persistent and also to represent my party well-equipped. Other oral. M. Philip is gone to his Joachim's. Thou shalt hear of the emperor's victory here, if thou hast not already heard it there. Farewell in Christ with thy kinsmen. "Tuesday" after Aegidii [Sept. 5] 1536.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2286.

Strasbourg. 6 September 1536.

Bucer to Luther.

(Regest.)

Bucer reports in detail about the negotiations concerning the acceptance of the Concordia. In response to a request from Basel to sign, they had sent Grynäus and Carlstadt to Strasbourg to learn the details; they then continued to negotiate with Zurich and Bern. Contrary to expectations, a new meeting of the Swiss was announced from Basel for Sept. 24. On the news that Augsburg had independently sent in its signature, Strasbourg had exhorted the allied cities to speed up matters, but had not yet received a reply. Schwenkfeld seems to be partly to blame for the delay. Urgent request to Luther to withhold the decision on the jurisdiction of the magistrates in matters of the Reformation, since the papists, who had received word of it, were triumphant because they thought they could thereby reestablish their idolatries. Of the book of Vadian, whose letter he encloses. He hopes to be able to send the signatures soon.

The concept is in the archives of the Thomasstift in Strasbourg. Printed by Kolde, p. 255.

No. 2286a.

Reutlingen. 13 September 1536.

Mayor and Council of Reutlingen to Luther.

(Regest.)

The same acknowledges the receipt of a letter from Luther, dated May 29, 1536,2) and testifies his

1) Camerarius.

2) This letter does not exist. On the same day Luther also wrote to Strasbourg and Augsburg.

Joy about the realization of the Concord. The private and general absolution had always remained in practice, but the confession had not been held as diligently as it should have been, but it should be diligently practiced again by the preachers and the people should be exhorted to it from the pulpit.

From a copy in the Strasbourg city archives printed in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 262.

No. 2287.

(Magdeburg.) September 14, 1536.

Nicholas von Amsdorf to Luther.

About Melanchthon's doctrinal deviations, which then led to the dispute with Conrad Cordatus.

In a note to Cruciger's letter to Cordatus of Sept. 10, 1536, from the Wolfenbüttel Cod. 11. 10. 602 in *Corp. Ref.,* vol. III, 162. A regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 264. The addressee is not expressly named in *Corp. Ref.*

Behold, my venerable Father in Christ, the judgment of *Dr. Tridensis* and the writings which Aepinus sent me, to which he refers, as he himself writes, that they will soon be read by the Wittenbergers. While Philip is absent, I send them to you. Here it is said that at Wittenberg contradictory things are taught. The latter, in the school, insists vehemently and exceedingly that works are necessary to eternal life, but you, in the same week, and on Sunday in church, according to your godly spirit, have taught about regeneration: a child in its mother's womb does nothing or works nothing, but only suffers, and is formed. 2c. This troubles our people greatly, and certainly troubles me. Our adversaries in this city take courage against us, and give me trouble and labour, in that this fact itself persuades the people that they must return to their ungodly doctrines, and leave the gospel. Here I need your counsel, and ask, and ask again for the same. Here the rumor has arrived that the pope has become a Lutheran because he preaches twice a week, and likewise some cardinals. But these are trifling things. "The devil is too strong there, and will not let them, together with his own, come so much." The Bishop of Cologne, berried on the head and bearded, dressed as a hunter, soon comes as a horseman to visit the Margrave in Berlin. What this is, I know not. Farewell. Sept. 14th, Anno 1536. Yours, Amsdorf.

No. 2288.

(Wittenberg,) September 20, 1536.

To Nikolaus Hausmann in Dessau.

Luther wants to move Hausmann from Dessau. All kinds of news.

The original is in Dessau. Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 238. From the Hanische Sammlung at Kiel in Schütze, vol. III, p. 21; in *Strobel-Ranner, p.* 256 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 22. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1451.

To the highly gifted man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, servant of Christ in the church at Dessau, his exceedingly dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I write to you seldom, best Nicolaus, because I thought there was nothing, since all our news is always very well known to you, and your court learns the news sooner than ours. Both Margraves 1) have turned away from the Gospel; if you do not know this yet, you shall know it now, and I do not know what mischief is unleashed among us here. I impart to thee my new counsel concerning thee. For I am anxious to call you away from there and make you my housemate, so that you may finally enjoy peace and quiet. I already have the promise of your brother that he wants to keep you here with me. For I see that this place is not for thee.

Dr. Hieronymus Weller is cheerful; he has moved away from me to a house next to mine, which I was glad to see.

The Emperor's cause is not as fortunate as it is praised. 2) One hears that about five thousand men perished from hunger, among them several distinguished leaders in the war, such as Margrave Frederick, the provost of Wuerzburg, Caspar von Fronsberg, and I do not know which others.

It seems to me that the Concilium is in truth more pretended than actually practised, although it is said that Duke George

1) Probably Joachim and Johann von Brandenburg, the sons of the Elector, who later declared themselves for the Reformation.

2) On the Emperor's unfortunate march to Provence, see Seckendorf*, Hist. Luth. lib. III, §46, p. 127*. (De Wette.)

write a great book against the bishops, whom he intends to put in order according to the canons, that is, to compare the devil with God.

Our Alesius writes here from England that the new Queen Joan 1) is to be crowned on Michaelmas, an enemy of the Gospel, as he says, and the form of the kingdom is now different, so that Antony must be hidden and silent and is not without danger. But nevertheless the king persists in rejecting the pope, and it has been decided with the consent of the whole kingdom that no one shall travel to the Concilium unless the king has previously consented to the Concilium, which will never happen. Since the rulers are not in agreement, the Concilium will become a fairy tale, or at least will not come about at the appointed time. But if the time has passed, who can appoint another? "All the world is full of trouble." Farewell in Christ and pray for me, my dear brother, for I am in great need of it. Give my respects to thy most good princes. Wednesday after Lamberti [20 Sept.] Anno 1536.

No. 2289.

(Wittenberg,) September 24, 1536.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

Recommendation of a poor person. Complaint about the lack of charity.

The original is in Dessau. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a, fol.* 229. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 254 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 23. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1275.

To the highly famous man, Magister Georg Spalatin, pastor and bishop of the churches at Altenburg, his extremely dear [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! I ask you, my dearest Spalatin, as soon as M. Brisger has returned, to see to it that he faithfully helps you so that poor Elsa von Reinsberg is recommended and fed by you in any case, and that she also does not

1) Seymour.

Allow her to be afflicted with harsh or hard words. Who knows in what person the poor and begging Christ will be honored? I see things everywhere that torment me, so that I fear that in a short time the word of grace will be taken away from us because of the incredible ingratitude and contempt. Almost all the churches think like this: we want to get rid of the poor and send them to Wittenberg; we experience this every day. "No one wants to do good and help the poor anymore," meanwhile we seek what is ours to the point of frenzy. "Well," fate drives the world. Farewell and pray for me. On the Sunday after Matthew [Sept. 24] 1536.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2290.

(Wittenberg,) September 27, 1536.

To the City Council of Zwickau.

A letter, in which Luther in an ironic way punishes the quarrelling of the council with the priest there.

Handwritten at Gotha in *Cod. chart.* 45. f. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 79, no. 140; in Walch, vol. XXI, 387; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 24 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 146.

Grace and peace. Honorable and prudent, dear gentlemen and good friends! I was glad to read that you have become so devout in Zwickau; I also want to write to the pastor as soon as I can, and ask that he also keep himself right. But that I have so easily believed a part of you, or would still believe, you should not blame me, if God wills it. For I am well burned by the star of Zwickau, and know its splendor and influence a little. Therefore, the suspicion can easily show you 2) with the great appearance of the previous stories; although all preachers have almost vowed to me that I consider the whole sky at Zwickau full of good stars, without some of the great planets at Zwickau being strange, causing strange *constellations,* and misleading the sky with the other stars, which is an example of this.

2) Instead of "indicate," De Wette has put his Conjectur "approach" in the text; according to him, the Erlangen edition.

and still wants to tear it down in other cities. My heart is ever that one should not mix the two regiments, ecclesiastical and secular, or churches and city hall, otherwise one eats the other, and both perish, as it happened under the papacy, as St. Paul [2 Cor. 12:20] says: "If you bite and devour one another, see to it that neither of you kills himself." I mean it well, if God wills it, therefore you shall credit me with my letter. Hereby commanded by God, Amen. Wednesday after Mauritii [27 September] 1536. M. Lutherus.

No. 2291.

(Wittenberg,) September 29, 1536.

To George, Prince of Anhalt.

In the matter of Schönitzens.

Printed by Lindner, p, 35, no. 24; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 202 and by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 175.

To the illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Mr. Georgen, prince of Anhalt and provost of Magdeburg, count of Ascanien.

G. et pacem in Christo. Oh, my gracious sir, how sorry I am that E. F. G. is so deeply involved in the bishop's affairs. Therefore I know how faithfully and sincerely E. F. G. means the things, and yet the holy man and silly man is much differently minded. My request to E. F. G. and the Council against Scheuchen is that they hang the matter around the neck of the Foundation, otherwise nothing will come of it; I also hope that God will soon put an end to his arrogant defiance and pride, mockery and scorn; he will nevertheless let Christ sit and be a mayor and town clerk in Halle, as before, in which Christ remains a Lord. But I have heard with pleasure that his cause has turned out to be so lazy and loose in this lecture, although the handlers, simple-mindedly understood, do not know it. But what does it matter, he shall know that I understood it not simple, but Albertian, Episcopalian, Cardinal, and Roman! Go on, it's on the right track, and I don't ask that [it] be tolerated; for too coarse is too
...and too much doth tear the sack. Ah, E. F. G. wanted to say something about the matter and not give such a good lid to the hellish mayor. Hiemit GOtt commanded, Amen. For E. F. G. is a dear prince and lord to me, whom: I grant all good, never so to the mayor of Halle. 1536, *the S. Michaelis* [Sept. 29].

E. F. G.
willing

Martinus Luther, D.

1) I also send E. F. G. the wills of the XII patriarchs again together with the examples 2c., and thank E. F. G. that they have let me see such. It is a judicial thing, but full of a pious man, and judged to teach good morals; but Christ should also be in it 2c.

What M. Nicl. Hausmann will think of E. F. G. for the sake of Bohemia, I am most anxious to know; E. F. G. will well feel whether it is to be done, for I do not want to burden E. F. G. in any way.

No. 2292.

(Wittenberg,) October 5, 1536.

To Count Albrecht of Mansfeld.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 818.

No. 2293.

Basel. 7 October 1536.

Jakob Meyer, mayor of Basel, to Luther.

(Regest.)

Meyer expresses his regret that, in spite of Capito's and Bucer's admonition, he could not contribute much to the promotion of the Gospel and the arts; he acknowledges the accession of the Swiss to the Wittenberg Concord, which, however, is delayed, and expresses the hope that it will happen in the near future.

In the *Bibl. Brem. Classis IV, p.* 903. above regest with Burkhardt, p. 267.

1) This supplement, which Seidemann has appended to a letter of Sept. 17, 1535, in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 164, belongs, as Burkhardt, p. 496, says, according to the investigations he made in Dessau, to this letter.

No. 2294.

Leitomyschl. 8. October 1) 1536.

The Bohemian Brethren to Luther.

(Regest.)

The brothers send deputies to Luther with the request to want to arrange for the printing of their Confession, about which, if necessary, the deputies will provide more detailed information; the printing could not be procured from them due to the lack of Latin letters. Luther might write a recommending preface to it.

In the excerpt in Gindely, Quellen zur Geschichte der böhmischen Brüder in *font. rer. austr. XIX, pag*. 22. The above Regest bei Burkhardt, S. 267. Luthers Antwort erfolgte den 5. Nov.

No. 2295.

(Wittenberg,) 9 October 1536.

Au den Rath zu Saatfeld.

About scholarship stuff.

From a manuscript of Sagittarius in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 80, no. 143; in Walch, vol. XXI, 388; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 26 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 149.

To the honorable, prudent, mayor and council of Salfeld, my favorable, good lords and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, prudent, favorable lords and friends! In the absence of M. Philipp, I have had to break and read your writing, and now I do not want to conceal from you that recently before, the preacher's friend, Schösser of Torgau, asked me in writing that I would ask him against you to leave the scholarship for another year; but with the appendix, where he wants to stay with theology, then I should take him before me and ask what will happen. Since he now answers me that he wanted to stay with jurisprudence, my intercession has remained with you, as I then answered his friend, the locksmith. For I will not,

1) The letter is dated "Sunday after St. Marcus. Burkhardt considers Marcos to be a reading error and conjicirt Michaelis, therefore comes to Oct. 1. But "Marcus" is to be taken here with Seidemann as "Marcus nach St. Francisci" (Lauterbach, Preface, p.XIV. Cf. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 2413).

And it is not for me, as a theologian, to help the theologians turn their scholarship to the lawyers; but if they can obtain it without my intercession, I will let it go. Thus I have consecrated the preacher from me. But because he is nevertheless (as I hear) skilled in the law, for which M. Philipps is also said to have advised him: so you, the council, could well dare to pay him so much for a year, as he is not only your city child, but will also be well needed, especially because the times will dwindle so much that skilled people will be needed. For this reason, I have also asked for him in a very friendly manner.

But because I notice from your writing that you want to give the three another year's scholarship at M. Philip's request, but have appointed another boy instead of Gerard, which I cannot disapprove of; but because the same Gerard is almost pious, skilful, and slow to come to the *studio*, and still needs help for at least a year, I now also ask, if you have M. Philip to honour, to give the three another year's scholarship. Philippo in honor of the three of you, will you grant me this request favorably, and let Gerard have the scholarship for another year, and let it be the scholarship of the preacher, who has now become a lawyer. There are so many good people asking for Gerard that I could not refuse. I hope you will also know how to show yourselves favorably. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. On the day of Dionysius [Oct. 9] 1536. Martin Luther, D.

No. 2296.

9 October 1536.

Elector Johann Friedrich to the Chancellor Brück.

(Regest.)

Luther receives, by means of a letter from the Elector Johann Friedrich to Dr. Brück, the order to compare the translation of the *Loci communes* for the two articles of Justification and of the Sacrament with the Latin text and to report on it.

In the Weimar Archives, Hsx. X, xuA. 408. X. 199. 7. The above regest in Burkhardt, p. 267.

No. 2297.

(Wittenberg,) About 9 October 1536. 1)

To Johann Agricola.

(Regest.)

Luther writes because of Johann Agricola's employment in Wittenberg, about which Luther looks forward to an explanation.

The above regest is found in Burkhardt, p. 268.

No. 2298.

(Eisleben.) 18 October 1536.

Agricola to Luther.

Agricola absolutely responds to Luther's wishes regarding the appointment, and asks to initiate the next steps.
Transcript in *Cod. chart.* 1048 of the ducal library in Gotha (erroneously with the date 1538, since Agricola left Eisleben in 1536). Printed by Burkhardt, p. 268.

Peace from God! I am very grateful to you, as you deserve, because you keep the old way of carrying and supporting me, and yet God wanted you to love me as one who deserves such, my dear father. Again, I will behave in such a way that you may say that I am grateful and mindful of it. As for the appointment, 2) I confine myself to being in thy power: therefore what counsel thou shalt give, whatsoever thou shalt command, that will I perform. You have willed that I leave Wittenberg and go to Eisleben; if you call me back, I will hasten back. And I will never at any time withdraw myself from your esteem, rather I depend on your will and will always depend on it; believe that this is a true word (*oraculum*) which I say. This, if it be convenient, thou mayest report to the most noble prince, my most gracious lord. I will not deceive your good opinion; only, since the matter is already beginning, you may write once to Count Albrecht that you have only seconded me to Eisleben for a time, not sold me, and that you have full right to reclaim me if the benefit requires it. In the meantime I will find out what I may answer the man. Go to

1) Without year and date, but in any case because of the next letter of 1536. So in *Cod. chart. Goth*. 1048; with small deviations in Niedners Zeitschrift 1861, 619, from the year (1536?). (Burkhardt.)
2) Instead of *continuo* in the original we have assumed *contineo.*

long in good health for us and our Church. My Elsa greets you again, with all your relatives (*vitis* == loved ones) in reverence and love, "and says that if God wanted her to experience this, then she would like to put her feet together with Simeon and fall asleep in the Lord". We all wish Mrs. Käthe, the precious woman, at all times the best of health and happiness with the young shots of your oil tree. The 18th Oct. Anno 36.

Joh. Agricola.

No. 2299.

Wittenberg. 23 October 1536.

To Caspar Huberinus in Augsburg.

About the Concordie and the conduct to be observed against the canons in Augsburg.
Handwritten in *Cod. chart. Goth*. 91. f. Printed in De Wette, vol. V, p. 28 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 150.

To the worthy Lord in Christ, Caspar Hubern, the faithful servant of the Word of the Church at Augsburg, my beloved brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! I am writing, and yet I am very burdened with business, my beloved Caspar in the Lord; in addition, I am also old and almost dead, and I am hardly fit for half the day. Therefore, if some desire to know my thoughts and opinions, you may communicate them to them. I can see how hard the Concordia is proceeding, but because they are acting faithfully, there is still good hope that God, who has begun his work, will also complete it. For he knows the ordained course of his church, namely, that the chariot and the horses go through the mud of great waters, and yet the chariot retains the victory, as Habakkuk the prophet indicates. Therefore let us hope and pray that God the Lord will crush the head of the serpent under our feet, amen. Further, on account of the canons, my opinion is not bad, that neither they nor their abominations should be spared, but even though a head does not attack them by deed and force, the preachers should by no means be silent in the meantime, but should punish their worship and nature with a joyful spirit and mighty preaching, and that the same should be done.

make the hearts of the believers hateful and disgusting. For the word of God shall not be bound, but the Spirit shall punish the world for sin. But if one should worry that the cathedrals would be reserved for the emperor, he can easily find counsel in the meantime. For this is not to be feared, that the princes will let all such ecclesiastical goods be appropriated to the emperor. They will also want to say in the Ausburt 1) and not unreasonably, if it should ever come to that. In addition, the cities will also find approval. 2) But let such idolatrous houses use their great wisdom for the sake of peace. But let Uran diligence with the word of God, that Mail at the same time turn away the hearts of the pious and also of the wicked from their abomination. This is my brief concern. If it seems good to you, you may communicate it to your and the Strasbourg preachers. For I cannot write to many at once, much less to all in particular. Give my regards to the pious Magister Forster with all his own and all yours. With this you are commanded to the Lord. Date Wittenberg, 23 Oct. 1536.

M. Luther.

No. 2300.

Torgau. 26 October 1536.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Elector sends two barrels of must, which comes from his own vineyards, with the wish that he may enjoy the must with his own in happiness.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg, N*. *pag* 109. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 269.

No. 2301.

(Wittenberg,) 28 October 1536.

To the Landrentmeister Hans von Taubenheim.

Intercession for Kunz Pfeilschmidt in a matter of debt.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg, N, pag.* 108. z. 5. 1. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 269.

1) Instead of: "to say Ausburt", we suppose: "to hunt for yield".

2) Here we have deleted a superfluous "will".

Grace and peace in Christ! Strict, honorable, dear sir, friendly godfather! I ask you very kindly (although I know that you like to do such things and help poor people), to show this Kunz Pfeilschmidt 3) favorable support, because he now has fifty guilders to pay to my lord. Lord, and is also said to have heard from you words of disconsolation, where he would attack himself with payment, if it could come to the grace that he would have to give four hundred florins, annually on Martin fifty. There is nevertheless need there; seven children, and no mother, may nevertheless make another man weary, of which I also write to my lord. Lord. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. On the day of Simonis and Judä [Oct. 28].1536. Martin Luther, D.

No. 2302.

Ulm. 31 October 1536.

The clergy at Ulm to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2133.

No. 2303.

End of October 1536.

Conrad Cordatus to Luther.

(Regest.)

Cordatus wishes that in the treatment of the controversial question (whether good works are necessary for the attainment of blessedness) first Cruciger be proceeded against, but Melanchthon be spared. He calls on "Luther" to stand firm.

A copy is in the library at Wolfenbüttel, 11.10. *Aug, fol.* 608. Printed by Kolde, p. 268.

No. 2304.

(Wittenberg,) 1. November 1536.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

About the deposed preacher Johann Weybringer in Hildburghausen.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg, N*, *fol.* 108. 41 (very defective). Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 79, no. 142; in Walch, vol. XXI, 390; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 29, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 151 f. - We have sought to fill in the gaps, and have placed the additions in square brackets.

3) Kunz Pfeilschmidt had been Schösser at Schweinitz, and his debt to the Elector stemmed from this employment. Also his successor in office, Michel von Ende, asked for him.

Your most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Mr. Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

G. and Peace in Christ. Most noble, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! I come again to court with the matter of the priest of Hilpurghausen; for he cries out, as the lawyers also cry out, how injustice is done to him, as E. C. F. G. may hear from this Supplication of his. It is therefore my humble request, if it will be possible otherwise, that E. C. F. G. let him come [before them] and sue each other severely. For he so highly appeals to God, his innocence and right, which I do not like to hear, and if he were convicted of the deed, then I would advise that for the sake of the high calling [that he] does (where it would be falsely invented), one would thus sound the bark, so that his head would lie at his feet. E. C. F. G. would graciously grant me such a harsh letter; for I am highly moved when I hear God's name taken in my mouth with such high oaths and complaints, and strange thoughts come to me against both parts 2c. E. C. F. G. will well know how to keep princely and Christian in this. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. On All Saints' Day [Nov. 1] 1536. E C. F. G. subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 2305.

(Nuremberg. ?) I. November 1536.

Melanchthon to Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen and Cruciger.

Melanchthon speaks about his doctrine of good works, which Cordatns calls erroneous, about which he explains himself briefly and wishes to be in agreement with the other theologians. About the occupation of the Pädagogium by 51 Holstein or Marcellus.

Printed in *Corp. Ref.* vol. III, 179.

To the highly famous men, Doctor Martin, Dr. Justus Jonas, and the pastor of the church at Wittenberg and Dr. Cruciger, his highly admired teachers.

Hail. Most revered and dear to my heart, men! I hear that Cordatus here has caused tragedy over some of my words, in which, it is said. I have spoken false things about the doctrine of works. I have been moved by this rumor, and although at this time I am troubled by other troubles, I have felt that I must confront it as soon as possible. I have never wished to teach other things, nor have I taught other things, especially on this question of controversy, than what 1) you teach together. But seeing in the beginning that by many, especially elsewhere, this sentence, We are justified by faith alone, is taken upon this opinion: We are justified by this new being (*novitate*), or by the infused gifts (that is to say, not by faith alone), so it was necessary for me, in the Apology, to transfer the matter to imputation by grace alone, and to say some things more clearly. From this, as you know, questions arise: If we are accepted by grace alone, for what purpose is, or for what purpose is, the new obedience required? The scriptures are there. And I do not escape your judgment, not even Amsdorf's. And I have never had anything else in mind than to explain in the most truthful way what you teach, because I knew that many have clumsy opinions about such great things. And for the young a way suitable for teaching is necessary, sometimes also dialectical words. Nor do I conceal the fact that I like to praise good works as much as I can, but I have never adorned them with false praise. I say plainly that they are neither a payment nor even a merit for eternal life. And I am not so wholly unlearned that I should not know what a thing means without which it cannot be (*causa sine qua non*). I ask, therefore, for Christ's sake, that you may consider that I have put forward what I have taught in good endeavor, and not with the intention of teaching differently.

I have never wanted to separate my opinion from yours, but if I am weighed down with suspicion or by the slander of certain people, and I have to fear an alienation of good will, I would much rather go somewhere else in the world. I know that some have spoken dreadfully of me, which I gladly forgive them. And this I would rather complain to you than to others. For I do not wish to be the author of any discord among us. And I love every one, and

1) In *Corp. ref.:* quam quam. Either the second *quam* is to be deleted or quam quue is to be read.

...I worship him with all my heart. And I want the common cause well. And if my works and my not insignificant diligence in every kind of performance of duty do not testify to this, then I speak of this cause in vain. But I hope that my mind is sufficiently known to you. And an exhortation and friendly conversation I have never shunned. These are many gifts. I would not presume, nor have I wished to add anything new. I have collected what is yours and have tried to explain it as simply as I could.

I hear that another complaint has been made about the appointment to the Pedagogy. Doctor Caspar knows how much and urgently I asked and insisted that the election be postponed. Since they would not do so, and ordered me, according to my duty, to propose suitable principals, I named four: Freder, Wendelin, Holstein, and Marcellus, but I said that these two, namely Holstein and Marcellus, seemed to deserve preference over the others. I also said that Holstein was to be preferred for his own sake, because he was a Saxon, and that consideration should be given to that nation. Thereupon they went to the vote. I did not want to vote at all. Even in my letter, when I had written my opinion about Holstein, that he was a Saxon, this was, because it was disagreeable, again erased according to the will of all of them. Therefore, as far as this matter is concerned, I am without blame. Then I know that Marcellus, for I have heard it from him, was willing, if you would, to cede this small position to another. For he never desired it, and puts the decision of this matter in your hands. These necessary things I felt I must tell you, lest my silence confirm I know not what suspicions. And most especially I wish to be cleansed before you. Be well and happy. On the day of All Saints [Nov. 1] 2)

I am not so regaled by this writing that I could have copied it, so forgive me.

Philip.

No. 2306.

(Wittenberg,) 2. November 1536.

To Duke Henry of Saxony.

In the same matter as No. 2246.

1) Here we seem to be missing a *non in* the text.

2) To Nuremberg, it seems (Bretschneider).

Handwritten in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*. 369. 168. Printed in De Wette, vol. V, p. 30 and in the Erlangen edition, vol.55, p. 152 f.-We have used Burkhardt's improvements.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! E. F. G. would graciously grant me that I must write so clearly. I have now often asked for Matthes' map painter, and after much diligence I have finally investigated everything, and also finally read E. F. G.'s letter to my Lord, the Elector, which S. C. F. G. sent me, and I find in all places, as much as I can understand, that the poor man is being wronged; he has done it wrong, whoever he is, God forgive him; I do not want to leave such a thing on my conscience. E. F. G. also want to be in favor of [it] not remaining on E. F. G.'s conscience. F. G.'s conscience. For seven children have been cast out with their father and mother (the eighth has died, however), and must be disreputable and unfit before everyone, and even become beggars, although nothing has yet been proven against him, nor has he been interrogated, nor is he the man who would have done such a thing, of which I wrote at first.

But that E. F. G. finally insists in the letter to my gracious lord that he has departed from the vow and promise: E. F. G. should graciously consider that one has faithfully indicated to him in secret 3) (if they meant it maliciously, then they are all the worse villains) how the executioner, demanded by Dresden, should have been after him. Yes, gracious lord, except the stick is better act! So there are the three witnesses, through whom perhaps (don't know) such complaint reaches E. F. G., as I herewith send to E. F. G., from which E. F. G. may notice that this Matthes is wronged. For this reason, my humble request is: since E. F. G. now hear the holy Gospel by the grace of God, let them help to muffle such cries against E. F. G. in honor of the same holy words of God, and yet let the man be interrogated, whether outside or within E. F. G.'s dominion. For such crying is not praiseworthy to E. F. G., and will not help E. F. G. that he has stepped out of his fishing practice, because there has been *metus in constantem virum cadens* (?). This is my last request in this matter. Where I have not heard the

3) De Wette: "the other day in secret".

long, then I must nevertheless, out of necessity 1) of my conscience, give him a public written testimony that he is innocent of such things, and help him to save his honor, so that he may remain, which I would rather pass over to E. F. G.'s service.

For I cannot leave on myself such lamentation of the wretched (so not interrogated nor referred), but will push and lay it on E. F. G. conscience. Please give me your gracious answer. Herewith GOtte commanded, Amen. Thursday after All Saints' Day [Nov. 2] 1536. E F. G.

willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 2307.

Niemeck. 3 November 1536.

Conrad Cordatus to Luther.

With reference to a sermon of Bugenhagen, in which the latter had said that at the University of Wittenberg there was no discord in the matter concerning good works, but only a dispute of words, Cordatus testifies that the dispute touched the matter most deeply.

From a copy in the library at Wolfenbüttel, 11. 10. *Aug fol.* 610, printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 270. - The text is immensely flawed: not only two blunders made by Cordatus himself, but a large number of incorrect and meaningless punctuation marks, which make it difficult to understand, so that at first the translation seemed almost impossible to us. We had to make *about* 30 changes.

(Another letter to Doctor Mart. Luth. on account of the words which Dr. Joh. Pom. Bug. had preached on the 8th [*sic*] of November).

Grace from God through Christ! Although, venerable father, I had already been given cause to write to you a fortnight ago, by a certain man, who at that time (and perhaps even now) maintained: about the *causa sine qua non* 2) one may dispute, yet I believed that I had to fear what he said: do not go too far! (*ne quid nimis*!) But since this week one who seemed to be hostile to this *causa sine qua non* said publicly in the pulpit that there were certain people who thought that there were divisions in this school, although there was no discord at all about things, but only about words, I thought it was necessary,

1) De Wette: "dorchaus nach".

2) See No. 2305 at the end of the first paragraph.

that I write this to you, so that you, venerable father, 3) will in no way consent to the opinion of those people who are merciful beyond measure in matters of faith, while we ought to be merciful to our neighbor out of love, and just and unyielding in faith. Further, if in contradicting Cruciger I had to go on also to others who seem to be favorable to the *causa sine qua non,* I would certainly also oppose that preacher: whether a discord in words would not be a discord that divided the whole body into parts? Then I would ask him what those expressions (*termini*) were which are only words (*termini*) without signifying things? Let him then speak of the chimera, the buck's deer, 4) and similar monstrosities in words, as is also the void *causa sine qua non,* which the godless 5) sophists first invented out of their vain heads, in that they likewise invent the expressions and the things (like that one's golden calves) out of their heads, and none of the grammarians, whom one must follow in speaking, has ever spoken thus. Nor will I myself for the time being believe as true that a discord in such words is not a harmful discord. And was there not a very great and harmful dichotomy among the nominalists and realists? Then they also cry out: one may dispute! Do they not set themselves to fight for their discord 7) which exists only in words? But how beautiful it is that they want to defend their expressions invented against grammar (indeed, the things of the expressions themselves) through their grammarians! The final clause (*connexionem*) of their syllogisms they will answer us on the word of God, which we will confidently oppose to them with the help of Christ and his Spirit 8) and with words that are put together without art. But what will those things *sine qua non* answer, if we hold up these words of Christ [John 14:26]: "The Spirit will remind you of all that I have taught you"? Or did Christ anywhere speak of the thing *sine qua non?*

3) *R. P. T.* - *Reverenda Paternitas Tua* (your venerable fatherhood). Kolde offers: *ad te scriberem. Ne scil*. (?) *R. P. T.* 2c.

4) Compare St. Louis ed. vol. XIX, 1473.

5) Cordatus: impiae instead of: *impii.*

6) Instead of *summe noxia ac* we have assumed *summa ac noxia.*

7) Cordatus: *dissensionem* instead of: *dissensione*.

8) In Kolde: *syllogismorum, ipsi christo adjuvante et spiritu ejus, respondebunt nobis verbo Dei quod cum fiducia et verbis etc.*. We have made a rearrangement.

But, that I may cease to trouble thee with my writing, I say: that those and like expressions be accursed, and remain accursed in the theology of Christ, Amen.

And whoever says that these do not cause discord in things, let him see what he brings, or believe also those fabricators (*fabris) of* new words.

Fare well, and be strong in the Lord and in the power of his strength, that thou mayest stand and not be moved in any way by any one; and thou, venerable father, knowest what would have followed if thou alone hadst been able to be diverted in the cause of the Sacramentans. So also [thou knowest] what happy progress the matter would have had if (as some wished) the Concord had been sent only in writing to those. Again, be well with your whole house; be strong through the Spirit of Christ, who may also restore by his grace the peace in which I was shortly before. From Niemeck, on the third day of November.

Conr. Cordatus.

No. 2308.

Wittenberg. 5 November 1536.

To the Elders of the Moravian Brethren.

Luther declares himself in agreement with the writings sent by them except for two points: the refusal of absolution for those who have postponed repentance until the last moment, and the maintenance of the celibacy, and expresses his willingness to write a preface to their writing if they change the two points. He thanks them for the gift of twelve Bohemian knives.

From the copy in *Lasicki, lib*. IV, §13 printed in Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 46. German in the *Fontes rerum aust*. XIX, 24.

To the men to be highly honoured in Christ JEsu, to the elders of the Church of the Brethren in Moravia, to his brethren exceedingly dear in Christ JEsu.

Grace and peace in the Lord! We have read your writings, men of honour, and heard the messengers sent to us. We approve of everything, except for the single chapter in which you teach that nowhere should such a one be absolved by the church servant who postpones repentance for an evil-doing life until the last breath. Since this opinion is contrary to ours, it has seemed good to us to remind you of this matter, that you have not done so.

I do not wish that you would improve or at least explain it better, so that, having thus seen your good will, we may write a suitable preface to it. Another is celibacy, although I am not at all opposed to you in this, if you can only have such people who earn their living with their own hands and, as they want to be without marriage, can also remain so, where you will see to it that this rule (*Canon*) does not entrap other church servants who cannot endure a life without marriage. This, of course, you will learn more fully from these brothers who have been sent to me. As for us, we wish only that, by God's grace, a sincere harmony be established among us, and we want, no less than you, to pray to God that this may continue happily for both of us. Your gift was pleasant to me, but it would not have been necessary for your poverty to be so generous to me. What now remains: May God be the guardian of your bodies as well as of your souls, and may He show His mercy to you abundantly, amen.

Given on the Sunday after the Feast of All Saints [5 Nov] Anno 1536.

No. 2309.

(Wittenberg,) 13. November 1536.

To Elfe Agricola in Eisleben.

(Regest.)

Luther expresses his joy that she wants to come again to Wittenberg, where he hopes to attach her husband.

Communicated by Kawerau in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte IV, 301. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 272.

No. 2310.

(Nuremberg.) 13. November 1536.

The Nuremberg Council to the Dean (Luther) and the theological faculty at Wittenberg.

(Regest.)

Andreas Osiander had stirred up the dispute about private absolution anew, and the Nuremberg council had asked Melanchthon on his journey there for "his" expert opinion, which he also submitted in writing on October 22, 1536 (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. III, 173). But because the matter was so important, he also wanted to recuperate with other councils. Therefore the council asks the faculties to

Mr. Andreas Osiander, in which it' has deficiency for his sake, show constant reason of the holy scripture, reject him from it and take his intention from him.

A copy is in the district archive at Nuremberg, fol. 110b, No. 298. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 272.

No. 2311.

(Wittenberg,) 14. November 1536.

To the council of Ulm.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2135.

No. 2312.

(Wittenberg,) 15. November 1536.

To the council of Saalfeld.

Of scholarship stuff.

From the collection of Sagittarius in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 79, no. 141; in Walch, vol. XXI, 391; from the original in De Wette, vol. V, p. 32, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 155.

To the honorable, prudent gentlemen, mayor and council of Salfeld, my favorable gentlemen and special good friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Respectable, prudent, dear lords and friends! That I did not reply to your previous letter, you must grant me. For now that I am old and fallible to write (as I must write everything myself), I thought it unnecessary to answer, because E. F. had so favorably accepted and fulfilled my request for the sake of Gerard, as I hereby thank you kindly, and gladly deserve again my fortune. For the sake of the Pfreunder, for whom Magister Philippus also wrote and obtained a year, I would have liked to see that the scholarship would have remained for him for the year, and that the boy, who was appointed in Gerard's place before, would otherwise have received a tax for the year from the town hall or the common caste, when I considered that [it] was to be done well with you, that the Pfreunder is praised as a well-skilled journeyman to the law, but I have left it to E. F., which is to be done. F. what they wanted to do in this or consider it good, which I also still do; for to me, as a theologian (as I also indicated before), it is not proper to ask the theologians for scholarship.

for the lawyers. In this E. F. will know well to keep Christian and amicable; so that God commands, Amen. Midweek after Martinmas [Nov. 15] 1536.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2313.

(Wittenberg,) November 18, 1536.

To Duke Henry V of Mecklenburg.

Request for a scholarship for Matthäus Roloff from Mecklenburg who is studying in Wittenberg.

The original is in the archives at Schwerin. Printed by Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 47 f.

To the illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord Henry, Duke of Mecklenburg 2c., and of the lands [Rostock and Stargard] Lord, my gracious lord.

G. and F. in Christo. Sublime, highborn Prince, gracious Lord! Matthaeus Roloff, E. F. G. country child from Quassow 1) has asked me to write to E. F. G. that after he has been in the studio here for some time and has started commendably and has increased well, that there is every hope that he will become a skilful, useful man to be used in E. F. G.'s lands, and that E. F. G. wants him to be used for some time. F. G.'s lands, E. F. G. would graciously keep him for several years with a settled fief or stipend. For without this he can no longer support himself here, and would therefore have to leave the studio out of poverty, which would be a pity because he has come so far. Thus E. F. G. himself knows how highly necessary it is that people be educated who are suitable for church offices, for in the past kings and princes have done so great things and donated so much. Is therefore my humble request, that E. F. G. would have the said Matthew in gracious command, for he has inherited, in E. F. G. lands (where he has been born), a church. F. G. lands (where he is needed) to serve again. E. F. G. will know how to show themselves Christian and gracious in this. Herewith GOtte commanded, Amen. Saturday after St. Martin's Day [Nov. 18] 1536.

E. F. G. williger Martinus Luther, D.

1) Gr. and kl. Quassow lie in the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg - Strelitz, between the towns of Wesenberg and Strelitz.

No. 2314.

Wittenberg. 28 November 1536.

Luther, Jonas and Melanchthon to the council of Nuremberg.

Opinion on common and private absolution, for the reconciliation of contending parties.

From a copy of the original in G. Th. Strobel's Nachricht von dem Leben und den Schriften Veit Dietrichs 2c. Altdorf and Nuremberg 1772, p. 43; in *Corp. Ref.* vol. III, 190 from a copy of *Cod. Galli* II, p. 254 and *Cod. Palat. 436. fol., p.* 15 (with the date incorrectly solved: November 27) and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 176. Bretschneider thinks that either Pommer or Cruciger is the author of this letter.

To the honorable, noble and wise lords, mayors and council of the city of Nuremberg, our favorable lords and friends.

Grace and peace from God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Honorable, wise, favorable gentlemen! We have received Your Honorable Wisdom's writing together with Osiander's sermon and the enclosed questions, 1) on which you desire our concern, and would have been well inclined to ascribe an answer to E. E. W. with this messenger. However, this time we have been so burdened with our most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony's, business that the answers to E. E. W.'s questions could not have been made in this hurry, to the extent that the business is important and time is needed to talk about it according to necessity. For although we also maintain the private absoluteness with all seriousness and consider it very useful, and have always taught that for many reasons it should be prevented from being stopped or extinguished in the church, we nevertheless conclude that forgiveness of sins is not obtained through the private absoluteness alone, but also when the heart receives right faith and comfort from common preaching. For preaching and absoluteness have power because God promised to work with his word, whether it be spoken in common or otherwise; item commanded to believe the gospel, whether it be spoken in common or otherwise. On this article stands the summa and the ground of this controversy, and we have this article thus

1) These interrogatives of Melanchthon are found both in Latin and German in the 6orx. Rsk., vol. III, 176 f.

recently reported now, to indicate what our opinion is of the main part of this trade. But how far Mr. Osiander allows this, and why he punishes an ordinary Absolutio, because such Disputatio is somewhat longer, we want to make the same after opportunity conducive, and E. E. W. send our concern by own message. E. W. our concern by our own message. May God graciously preserve E. E. W. and grant your church peace and unity in Christ. Date Wittenberg, Tuesday after Catharine [Nov. 28] in the 36th year.

Martinus Luther, D.

Justus Jonas, D., P. W. 2) Caspar Cruciger, Dr. Philippus Melanchthon.

No. 2315.

St. Gall. 28 November 1536.

Joachim Badian to Luther.

(Regest.)

Vadian reports on the adoption of the Concord at the last Basel Convention, and, emphasizing the sincere striving for perfect concord and the true community of faith, explains why the Swiss considered a detailed declaration necessary.

Printed in Keßler's *Sabbata ed. Götzinger*, II, 469 and in Kolde's *Analecta,* p. 274.

No. 2316.

(Wittenberg,) 2. December 1538.

To King Christian III of Denmark.

Luther approves of the king's shaving off the bishops, and exhorts him not to squander the church goods.

In the archives at Weimar there is a collated copy from the Danish imperial archives. Printed in Schumacher's learned men's letters to the kings in Denmark, 2nd part, p. 260; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 33 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 156.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord and Saviour, even my poor *Pator noster*. Most powerful, most noble, most highborn Prince, most gracious Lord King! I have almost gladly listened to Your Majesty's writing, and I am pleased that Your Majesty has singled out the bishops (who cannot cease to persecute God's word and to confuse the worldly regiment).

2) This P. V. is to be dissolved by: *Praepositus Wittebergensis*. Seidemann reads *P. W.*, while the *Corp. ref.* offers *"V. W."*.

I will also, where I can, help to interpret and answer for the best. However, I also humbly request that His Holiness will separate as much of the spiritual goods that have been placed under the crown, so that the churches may nevertheless be well and adequately provided for. For, where they are separated and torn apart, wherewith will the preachers be preserved? I admonish (perhaps unnecessarily) E. K. M., who, without knowing it, will keep themselves well and Christian in this, that I have no doubt, without our people's examples moving me to report such, among whom there are many who would gladly snatch everything to themselves; and if God had not given us such a pious sovereign, who meant it with all seriousness and faithfulness, and kept above it, then many parishes would lie desolate. Whether now Satan would also have killed some in E. K. M.'s lands, God help E. K. M. to mean the churches. K. M. to the distress of the churches, this is of the divine word and of all, who both now and in the future shall thereby learn to be saved and escape eternal death; for it all depends on God's word. Christ, our dear Lord, be with E. K. M. here and forever, Anten. Saturday after St. Andrew's Day [2 Dec.] 1536.

E. K. M. williger Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2317.

Niemeck. 6 December 1536.

Conrad Cordatus to Luther.

A very vehement letter from Cordatus, in which he complains that the faculty at Wittenberg is silent about his cause, while the students are talking about it in the streets. He asks Luther to write to him about the state of the matter, since he is decan fei. If this does not happen, he will not mass until it becomes clear whether the Augsburg Confession is still held unanimously in Wittenberg, and whether Melanchthon's *Loci* have been revoked.

From a copy in the library at Wolfenbüttel, 6oc1.10.11. col. 612, printed by Kolde, p. 277. - The text of this letter is also very poor, similar to that of No. 2307.

To the utmost 1) to Dr. Martin Luther.

Grace to God the Father through Christ! The more I deal with you, venerable Father, with

1) Thus we have had to translate, since *ultime* is written, not: *ultimo*.

The more I write and speak about this matter, the more I am tormented and frightened in my mind and conscience, because with you and the college of theologians to whom I have appealed, this foolish *causa sine qua non* seems to be silent. But with others, even in the alleys, it cries out. For the students, turning one to another, say: Without me indeed justification cannot be, for it is necessary that he be who is to be justified. And just as, if Peter had not been, Peter would not have been justified, so it is clear that man is some cause of his justification. And these eloquent men, who have never seen even A Book of Augustine, draw on this word of Augustine, "who created thee without thee. "2c. In this truly may be seen the work of Satan. For when did we ever hear that those who were fond of languages conversed about the article of justification, 2) at the time when the same was unanimously and purely taught in former years, and indeed for many years? But now that they have become orators by the words of Philip, and without things (*sine rebus*), they desire to be theologians without things, and also with words, and this as far more learned men than others. Therefore they think that they speak with necessity about the *causa sine qua non,* and in a more suitable manner than anyone before, and praise it most highly. What is it to wonder that he [Melanchthon] preferred to fight for the instructors 3) of such people and youthful talents than to be instructed, to learn, or to believe! Therefore, as far as 4) my matter is concerned, there seems to be nothing left but that I ask you for Christ's sake that you now inform me in writing what the state of this matter now is, and this I now ask of you in the name of the College of Theologians, of which you are the dean, with whom I have now so often acted on this matter, and asked, and demanded a just and due end. For I have not complained of this matter to you as to a private person, from the time that Dr. Creuciger freely permitted this, but I have acted with you as with the college of all theologians, who are at present at Wittenberg unanimous confessors.

2) Instead of *collocutus* we have assumed *collocutos.*

3) Instead of *nostra* we have assumed *magistra*, which was probably written with the abbreviation rnMtra, and read in *nostra.*

4) Instead of *quid, quod* will be read.

and teachers of the article of justification, and that not in the corner, or with the table companions, or only with their assistants (*arrisores*), but also before God and all men. Furthermore, if you think that it is not necessary for you to write, I will indeed continue on the way I have begun, and that which I have hitherto done privately with all those who are concerned about it, 1) I will do afterward in every way and by every means that I can, so that the truth of the faith, which is pure and certain, 2) may remain with us. Nor will I be deterred if you all say that I am too small to be able or to attack this controversy of yours, and much too small to be able to settle it, for you hold and say about me with full truth what I myself hold about myself in my heart; But I know that once an ass spoke, when only a man was about to speak evil to the detriment of God's people, and there was no one else to object. Yes, God, who has urged me to this single lecture in theology, 4) governs this matter of mine, and for that reason it is also moving slowly forward. But I will not rest, and will contradict all those matter-mongers 5) to the last, who give themselves to the day, according to the measure of my faith, which I have through the Spirit of Christ (if I cannot do otherwise), and will not desist until Christ is publicly glorified as before by the preaching of faith, that that *causa sine qua non is* done away with from the article of justification, from the article of justification, I say; Otherwise they may say and write all they can about it, 6) as eloquently as they are able; for it denies Christ, or at least makes the blessedness which 7) is through Christ ambiguous, that is, destroys it (*nullam facit*). And so, at last, many hearts will be revealed, and it will come to light whether, among all the Wittenbergers, unanimously, without 8) the intrigues of philosophy, rhetoric, and

1) For this sentence we have added *feci,* immediately following: *faciam*.
2) Here we have erased a superfluous *nobis.*
3) Instead of *viuus* we have assumed unus.
4) Instead of *intunsit* should probably read intrusit, because *intundo* has no *perfect noun*.
5) *causarii*s here is: all who assume the *causa sine qua non.*
6) Instead of so, which would refer to *articulo justificationis*, we have adopted *ea*, referring to *causa* s. q. n..
7) Instead of "*quem [sic]*" we have adopted *quae.*
8) Instead of *siue* we have assumed sine.

of Sophism, is true, that faith alone justifies what you seemed to assert at Augsburg 9) without this *causa sine qua non,* and indeed without any other distinction, and it will become apparent whether that confession is still true among all of you today; likewise, whether the *loci have* been revoked (which Erasmus seems to have written), which were published by Mr. Philip several times before this year. All this, and also other things which I am happy to pass over, will undoubtedly be revealed by that *causa sine qua non.* This [causa *sine qua non*] is an evil cancer, and words by which 10) are diverted to idle talk and many questions, by those who are all too secure in their faith, and have come to fall in the edification of God, which is done by faith. Finally, I also add this to Dr. Creuciger: Whether it be too much 11) or nothing, I will let myself be placed in the midst of all who do theology in a godly way, and in the face of Dr. Creuciger I will make a new accusation, and a very short one at that, for in no way must that cancer be allowed to creep further into the healthy flesh of Christ. Fare well, my venerable father, and approve this perhaps useless talk of mine (*vel lanam caprinam*), which I present to you and to the other true theologians out of my faith, or if truth requires otherwise, reject it without delay, so that the verdict may be most certainly victorious.

From Niemeck, on the 6th day of December.

Conrad Cordatus, Master (*Mgr*) and Licentiate of Theology.

No. 2318.

8 December 1536.

Oswald Myconius to Luther.

(Regest.)

Myconius asks, in case Luther does not like something in the declaration of the Swiss, not to doubt their inclination to harmony, but to indicate it in a friendly way, so that they can carry each other in love.

From the copy in the Siml. Collection in Zurich printed by Kolde, *Analecta* p. 283.

9) It must be read *Augustae.* Kolde: "*angustae* [sic]".
10) Instead of HU6m we have assumed.
11) From this it can be seen that the one who called out to Cordatus: *Ne quid nimis* (No. 2307 at the beginning) was Cruciger

No. 2319.

(Wittenberg,) 10 December 1536.

To Chancellor Brück.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XIX, 1882, no. 32.

No. 2320.

Torgau. 11 December 1536.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther and the other theologians.

The Elector demands a further concern about the future Concil.

A concept eaten by mice is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, pag.* 123.54., the gaps of which have been completed by Burkhardt. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 271.

Our greetings first. Venerable, worthy and highly learned, dear devotees and faithful! After [we] had been in Wittenberg a few days ago, and had had [our] remonstrance of the written out and future Con[cilii halben] done to you, whereupon you have [sent] us a [reservation] on some of the articles held out, which we have read out and noted to our gracious liking. Because the [article] of Christian doctrine and religion [half a little] far, and in which articles and parts of peace and unity it may or may not be possible to give way and yield, it is our gracious request that you, Doctor Martinus, take the same points and articles before the hand, and place your concern everywhere as to what and how far it is to be answered for against God and to yield and yield with a good conscience for the sake of Christian love for the preservation of peace and unity in Christendom, also on what [in the face of the adversaries] 1) finally it is to be based and to persevere or not, and if you make such, then you will consider these articles in their entirety and in particular, also Licentiaten Amsdorf, Magister Eisleben and several others from our and our friendly dear brother, Duke John Ernest of Saxony, princely preachers and scholars of the Holy Scriptures, according to your concern, by virtue of this order to you at our expense require and unanimously agree in the same and in such a case each sign with [you]. [If, however, any one should think in one or in some of the articles that you do not wish to compare yourselves, let him put his objection in writing.

1) Here we have filled in a blank.

The same shall also write, report and indicate the reason and causes, and send them to us in addition to the others everywhere.

And since this is the highest and most important matter, which concerns God's glory and the welfare of common Christianity, and we are very concerned about it, as we have informed you in part in Wittenberg that there is no delay in these matters, we again graciously request that you act on this matter with the utmost diligence and in secret, as we have graciously provided for you, So once again our gracious request is that you act and carry out this matter with the utmost diligence and in secret, as we graciously provide for you, and that you take care that such your record and concerns will be given to us for the longest time around Conversionis Pauli [Jan. 25, 1537]. Jan. 1537], and you will know how to show yourselves to the increase of God's honor and His holy word, and this is a gracious favor to us from you, and we are inclined to you with graces and good. Date, Torgau, Monday after Nicolai [11 Dec.] Anno 1536.

No. 2321.

(Wittenberg,) 15 December 1536.

To Johann Agricola in Eisleben.

(Regest.)

Luther asks him, without telling anyone, to come to his house on a certain day.

Mitgetheilt von Kawerau in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, IV, 302. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 285.

No. 2322.

Niemeck. 16 December 1536.

Cordatus to Luther.

Cordatus informs Luther that he wants to take his matter out of Luther's hands and place it in the hands of the Rector, thereby turning the hitherto private matter into a public one. Since, however, the Rector and the other theologians did not want to pass judgment on his written petition, nor did they want to counter the annoyance caused by Cruciger, he would appeal to the decision of the Prince.

From a copy in *Cod. Guelph. fol. no.* 11. 10, p. 613b, in *Corp. Ref.* vol. III, 205 f. A not quite accurate regest in Burkhardt, p. 272.

To Doctor Martin Luther. 2)

Grace from God through Christ! Since I have heard all that was said without you (I will remain silent, against you) in Wittenberg in matters of faith-

2) Luther was dean of the theological faculty at that time.

I want you to know that tomorrow I will transfer the known matter from you to the Rector, that is, I will make the hitherto private action 1) into a public one. Since even the worthy (*Magnificus*) Rector and even the theologians, who until now have stood firm in the sound doctrine, which we have all learned from you, did not want to pronounce a judgment on my written petition (*actione*) as soon as possible, nor to counteract the annoyance of Dr. Cruciger and all his supporters and bring about a proper end, I will transfer the judgment to the Prince; I will state the causes of my so great contradiction before the College of Theologians. Farewell and rejoice that your great gifts will again be wonderfully stimulated to the fight of God. From Niemeck, December 16.

Conr. Cordatus.

Send me, venerable father, the petition (*actionem*) back, for I must have it in any case, so that I can also speak with Cruciger tomorrow, and that is so that I may learn from him at the beginning whether he wants to continue to defend his lecture.

No. 2323.

(Wittenberg,) About December 17, 1536.

To Spalatin.

Luther requests Spalatin to come to Wittenberg by order of the Elector.

The original is in Dessau (with the inscription Spalatin: Uebergeben Dienstags nach Luciä [19. Dec.]). 2) Printed by *Buddeuus*, p. 255 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 36. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1277.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, bishop of the churches of Meissen, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! God wants it to be done this way, my dear Spalatin, that I should call you here according to the will of the Prince. Therefore, I ask you to be here on the day of the innocent children [Dec. 28] or on the following day after the birth of Christ, in order to celebrate with us the

1) *actionem*. Cordatus himself, since he writes (*Corp. Ref.* III, 203) of it in German, does not translate this expression, but says, "action."

2) From this we get our approximate time determination.

to negotiate what must be negotiated. But without thy cost, as thou shalt know. But this thou mayst keep as secret as thou canst, and give other cause of thy departure. Farewell.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2324.

(Wittenberg,) In December 3) 1536.

Concerns about the Concil tendered to Mantua, and of the opposition.

This concern consists of two parts; the first deals with the Concilium at Mantua, the other with the counter-defense. It is taken in its entirety from a copy in *Cod. Galli* I, p. 115, printed in *Corp. Ref.* vol. III, 126. The second part alone is found in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 220b; in the Jena (1568), vol. VII, p. 280b; in the Altenburg, vol.VII, p.305; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 304; in Walch, vol. X, 662; in the Erlangen, vol. 64, p. 270, and in the St. Louis edition, vol. X, 562. - We insert here the first part after the *Corp. Ref.*

If the pope or the council cites this part in particular *ad respondendum* or *ad audiendum declarari* 2c., then this matter can be dealt with in a much more convenient manner, as was previously discussed in the same case: whether the citation, or with what protestation such *citations* are to be accepted. And if one considers the proceedings of the Concilii at Costenz and the like, it is to be assumed that the Concilium would undoubtedly cite the prelates, even if one did not cite the princes.

But if this *citation* goes or not, let us consider in all ways that it is useful and necessary to send a message on this subject to the Emperor and all potentates, and also to let it go out publicly, in which we indicate as much as possible the opportunity for these important and high matters, and ask that they be

3) In the editions this concern is dated (according to Bretschneider) August 20 to 30, but with the reservation that it might also belong to December. Since now in the source of the same, the *Cod. Galli*, the superscription reads: "The other council 1536", also in the letter of the Elector of Dec. 11 (No. 2320) Amsdorf is required as a co-counselor in this matter, who has also co-signed, furthermore the Elector was personally in Wittenberg at the beginning of Dec. (*Corp. Ref.,* III, 126), so we do not doubt that this concern is the answer to the letter just mentioned. Burkhardt, p. 264, also places it in this time.

to think of ways that a right trial may be carried out, which may serve Christianity to right Christian unity, as the *forma literarum* may most easily be considered.

And so a *form is* set up, that the same is held up to the fellow relatives, and is improved on the concerns of all states, and is brought to light in the most beneficial way. Nor shall there be any lack of us; with God's help and by the command of our most gracious Lord, we also want to do our part. For be it as it may, it is useful to be prepared and equipped for it.

We think that it will be possible to decide in time whether to send a special message to the Council in this case, although we think that, if the Council is concerned, it will be necessary to send a protestation.

Of the counterconcilium our concern is that it should not be hastened in all ways. For to make a counterconcilium has a great and terrible appearance of causing a schism, and of wanting to set oneself against the whole world, no less than if one wanted to go into the field. For this reason, such a great apparent opposition must not be made until one intends to do something publicly with it. Beforehand, too, there must be an understanding among all the states that they will come together in unity. For if we were to disagree with one another, it would not only be a mockery, but also a great disruption among ourselves, and a deterrent to other countries that might otherwise have good will toward us. In this case, rather, letters will be necessary, namely, common letters in which the cause of the attack is indicated, item, a warning why men and women in other principalities and countries should not help against us, so that no one will be guilty of Christian innocent blood. Again, that they do not help to strengthen unrighteous services and public sins of the priests. They must offer to help the world if there are matters in dispute in which the common man is mistaken and doubtful, so that we may think of ways to bring these disparities into proper, solid, and Christian unity. We must then be prepared with such and such a proposal, not to speak of it at this time.

...not to make haste with it. For this reason, we cannot yet speak of a counterconciliation. Their proceedings must have begun first. So it is also better for the dressing to be delayed. Again, that this part be united beforehand.

No. 2325.

(Wittenberg,) December 25, 1536.

To Prince Joachim of Anhalt.

Luther comforts him in his melancholy.

From Beckmann's Anhalt History, vol. V, p. 175, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 36 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 159.

Christ our dear Lord comforts E. F. G. Herz with his bodily incarnation, which he has put on for the comfort and good pleasure of all men, as the dear angels sing today: "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and goodwill toward men. I hope that E. F. G. Herz will not have any doubt or sadness because of the faith or the Gospel, as now it is well reported what the truth is against the devil's and his pope's lies. But if the doctrine and the faith be true, let hell and all the devils fall upon us, what is more? What can trouble us but our sins and evil consciences? but Christ hath taken these away for us, though we sin daily. Who can afflict us but the devil? But he is greater that dwelleth in us, neither is he, though faith be weak. Let the devil be holy and without sin, we 1) need the dear Saviour; let the devil be vain strength, and need Christ's help and strength nothing! We ought and willingly to be weak in ourselves, that Christ's strength may dwell in us, as *S. Paul* saith, *Virtus Christi in infirmitate perficitur*. E. F. G. have not yet denied nor crucified the dear Lord, and though the same had happened, yet he remains gracious, and [has] prayed also for the crucifiers. Wherefore be S. F. G. confident, and strengthened in Christ against the evil spirit, which can do nothing but falsely afflict and terrify, or murder. May the dear Lord Jesus Christ, our joy and consolation, be with E. F. G.'s heart and not leave it desolate.

1) "we" put by us instead of: "and".

No. 2326.

(Wittenberg,) December 26, 1536.

To the mayor and council of Isny.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 2138.

No. 2327.

(Wittenberg,) December 27, 1536? 1) (1535.)

To Anton Lauterbach in Leisnig.

About the vexations Lauterbach had with his pastor. By Johann Aureus (Gülden).

From the Ludwig Collection at Halle at Schütze, vol. III, p. 24 and at De Wette, vol. V, p. 37. German at Walch, vol. XXI, 1452 with an appendix, which, as Seidemann notes at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 534, note 1, is also in *Cod. Dessav. C*, and in German.

To the brother in Christ, Mr. Anton Lauterbach, who is to be highly honoured in Christ, the faithful and fair servant of the word in the church at Leisnig.

Grace and peace in Christ! Thus shalt thou do, my dear Anton: Be strong in silence and hope [Isa. 30:15], and by Christ thou shalt overcome this twister of words (*Grammaticosophistam*) ("with silence one can answer for much," especially in such matters), until we can suitably deliver thee from this profession and transfer thee elsewhere, as we certainly intend to do. In the meantime, it is better and more honorable for thee to suffer the wrong of him than to inflict it upon him. "Right is found at last."

About Johann Gülden (*Aureo Johoanne*) 2) you have made me doubtful. For I have been informed that he is a prisoner at the castle of Leuchteuburg 3) unless,

1) Although neither Seidemann nor Burkhardt have remarked on the time given by De Wette, it seems to us that this letter is more correctly placed in the year 1535: first, because it was the custom to begin the new year with Christmas; second, because Johann Aureus, of whom we read in this letter that he was a prisoner in the Leuchtenburg castle, was recommended by Melanchthon, who had held an interrogation there as visitator on January 13, 1536, on January 19. January 1536, as visitator, had held an interrogation, is recommended to the grace of the Elector on January 19 (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. III, 17). It can hardly be assumed that he was held prisoner until December 1536.

2) Walch translates: "because of the worthy John" 2c.

3) In Saxe-Altenburg near Kahla. In Latin: *Leuchtenberg*.

that this letter was written lukewarmly before. May God convert him and bring him back on the right path.

5) "I send my regards to your wife Hagnes. Mittwochen in Weihnachten" [27.Dec.] 1536 (1535).

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2328.

Zeitz. 31 December 1536.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

The Elector asks her to go with him to the Schmalkalden Convent.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H*, p. 115, No. 58. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 272.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotees and faithful! When we were now with the high-born Prince, Mr. Philipsen, Landgrave of Hesse, our friendly dear cousin and brothers, at Eisenach, we considered the dangerous appointment of the Council, named by the present Pope against Mantua, and also, for the sake of other matters concerning religion, we agreed on the day and time of our and all our religious relatives' meeting in Schmalkalden on Wednesday after St. Agatha [7 February].February], which we have also described for that day in such a way that each estate will bring one or two of their learned theologians to the same day, as the above-mentioned our cousin and brother, the Landgrave, and we also intend to do in the same way, so that the matters of the Council, as well as what else concerns religion, may be talked about and discussed all the more respectably. Therefore we consider to take the things for the best and promotion of you three to the mentioned day of our part. Visit

4) Instead of *redeat* we have adopted De Wette's conjecture: reäuent.

5) Instead of the following, Walch has: I let your wife Hagne know that the words to be spoken about the child are good. But because there is a stain on it, that [it] must be just such words, and also spoken by just such a person, so it is *Christ hic et hic*; that is the tiresome devil. If words are to help, why does not the *Pater noster*? If a person help, why doth not every Christian? Therefore be content, and rather suffer what God wills, and make (without God's command) no new form or person. Hereby commanded by God. And what the ironwork costs, let me know, and thank you for your diligence. Wednesday in Christmas 1536. Martin Luther.

6) "also the" put by us instead of: "the also".

For this reason graciously, you will, if you are able to do so with all your strength and especially with your body, 1) take care to arrive with us at Torgau on the aforementioned day, Monday after Conversionis Pauli [29 Jan], and then travel with us to Schmalkalden, in which you will be kind to the things and willing to be submissive to us, as we are able. In this you do us a special gracious favour, to recognise us in favour and good. Date at Zeitz, Sunday after *innocentum puerorum* [Dec. 31] Anno 1537 [1536].

No. 2329.

(Wittenberg,) No date 1536. 2)

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for Anna from the lady.

The original is in the Haus- und Staats-Archiv at Coburg. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 273 f.

G. and Peace in Christ and my poor Paternoster. Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! Once again the good Lady Hanna asks of the lady who three years ago was expelled from Duke George's country for the sake of the Gospel, and under the wing of E. C. F. G. was granted a small outpost of the monastery of Buche 3) for three years, as E. C. F. G. will be well mindful of it. Now the time is up for the coming Christmas, and there are many hands after it, and they still have nothing of their own or certainty, that E. C. F. G. nevertheless wanted to look at their misery and leave them for several more years on the little estate until they get something of their own. And it may well be that there are some of our people who have little mercy on such outcasts and would rather have everything in their sack. Therefore my humble request..,

1) That's: kind of.

2) That this letter belongs to the year 1536 results from the Acts of the Ernestine General Archives, Oo, pag. 792. 80, since Anna von der Dame and her husband, Franz von der Dame, in 1539 had already held the estate for 6 years, after in 1536 the extension (requested in this letter) to three more years had taken place. The date can be approximately determined from the words of our letter: "Now the time is out on future Christmas", namely: "about November or beginning of December". - In 1539 the sequestrators reported badly about their economy and the estate was taken away from them.

3) Namely Wendishayn (Burkhardt).

where E. C. F. G. further show their mercy in this, wanted to procure this with seriousness and not let the good people denigrate, whether someone perhaps intended to do so, as they are concerned. It is only right, because they have suffered so much for Christ's sake and are pious, that they should find refreshment and consolation under E. C. F. G.. May our dear Lord God grant E. C. F. G. to do His very best will.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Mart. Luther.

No. 2330.

(Wittenberg,) No date 1536.

Concerns.

(Regest.)

Whether secular authorities are obliged to abolish idolatrous ceremonies, and whether city councils are allowed to change religion in cathedral churches.

This concern is written in Latin by Melanchthon, and signed by Luther, Bugenhagen, Cruciger, Jonas, and Melanchthon. It is found in Pezel's *Mel. Consil. lat.*, P. I, p. 260, and from it and from a copy in *Cod. Galli* II, p. 368, in the Corp. Ref., vol. III, 224. The above regest in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 177, and in Burkhardt, p. 274. The occasion of this misgiving is as yet undetermined.

No. 2331.

(Wittenberg,) No date 1536.

Concerns of the Wittenberg theologians for the preachers in Erfurt.

(Regest.)

Answer to the Question: Whether the True Church of Christ is at Erfurt? This concern comes to the content after Oberem with what was written in No. 2004 to the clergy at Erfurt, and is signed by Luther, Melanchthon, Pommer, Jonas and Friedrich Myconius.

From Innocent News 1715, p. 380, *ex Msto.* reprinted in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 178.

No. 2332.

(Wittenberg,) 3. January 1537.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

The Elector had instructed Luther to draft articles for the purpose of the negotiations to be held at the Concilium. Luther had drafted them (later called the Schmalkaldic Articles), consulted with some of his colleagues, and now sent them to the Elector.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H.* 120. Printed in De Wette, vol. V, p. 45 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 167.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave in Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ, and my poor Pater Noster 2c. Most illustrious, high-born Prince, most gracious Lord! By E. C. F. G.'s writing and orders, I have summoned Niclas Amsdorf, M. Eisleben, 1) and M. Spalatin to come here on the day of Innocentium [Dec. 28, 1536] or the next thereafter (for He Just 2) and Frederick are too far away for us). To these I have submitted the articles which I myself have written (according to E. C. F. G.'s command), and have discussed them with them for several days because of my weakness, which has fallen as three times as I have fallen eight times, through Satan, otherwise I would have hoped not to have acted in them for more than one day. And as these are confirmed by them with their signed hand, I hereby send to our dear confrere and good friend, M. Georgen Spalatinum, E. C. F. G. to be delivered, as they all commanded me and asked me to do. In addition, I also ask you to do this for the sake of all of us, because some people suspect us and say that we priests (as they call them) want to put you princes and lords, with your lands and people, in danger with our stubborn behaviour 2c., E. C. F. G. would graciously remit us to it; for where it should be yearly to others of lesser rank, let alone E. C. F. G. himself, together with other lords, lands and people, we would much rather take it upon ourselves alone. Therefore E. C. F. G. will know well how far and wide they want to accept such articles; for we do not want to burden anyone else with this, but ourselves alone, leaving everyone free who wants to take care of himself.

1) The Elector did not like that Eisleben appeared on the day at Schmalkalden, because of the relationship to Ulrich of Würtemberg; he should therefore provide the court preacher position or be used for the visitation; according to the letter of January 9 (Burkhardt).

2) "Er Just" is Justus Menius in Erfurt; "Friedrich" is Friedrich Myconius in Gotha.

with nor will load or not load. E. C. F. G. be hereby commanded to the dear God. Midweek after the New Year [3 Jan.] 1537.

E. C. F. G. submissive Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2333.

January 7, 1537.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

Answer to the previous letter. The Elector thanks for the transmission of the Articles and expresses great joy that they are so Christian, pure, and clean, in unanimity with the other theologians. He does not want to leave the theologians alone in the peril that would come from such articles, but to confess them with them as divine and right, should he also lose his principality over them. Finally, he explains his dissatisfaction with Melanchthon's addition of the pope (see St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVI, 1949).

From a copy in *Cod. Chart. at* Gotha, No. 452, fol. 240, printed in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 285.

GOtt walts.
Johann Friedrich.

Our salutations and gracious wills beforehand. Worthy, dear devotee! We have received your letter together with the articles in which you, by God's grace, compared yourselves with the other theologians, your fellow ministers, through M. Spalatinum, and give thanks to God Almighty and our Lord Christ that He has given you health and strength to produce such articles in such a Christian, pure, and honest manner, and that He has given you grace that you have compared yourselves with the others of your kind unanimously, Christianly, and also in a brotherly and friendly manner; 3) we also take your diligence and effort, which you have shown therein for the benefit of common Christianity, as a gracious favor and thanksgiving, 3) also accept your diligence and effort, which you have put forth for the benefit of common Christianity, as a gracious favor and thanks, and also find from this that you have not changed your mind in anything, but are constantly based on the Christian articles, which you have always taught, preached and written, and which are also built on the foundation, our Lord Christ, whom the gates of hell are not able to overthrow, and which will also remain well before the Pope, Concilio and his followers. May the Almighty God grant us all His grace through our Lord Christ, that we may remain in it with constant, true faith, and that no human fear or discretion may 4) turn us away from it.

3) Kolde: "take".

4) Kolde: "or güt düncken, thereof" 2c.

Let them. And we can well consider that there are people who speak of such and other divine dealings in such a way that you and others, who preach and describe the holy gospel purely and loudly out of divine desire, lead (lead) into strife, danger and trouble. But what these same people ask about God and His only salvation-making Word, and are concerned about it, can well be inferred from this, even that they care little about dwelling under the papacy or the Turks, if they would only have peace, rest and good quiet days with their mammon, and from time to time scrape up more good things for themselves. But we know, praise God, that the things which you lead from the divine word, and which we confess to be divine and right, are not human, but divine things, and which want to be known before the world and not denied, so that we do not have to be made a part of the frightening saying that because we do not know him before the world, he does not want to know us before his heavenly Father either. Because these things have been done, and the articles have been written in such a way that no one can overturn them with divine truth, they are also so clear and understandable that we, as laymen, praising God, consider and understand them to be Christian and right in accordance with the previous Augsburg Confession, and we do not know any further advice about them after we have read them for the second time, but accept them as divine, Christian, and right, and wish to have them so freely confessed and publicly acknowledged before a council, and also before the whole world, even if it should come to that, and wish to ask God to give grace to our brother and us, and also to our descendants, so that we may persevere and remain in them continually and without wavering.

But as far as the dangers and journeys are concerned, which our country and people, as well as [other] 1) persons, might encounter because of this, [we want to] 1) turn them over to God, after he has said that the hairs on our heads are all numbered, and we may not lose any of them without his divine will: He will also, for the sake of the journey, ordain and make it well with our brother, with us and our children, with the land and the people, according to his divine will, to whom we will restore it to his will, for he has chosen us to be a prince. If it is his will, he will keep us well; but if it is not his will, no worrying about danger will help, because he will.

1) Added by us.

as it may please him well, to whom we have commended it, and in your prayers and the prayers of other Christians.

For the sake of the pope, we have no hesitation at all in opposing him most vehemently. For if we, out of good opinion and for the sake of peace, as M. Philip claims, 2) let him remain a lord who has authority over us and our bishops, pastors, and preachers, we would put ourselves on the road and in trouble, because he would not rest, and his descendants would not rest from completely destroying and exterminating us and all our descendants, which we do not need at all, because God's word frees and redeems us from it. With our wisdom, and since we have once been freed from our Babylonian imprisonment by God, and have again put ourselves in such danger, thus tempting God, God should impose this on us, which will otherwise remain without any doubt. We have not wished to restrain you from this in your gracious opinion, and hope that our God will grant you grace, strength and health, so that you may make the journey with us towards Schmalkalden, and subsequently help to make these and other things right and bring them to a good end. Date.

Sunday after *Trium Regum* [7 Jan.] 1537. to Dr. Luther.

No. 2334.

(Strasbourg.) January 15, 1537.

Strasbourg to Luther.

(Regest.)

The people of Strasbourg declare that they have accepted the Concordia; the communication about it, however, had been delayed so long because they had waited for the receipt of the answers of the other cities, which they send herewith.

From the city archives of Strasbourg, *Thes. Baum*, printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 288.

No. 2335

Strasbourg. 18 January 1537.

The Strasbourg clergy to Luther.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 2136.

2) Next to his signature on the Schmalkaldic Articles.

No. 2336.

Strasbourg. 19 January 1537.

Capito and Bucer to Luther.

(Regest.)

They send the signatures to the Concord and excuse the delay in a longer version with the difficulty to convince the Swiss churches. Judgment on the Basel Confession.

From a copy at Gotha, *Cod. chart.* 185, p, 624, compare with *Thes. Baum*, printed in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 290.

No. 2337.

(Wittenberg,) January 27, 1537 [? 1543]. 1)

To his son Johann.

Luther praises his son Johann for the diligence he has shown so far and exhorts him to continue. At the same time, he allows him to visit his mother and siblings during the upcoming Shrovetide holidays.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. 402, *fol.* 185. 4. from an old manuscript in Schelhorn's Ergötzlichkeiten, vol. II, p. 42; from the Schmid collection at Helmstädt in Schütze, vol. III, p. 34; from Schelhorn in *StrobeI-Ranner, p.* 259 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 46. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1453 f.

Grace and peace in the Lord! So far, my dearest son, I have enjoyed your studies and the letters you have written to me. If you continue in this way, you will not only do something pleasant for me, as your father, who loves you, but it will also benefit you most that you do not seem to be out of sorts, therefore see to it that you diligently continue what you have begun. For God, who commanded that children should be obedient to their parents, has also promised blessings to obedient children. See to it that you have this blessing solely in mind, and do not let yourself be distracted from it by any evil examples. For the same God has also threatened the disobedient children with a curse. Fear therefore God, who blesses and curses, who, though he pardons his promises and his threats to the destruction of the wicked, yet quickly turns them to the

1) About this time determination De Wette says: Probably this letter belongs to a later time, when Johann studied in Torgau, where he came in August 1542. Because in the year 1537 he was only 10-1/2 years old, and Luther had still in the year 1539 the M. Franciscus (Great) as court master of his children in the house.

The salvation of the good is fulfilled. Therefore, fear God and listen to your parents, who surely only want the best for you, and flee shameful and dishonorable conversations. Your mother greets you from the bottom of her heart, as does "Muhme Lehna," and likewise your sisters and brothers, all of whom also expect a happy course of your studies and a good end to them. Mother has ordered that you greet the teacher and his wife. Then, if they wish to be here with you, either at Shrovetide or during the merry holidays, it may be, since I am absent in the meantime. "Muhme Lehna" begs it very much. Farewell, my dear son, and learn and listen to the memories of good people. May the Lord be with you. Given on the Saturday after Paul's conversion [Jan. 27] 1537 [1543]. 2) Luther,

your biological and spiritual father.

No. 2338.

January 30, 1537.

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Duke reports: Hans von Kreuz, whom he had sent to Luther in order to dissuade him from the intended vehement writing Against Cardinal Albrecht of Mainz, had delivered Luther's answer to him: that he could not answer for this before God, because the Cardinal was not only after the goods of the Protestants, but also after life and limb; that he, however, wanted to behave milder, if the Duke and others wanted to resist such activity. Thereupon the Duke asks him not to hurry the matter, and beforehand to admonish the Cardinal in secret in a Christian manner 2c.

A detailed excerpt is found in J. Voigt, Mittheilung aus der Correspondenz des Herzogs Albrecht mit Luther 2c. Königsberg 1841, p. 3. above regest with Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 296.

No. 2339.

Altenburg. I. February 1537.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther writes on the journey to Schmalkalden about the convention to be held there.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 234, printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 35 and (comparing *Cod. Helmst.* 85 at Wolfenbüttel) in De Wette, vol. V, p. 47.

2) Compare letters No. 2973 and 2974.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Although I believe, my best Jonas, that this will come to you somewhat slowly, I still wanted to indicate that we hope that you will be healthy again from the stone at this hour, and that our prayers will be heard. The rumor repeatedly comes to us here that the most holy legate, namely that of Aix 1) is taking his way from Nuremberg straight to our prince. This is written to the Prince from Coburg, who has answered them that, if he should come, they should instruct him to go to Schmalkalden. There he will be expected, if his arrival is true. If, I say, his coming is true, he comes, no doubt, not from fear of the Turk, but by the Turk's advice and mediation, to desire help 2c. For what else are the Lutherans but sheep for the slaughter; not otherwise than when these raging murderers may be in need of their aid? But we shall see. The Chancellor of the Emperor, Doctor Matthias Held, will also be there, and perhaps this meeting will be greater than was believed on both sides. God grant that it may be a proper concilium.

There is here a canon of Zeitz, but a renegade from his order, because he has taken a wife; who swears and assures, as much as he can, that there will be more learned men at this meeting than even (if it should take place) at the Council of Mantua. This I write to comfort you. For the desire for you 2) is extraordinary. Farewell and visit mine, and also Pomeranian Rome with its little whorls. We are healthy and cheerful, yes, we are being kept splendidly by the Prince, since we have been entertained in his castles at Grimma and Altenburg, and provided for in the best way. For we hoped that only old Pylades and Theseus 3) would be our guests. Therefore, in our own way (as you know), we played our joke on him in verse. I send here mine, M. Phi

1) *Aquensem*, that is, *Peter Vorstius*, bishop of Aix.

2) *Instead of tuum* we have assumed tut.

3) This refers to Spalatin; but why he calls him Theseus is not clear to me (De Wette).

lippus his too, as a Homer, of course. But my childish 4) verses are these:

Ut tua sunt Christo gratissima facta, Georgi, Sic sit grata cohors haec peregrina tibi.
Tendimus ad celebrem pro nostro Chalcida coetu.
Magna Dei cogit causa per istud iter.
Tu quoque tantarum pars magna, vir optime, rerum,
Nobiscum venies duxque comesque viae.

[How thy deeds, George, are well pleasing to the Lord.
So please you, too, this crowd of strangers. After the famous Schmalkald 5) we go to our assembly.
God's cause is great, it compels the journey there.
Werther Mann, you too are heavily involved in this,
Come thou with us, a head and companion at the same time. 6)]

On the first of February, at Altenburg, at eight o'clock in the evening. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

No. 2340.

Jnsbruck. 1 February 1537.

King Ferdinand to Luther.

(A fake letter.)

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1995, no. 1231.

No. 2341.

(Schmalkalden.) February 9, 1537.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther writes about the state of affairs in Schmalkalden and about his health.

Handwritten at Gotha in *Cod. chart.* From the collection of Caspar Sagittarius at Jena in Schütze, Vol. III, p. 37 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 49.

4) Instead of: "*cherili* (?)" we have assumed *pueriles.*

5) *Chalcida* is an allusion to the church assembly in the city of Chalcedon, to which the newer city of Schmalkalden is compared. Addition by Aurifaber: *Erit Chalcedon Schmalkaldiae et tertium Chalcedonense Concilium*. (De Wette.)

6) The last words can also be given like this: "a duke and count on the way". Perhaps the ambiguity is intended.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have wanted to write to you, my dear Jonas, while there is still leisure, for afterwards we will be compelled to act here and to let ourselves be acted upon, and there is no hope that we will set out from here before Lätare [March 11], so that a great multitude of affairs and people will flow together from all sides. Many think that not so many learned men will come together even at the Concil at Mantua, although 1) there may come many more mules, asses, and horses, which also carry very large asses and horses as riders, as it is written (according to the quotation of Peter Balbinus) [Ps. 32, 9]: "Be not as horses and mouths that have no understanding." Yesterday the Landgrave and the Duke of Wurtemberg entered with great pomp; today the princes are in secret consultation; meanwhile we have leisure and write to you. What will be done, or will happen, I can neither know nor guess. Yesterday Spalatin preached, today I preached before the princes in the parish church, which is so large and high that the voice of both of us would have been like that of a shrew. The place and the air are wholesome, and we are quite at ease. You alone are lacking, who would also watch and wish to fall into the eyes among so many excellent men. Yesterday I suffered at the stone, but it passed off painlessly by dark (*nigram*) urine, so that it itself did not know that it was a stone (namely, so it is crushed to an actual liquid), and also I did not notice the secret guest before the excretion; therefore I would rather that it be and remain in such a way a secret (*clanculum)* than a stone (*calculus*). Now if your *calculus* also became a *clanculus*, that would be something we would like to grant you, and about which you would be pleased. The Roman legate has traveled from Weimar to Halle to see the Cardinal, perhaps unwilling that he has not been granted an interview with the Prince, for he has not yet let himself be seen here; nor is there much interest in the fact that the Papal

1) In the text: *quod si*; De Wette proposes *nisi*; we have assumed *etsi.*

...and the hopeful ride rumbles on. I have nothing further to write. Greetings to Mr. Joh. Agricola "with his Grickel", whose box it is, as we assume, that we found here in the wagon, as it was unloaded, filled with powders and small cloths. Let this be known to us, lest we take strange goods from here with us. I also believe that you have messengers to us through the captain, if his grace and humility would have it. Greet yours and yours all. Friday after Agatha [9 Feb.] 1537.

M. Luther.

And you at the same time with Dr. Cruciger pray and see to it that we are prayed for.

No. 2342.

Schmalkalden. 14 February 1537.

To Justus Jonas.

Similar content as the previous letter.

From the Gözische Sammlung at Osnabrück in Schütze, Vol. III, p. 39 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 50.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Justus Jonas, Dr. of theology and exceedingly faithful servant of God, his brother who is very dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Yesterday I wrote to you, my dear Jonas, namely, on the day before Valentine; 2) today I write again, on the day of Valentine itself, since the messenger 3) has departed. St. Valentine began to heal me that night, and made me well (*valentulum*) 4) from the stone; not, of course, that Valentine who is the idol of those who fall, but the true and proper Valentine who makes blessed those who hope in him. Therefore I have hope that at last by his grace I shall be healed.

It is now the eighth day that we are stuck here, or rather in limbo; all are tired and weary of this place and this stay, and desire to return. For here we are nothing but an idle heap. The for-

2) This letter is missing.

3) Instead of *invitus* we have assumed *nuntius.*

4) Luther plays here with the name Valentine, attaching to it here and hereafter an appellative meaning, from *valere, to* be healthy, and to understand a health-maker.

The cities and towns are about other things than we have thought of, even without us. May Christ prosper their counsels and their undertakings.

Dr. Benedict and Dr. Bleikard 1) have become very bitter enemies of the pope. Ei! how they miserably tear him to pieces by his own decrees 2c.; of which verbally. The Emperor's legate arrived yesterday. Doctor Held 2c. may be heard to-day. We are beggars here. With the Landgrave and your Duke of Würtemberg we eat bread (for these have the best bakers and breads), with the Nurembergers we drink wine. From the court we receive meat dishes and fish. But I have learned from you as a teacher that solid and heavy bread causes the stone; perhaps I must also learn this. But such is the bread of the court and of this market. They have very good trout (*variolos*), 2) but they boil them together in water with the rest of the fish, with the same broth. "O funny food!" Therefore I use to demand them alive "from the" cooks "in the world" 2c., 3) and we hand them over to the Nuremberg kitchen to cook them. Our prince does indeed take care of everything, and commands that it be given to us and prepared for us most carefully, but it is broken off and put to shame by the suffetiers, the meliers, the netiers, and the leetiers, 4) after the manner of the court. Besides, I have nothing to write. Be well in the Lord, and pray for us. From Chalcis, 5) on the day of St. Valentine [14 Feb.] 1537.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2343.

(Schmalkalden.) In February 1537.

Concerns about the advertised Concil.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. XVI, 1997, no. 1232.

1) Pauli and Sindringer, princely counsellors.

2) In this spelling the word is not lexically traceable; but *fario* is trout.

3) Luther had once asked his son Johann, who would be the most unclean cook in the world? and he had answered in the presence of several friends: a cook in the world. (Sagittarius.)

4) Fictitious names to denote the great ones at court.

5) See No. 2339 towards the end.

No. 2344.

(Wittenberg,) February 17, 1537.

To Jakob Meyer, Mayor of Basel.

Luther testifies his joy at the accession of the Swiss to the Wittenberg Concord, which had been decided at Basel on Nov. 12, of which Luther received news in Schmalkalden.

The original is in *Bibl. Brem., Class*. IV, p. 907; reprinted in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 54 f. and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 55, p. 172.

To the honorable, prudent Mr. Jakob Meyer, Mayor of the City of Basel, my dear Lord and generous friend.

Grace and peace in Christ! Honorable, prudent, dear Lord and friend. I have received and heard all of your writing, along with other writings, including those of the Confederates, and have almost happily and gladly noted your diligence and earnestness in promoting the Gospel of Christ. May God Almighty henceforth give us more and more grace, so that we may all agree together in true unity and in certain unanimous doctrine and opinion, as St. Paul says, that we should all with one heart and one mouth praise God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and forgive and bear with one another, just as God the Father forgives and bears with us in Christ Jesus. Now it is no wonder, since we are still living in the flesh, that both ours and yours may be suspicious of each other, since we have not discussed this matter in jest or invective, but in earnest, and have disagreed with each other, as they have disagreed and disagreed about no frivolous matter: That here it will be necessary, in addition to the duty of Christian love, to forget the pranks and pains, and to strive all the more earnestly again for unity, be it with patience, litter, good conversation, and by whatever means it can and may be done, but especially with heartfelt prayer to God, the dear Father, who is the Father of all unity, comfort, and love. For this reason I again ask most sincerely that you will faithfully persevere with yours, and help that they will all help to calm, glimpse, and promote things for the best. It should also not be up to us

and we also do our utmost to this end, not allowing ourselves to be moved by all kinds of writings and speeches, and everything is very quiet in our N. B. pulpit and among the people; only that yours do not scare away the resting birds, but also faithfully help to make peace with us. The cause will not send itself in us, but we must send ourselves in the cause: then God, who initiates such things, will also be present and graciously accomplish them. Hereby commanded by God, amen. Greetings to me Ern 1) Joachim Vadian and Dr. Wolf Capito. I have not been able to write to everyone now, for I [am] a useless person all day today at the tiresome Calculo. Saturday, after *Valentini* [17 Feb.] 1537. Martinus Luther.

No. 2345.

Schmalkalden. 25 February 1537.

To Aegidius Mechler, preacher at Erfurt.

Luther resisted him to leave Erfurt at the call of Count Albrecht of Mansfeld.
From the Schmid collection at Helmstädt in Schütze, vol. III, p. 40 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 56.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Aegidius, minister of the Word at the church of Erfurt, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Johann Lang has explained to me that you, my dear Aegidius, will be called away from Erfurt by Count Albrecht, but I ask you for Christ's sake not to leave the church in Erfurt, especially in this precarious situation of the times, since I do not know where it will end, since God is thinking of wonderful things. It is a short time in which one will see what this monstrous mountain 2) of the advertised Concilium will give birth to. If it should bring forth a ridiculous mouse, of course you would not want to have left that place; but if it should give birth to mountains or hills, again you would rather want to have persevered. I know what I am saying, and it will then remain the same place that you were in.

1) "Ern" put by us instead of: "Eur".
2) De Wette has *Mons ingens Concilii* 2c. separated from the preceding by a full stop.

and a much better one. In the meantime Christ will take care of your poverty and make you rich afterwards. If thou hast borne so many years what thou hast borne, bear it another half year or a whole year; then either I will call thee away (if I remain alive), or others will do it, if Erfurt will not treat thee differently. Fare well and pray for me, and even more for the cause of God. From Schmalkalden, February 25, 1537.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2346.

Tambach. 27 February 1537.

To Melanchthon in Schmalkalden.

Luther's stone disease had worsened greatly, so he asked to be taken away from Schmalkalden. This happened on February 26. When he arrived in Tambach in the evening, the strong movement of his body had brought about a relief, of which Luther informed Melanchthon in the night at 3 o'clock by this letter.

The original, which Melanchthon will have sent to Vadian, is in St. Gall in Vadian's library, in Vadian's collection of letters, Vol. IV, p. 176. From the Schmid collection at Helmstädt in Schütze, Vol. III, p. 42. From a copy of the original in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 57.

"To my dearest Magister Philippo Melanchthoni."

Praise be to God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercy and of all comfort, my dearest Philip, who at this second hour of the night took pity on your prayers and tears, and opened my urinary tract and bladder, in fact quite unconscionably, since I got up (as you know) to make a futile attempt. Barely a quarter of this hour had passed, and urine has come out almost eight times, each time more than a nösel (*sextans* == *pint*), so that I have already let out more than a *fullKamle(cantharum* == *gallon*). So even the joy compels me to count this water, which is otherwise so exceedingly bad, but exceedingly precious to me. Therefore I did not want to delay you any longer. "Want 3) to report all this to my most dear and gracious lord and to tell the others about it.

3) The original should read: "wool".

all of them. For I have experienced how gladly they would have helped me. Now, as God wills, to death or life, so I am still ready, because I have not only come out of the shaft into solid land, but have also received the grace that I have the silver spring again. For it confidently penetrates that I have also written this letter (albeit almost hastily)," alternately urinating and writing. Other things will be reported orally by this cheerful messenger Schlaginhaufen (*Ochloplectes*), who could not be held back that he should not have flown to you. Give thanks with me to the Father of grace and of all good, and pray that the dear God may accomplish His work. Even by this example let us learn to pray, and to dare to hope for help from heaven. "Keep you all God and" tread Satan under your feet with his allies, the monsters of the Roman court, Amen. About the middle of the third hour of the night. 1537, from Tambach, the place of my blessing, for this is my Pniel (*Phanuel*) [Gen. 32:30.], in which GOtt appeared to me.

Your Martin Luther.

Pestis eram vivus, moriens ero mors tua, Papa. [1])

Hospes, ab Hassiacis, quantum potes, aufuge lectis.

[Living, O pope, thy pestilence, dying I'll bring thee death.
Stranger, what you can, escape the
Hessian beds]

No. 2347.

Gotha. 27 February 1537.

To his housewife.

Luther reports to her from Gotha the same as to Melanchthon in the previous letter.

Handwritten in *Cod. chart.* 402. f. at Gotha. Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 373; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 1073; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 149; in Walch, vol. XXI, 392; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 58 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 174.

Grace and peace in Christ! Thou mayest meanwhile hire special horses for thy need.

1) According to Mathesius' report, Luther made this verse in 1530. See St. Louis edition of Mathesius, p. 303 f.

dear Käthe, for my gracious lord will keep your horses and send them home with M. Philipp. For I myself left Schmalkalden yesterday from M. G. H.'s own carriage. The reason for this is that I have not been well for more than three days, and up to this night, from the first Sunday [Feb. 18] onwards, not a drop of water has left me, I have never rested nor slept, and have not been able to drink or eat. In sum, I have been dead, and have entrusted you and the children to God and to my good Lord, as if I would never see you again. Now one has prayed so hard for me to God that many people's tears have been able to make God open my bladders this night, and in two hours a roomful has passed from me, and I think I have been born again.

Therefore, give thanks to God, and let the dear little children with their mothers give thanks to the right father; for you would certainly have lost this father. The pious prince has run, ridden, fetched, and with all his might tried his utmost, whether I might be helped; but it has not been willing. Your art does not help me with the dung. God has done wonders for me this night, and is still doing so through the intercession of pious people.

I write this to you because I believe that my most gracious lord has ordered the bailiff to send you to meet me, since I am dying on the way, so that you may talk to me or see me first; which is now not necessary, and you may well stay at home, because God has helped me so abundantly that I promise myself to come to you happily. Today we are in Gotha. I have otherwise written four times, and I am surprised that nothing has come to you. Tuesday after Reminiscere [27 Feb] 1537. Martinus Luther.

No. 2348.

Gotha. 28 February 1537.

Luther's First Testament.

The original in Bugenhagen's own handwriting, written in Gotha on February 28, is in the joint secret state archives in Weimar. Bugenhagen later provided it with the inscription: "Confession and Testament of our most revered father Dr. Luther, to

Gotha in the week after Reminiscere, at night, since he could not hope to live to day with the decline of his physical strength. With me Pomeranus alone. For others were not admitted." Beneath this Bugenhagen remarked, "That the most illustrious Elector of Saxony 2c., my most gracious lord, might see this, I, Johann Bugenhagen, Pomeranian, D., have written [this] with my hand 1537, on the day after the Octave after Easter" [9, Aprils. In Schütze, Vol. III, p. 53; in Groschii Vertheidigung, p. 34; German in Keil's "Lebensumständen Dr. Luther," Vol. III, p. 99; from Bugenhagen's manuscript in Förstemann's Neue Mittheilungen, Vol. VIII, Heft 1,1846, p. 23 and in De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p.184f.

"I know, praise be to GOD, that I have done right, that I have stormed the papacy with GOD's word. For it is the blasphemy of God, of Christ, and of the gospel. 2c."

Pray for me to my exceedingly dear Philip (*Philippulum*), Jonas, and Cruciger, that they may forgive me whatever I have sinned against them.

Comfort my Käthe that she may bear this for having been happy with me for twelve years. She has served me not only as a wife, but also as a servant. May God reward her! But you will take care of her and the children as much as you can.

Give my regards to the deacons of our church. "The pious citizens of Wittenberg have often served me."

Tell our Elector and my Lord Landgrave in my name that they should not be alarmed by this and similar cries of the adversaries: "They rob the spiritual goods," 2c. because they do not rob in the same way as certain other people. For I see that by these goods they supply that which pertains to religion. Moreover, if any of these goods come to them, who should rather take it? It is to the princes that such things come, not to the papal scoundrels. Command them in my name that, trusting in GOD, they should confidently do everything for the cause of the Gospel that the Holy Spirit inspires them with; I do not prescribe to them the manner. May the merciful God strengthen them so that they may remain in this right doctrine and give thanks that they have been delivered from the Antichrist. I have earnestly commanded them to God in prayer, and I hope that He will preserve them so that they will not again give place to papist impiety. For though they are sinners in some things, and not sinners in others
pure in all things, and even if the adversaries reproach or perhaps accuse them of this, yet let them trust in the goodness of the Lord. For this is nothing in comparison with the ungodliness, the blasphemies, the spitefulness, the murderous deeds 2c. of the antichristic adversaries, from which the divine mercy has delivered them. Therefore let them be strong, and continue in the name of the Lord.

I am ready to die now, if the Lord wills. But I would like to live until Pentecost, so that I may accuse this Roman beast 1) and its empire even more severely before the world with a public writing. This I will do if I live; I will have no need of a spur. Otherwise others will come after me who will act even more roughly against that beast, even though I too will act somewhat roughly in certain matters if I live.

Hereupon I commend my soul into the hands of the Father, and of my Lord JEsu Christ, whom I have preached and confessed on earth.

No. 2349.

Gotha. 1 March 1537.

Luther's speech to Bucer and Wolfhardt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 586. table-talks, cap. 19, §42.-This writing has been made into a letter both by Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth. lib.* III, §22, pag. 62, and also De Wette, vol. IV, p. 344, made it a letter, but it is an oral speech, as Mathesius (St. Louis edition, p. 196 f.) also testifies. De Wette has the date: "29 Feb. 1532," which Seidemann has already corrected in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 483, note 4.

No. 2350.

Schmalkalden. (March 3) 1537.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Answer to No. 2346: Joy about Luther's improvement. The Emperor's Ambassador has not yet received an answer, nor the Pope's Nuncio. The Duke of

1) Hence N. Ericeus relates in the *Sylvula*, *pag.* 202 d: "Testament of Luther, which he made to the pope." When the doctor at Schmalkalden was so seriously ill that no hope of life remained, and he now departed, he said this to the brethren as his last words: "When the pope casts off his crown, and descends from the chair and the primacy, and confesses that he has erred and corrupted the church, then we will receive him into our church. Otherwise he will always be the Antichrist to us. (Seidemann.)

Würtemberg admired Luther's courage that he had dared to leave in the face of such a serious illness, and thought of leaving himself, because he had been ill for eight days. Melanchthon was extremely saddened, especially because no help for Luther could have been procured there, and he had also noticed that mistakes had been made in the medical treatment 2c.

Transcript in *Cod*. *Mehn*. III, p. 66 d. Printed in *Select. epist.*, p. 31; *Epist*. *lib*. I, p. 28 (*edit. Lond., lib. I*, *ep*. 22) and in *Corp. ref.* vol. III, 299.

To Dr. Martin Luther.

Hail! With all my heart I give thanks to God, the Father of mercies, and to our Lord Jesus Christ, our High Priest, who represents us and has compassion on our weaknesses, because he has begun to alleviate the danger of the great sickness. For I rejoice with all my heart, both for your sake and for the sake of the commonwealth, that you have come to life again, and this joy is increased by the fact that we have seen an example by which God has clearly testified that he graciously looks upon this church of ours. Here all the princes and other good men's faces and meetings were more cheerful after your letter was brought, indicating hope for life. They acknowledge that through your ministry the light of the gospel has been brought to light again, and recognize that they owe this to you, but at the same time they foresee how great harm the church would receive if you were snatched away from us. Therefore it is the wish of all of them that you remain with us for a long time, and they thank God that he has called you back to life, as it were, in the midst of death. And I hope that this joy may be pleasant to GOtte, and thanksgiving, because by many persons grace is acknowledged against us in many ways thankful [2 Cor. 1, 11.]

I pray to God through our Lord Jesus Christ that He may restore you completely and make you well. Here the deliberations have not yet ended concerning the answer to be given to the emperor's orator to his disputation, which he has made in an exceedingly harsh manner about the earlier answer. Therefore, the papal nuncio has also not yet received an answer. The Duke of Würtemberg praises the greatness of your courage, that you have dared to set out on your journey in such an illness, and have slipped out of this cave. He says that he will follow your example, for he has been ill for more than eight days and has decided to leave tomorrow. Christ grant that I may see thee shortly unharmed, and restored to good health.

1) I have been in the greatest [soul] suffering, and these were increased by the bad circumstance (*indignitas) that* we could not provide you with help in this place. I was also tormented by several medical mistakes, by which, as I perceived, the illness was increased. Therefore, it is impossible to say how much suffering I have been plagued with. I am not yet entirely freed from worry. But if it was urinary compulsion through constipation, I hope that all danger has already been averted, but if through the mass (*mole*) of the stone, I hope that it will diminish, and you will have, by God's grace, a wise and reliable physician, and I wish that God will assist him. Farewell. At Schmalkalden 1537.

No. 2351.

(Wittenberg,) March 21, 1537.

To Spalatin.

Luther gives him news of his recovery.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a, fol.* 354. Printed by *Buddeus*, pag. 255 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 59. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1276.

To the highly famous and valuable man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, Archbishop of the Churches in Meissen, his extremely dear brother.

Grace and peace in Christ! At last I am writing, my dear Spalatin, after I have now spent so many days resting with my pen on the Sabbath; I am gradually recovering, thanks be to God, and am learning anew to eat and drink, even though my thighs and knees and bones are wavering and are not yet able to support my body firmly. The exhaustion of my strength is greater than I would have believed, but I will take care of myself through rest and other refreshments until I regain my strength through God's help. My Lord Käthe sends you her respectful greetings, and she is sorry that she did not bring anything for your daughters as a gift, but she has books sent to her.

1) Burkhardt (p. 276) summarizes the following in his regest as follows: "Melanchthon could not give good news of his own well-being. This seems to us to be erroneous.

2) In this meaning (but not of his physical suffering) Melanchthon uses the word äolor also in his letter to Agricola, 6orp. Hek., III, 328, where he speaks of the same thing.

which she hath resolved to send in remembrance. In the meantime she prays that thou mayest look upon her grateful and ready good will. For she praises exceedingly thy exceeding kindness and benevolent friendliness. Fare well in Christ and pray for us. Wednesday after Gertrude [21 March] 1537.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2352.

(Wittenberg,) March or later 1) 1537.

Luther's testimony that he is still alive.

To Hall im Innthal the rumor had come from Italy that Luther had died, and his epitaph was written in German, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin script. The papists were very pleased about this. Since many were saddened by this news, a messenger was sent from there to get a copy of this inscription. But when the messenger found Luther alive, he said to him, "Because I find your visibility alive, I beseech you to give me a writing from your grave, that I may comfort the pious people who are grieved." Doctor Martin said with a smile, "That is a wonderful thing; I have not yet written one of my days of my burial"; and at last he wrote the following: (*Loesche, Analecta Lutherana, et Melanchthoniana*,, p. 239, No. 367.)

This letter is found in Walch, vol. XXI, 1595; in *Bindeseil, Colloquia,, tom. III, p. 171*; in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 65, p. 221; in Kummer, p. 330 b (Lauterbach, p. 203; *Serapeum* 1870, p. 174); in Loesche I. c., p. 239; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 193 2c. We give the text after *Bindeseil*.

I, Doctor Martin Luther, confess with this manuscript of mine that I am of one mind with the devil, the pope, and all my enemies. For they would gladly have me die, and I grudge them such joy from the bottom of my heart, and would gladly have died in Schmalkalden, but God has not yet wanted to confirm such joy. But He will do so, before they think, not to greater 2) happiness, and will sing one day: Oh, that Luther were still alive! 3) This is the transcript from my grave German, Greek, Latin, Hebrew.

1) Only about the end of August Spalatin had informed the Elector that such a request had been made. Cf. No. 2377.
2) This is Loesche's reading; *binding rope*: "great".
3) The following can be found in Walch, in the Erlangen edition and in De Wette-Seidemann.

No. 2353.

Wittenberg. 6 April 1537.

To Duke Barnim of Pomerania, jointly with Bugenhagen.

About the dismissal of the preacher in Stettin, Paul von Rhoda, whom Luther and Bugenhagen had proposed as superintendent of the city of Lüneburg.

From a manuscript of the Gothaische Bibliothek in the Leipzig Supplement, p.81, No.145; in Walch, vol. XXI, 394; in the *Consil. Viteb., P. II, p. 50*; from the original in Dan. Cramer's Pomeranian Church Hist. *lib*. III, *cap*. 36; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 60, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 175.

Grace and peace from God through Christ our Lord. Most noble, highborn prince, gracious lord! To E. F. G.'s letter to us, as it has reached them, that M. Paul of Rhoda has promised before us to go from our lands to another place with service, which E. F. G. is not willing to permit for reasons given, and graciously request of us that we grant such permission to M. Paul, with our permission. Paulum of such permission, with gracious request to take the cause and burden from him: we do not know how to hold E. F. G. to a true report, that we neither advise the above-mentioned M. Paulum, nor do we ask him for a new service. Paulum, that he should turn away from the lands of E. F. G., but rather, before this time, several years have passed, instructed him with serious admonitions that he should remain in Stettin, so that the teaching of the Holy Gospel would not perish there, and also so that rebellion and other troubles, which might otherwise have occurred, would be prevented, that 4) up to now, he has also held himself in honor of the Gospel, and for the benefit of the city of Stettin, as benevolent. Although he often complained to us about his lack and distress, that it would be difficult for him to stay with them both in poverty and in the way, while the gospel was still persecuted, and especially because he often asked that good orders be made to order the churches, and after they had been made, 5) also that *execution and* follow-up be done, so that they would be put into practice, which remained so long, besides which he often promised, after he had been arrested with debts, to remedy his lack; but he said that he had not been able to do so.

4) "that" put by us instead of: "that".
5) "have been" put by us instead of: "would".

In vain he hoped for it, and in the end he let himself be heard many times that he wanted and had to go to another place, which we do not know how to blame him for, since there is none of us for whom it would not be too difficult to stay like this, both in poverty, driving and contempt. Because all this that M. Paul brought forward remained unheeded, he lastly, of which we knew nothing at all, before he was sent by E. F. G. to Schmalkalden, publicly requested and took leave, and told the city of Stettin to continue to serve, which he had good reason to do even after Christ's command in such contempt. Afterwards, when an honest legation was sent by the city of Lüneburg, which followed us from our absence in Wittenberg to Schmalkalden, and from the city now mentioned asked us to provide them with a superintendent, which they did four years ago, but we did not have such a person to give them until now; and after M. Paulus at Schmalkalden had presented his distress to us, and we know, as also E. F. G., in her letter, the testimony to him. in their letter give him the testimony that he has done enough in his office in a godly and Christian way, that the fault of his coming from Stettin was not with him, we also had no other person to report to those of Lüneburg, although we do not like to see that he has to hand over the city of Stettin: we have nevertheless let it happen, after he was now free, that he promised the city of Lüneburg, as we have also attributed this to them. But that E. F. G. write that they are not willing to let the much-mentioned M. Paulum leave them: we want to have reminded E. F. G. humbly, as E. F. G. can well consider from a high intellect how this could be excused, after the poor man M. Paulus has served so faithfully for so long. Paul served so long faithfully, also in the persecution of the Gospel in great driving, poverty and misery, and great diligence, counsel and help against sedition and other mischief to peace and unity, and E. F. G. and the Obr. F. G. and the authorities to obedience, as E. F. G. himself know better. That for such faithful service and diligence he should now be so stricken by E. F. G. that he should not turn away from E. F. G. lands, and should be guilty of such misery not only to his food, but also to the people,
but also burdening of the conscience that he feels no improvement with his own to suffer eternally: E. F. G. can well think that in this way not the least craftsman would move into E. F. G.'s country. F. G. land, let alone that a foreign preacher would want to come into the land of Pomerania.

Now the good man M. Paul has not done anything wrong, that he should be stopped against his will. Let E. F. G. graciously grant us this, for we know that E. F. G. has no evil opinion in this matter; nor can we blame E. F. G. that they would gladly keep such preachers in their country, if only it were done with them in such a way that they could remain. In addition, E. F. G. must also take into consideration that the oft-mentioned M. Paulus has never been obligated to E. F. G. with service or pay, but only E. F. G. city of Stettin. F. G. City of Stettin. Now it would be a disparity that they would want to give him leave if they wanted to, and he would therefore always have to sit idle and on the go, and should not in turn also have the power to take leave from them where his need requires it. But that E. F. G. to us to leave the accepted service is not our business; nor is it our business to change such promise, which he made before us to an honest legation; which we have neither advised nor ordered him to do, but since we have heard that he has taken leave from the city of Stettin and is now free, and since we have seen that he is inclined to join those of Lüneburg, we have had to allow and grant him that he improves, and have thus attributed this to the Council of Lüneburg for his sake. If, however, M. Paulus would be willing to remain with them upon improvement, as E. F. G. and the city of Stettin request, and E. F. G. or the city of Stettin would not be willing to do so. F. G. or the city of Stettin were to obtain from the city of Lüneburg that they release M. Paul from his promise: it would not be at all contrary to us, but would also be pleased about it, and would like it from the bottom of our hearts that the good city and E. F. G. would be with such a good city. F. G.'s whole country be provided with such and more good preachers. And in this case we are willing and ready, moreover, 1) that we also

1) In De Wette and after him in the Erlangen edition wrongly interpungirt: "ready to that, that" 2c.

to serve E. F. G. and others for the furtherance of the holy gospel of our fortune. G. and others for the advancement of the holy gospel of our fortune. E. F. G. shall provide this entirely to us, so that our final opinion is to serve E. F. G. and the city of Stettin, that we would like to see M. Paulus remain there, inasmuch as, as said, it would be too much for him to suffer; would also then, if he were to relinquish his promise from the city of Lüneburg, apply our diligence that they might be provided with another superintendent, although this has not yet been able to happen in the past four years. But we cannot know what M. Paul's intentions are for his person, for he has not written anything to us, so we will leave it up to him to decide what he wants to do. Summa, we place all this on E. F.'s high understanding, if M. Paul wants to remain willingly, as it is through E. F. G. or the city of Stettin, or also through our gracious Lord, the Prince of Lüneburg, whom E. F. G., who E. F. G., if it were deemed necessary, could use as a mediator in this matter, may be obtained from the city of Lüneburg that we do not break the promise which we made to the people of Lüneburg upon their request and M. Pauli's approval, so that this city does not complain about us as if we had made a promise which we did not keep. Hereby we command E. F. G. in God's grace, and E. F. G. to serve us we are. F. G. we are always willing and ready to serve. Date Wittenberg, Friday after *Pascha* [April 6] Anno 1537.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther, D., and subservient
Johannes Bugenhagen Pommer, D.

No. 2354.

(Wittenberg,) April 12, 1537.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther uses himself for a relative of his wife with Jonas as visitator that the house in which he lived be left to him.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 239, printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 43 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 63 f.

To the Archbishop Justus Jonas.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Paul von Rachwitz has been with me, whom you knew in Bitterfeld from a certain house, which, like
he says, formerly belonged to the *ecclesiastical* property (*ecclesiastica*), but has already been sold to the third heir, to free him, or rather, under return of the purchase price, to rob him, and asks that I intercede for him, so that he will not be forced to move away or to change the dwelling. I, however, although I know that you are acting with the utmost fairness, have, in order to do the man enough, wanted to ask for him whether the house could be left to him. Therefore I ask you to do with your fellow bishops what can be done permissibly. This compels me to ask somewhat cautiously that he be a relative of my wife and the husband of a certain nun, 1) so that it may not appear that I am seeking what is ours, yet I have not wished to evade even that which is recommended to me by such relations. Fare well in the Lord. Given on April 12, 1537; yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2355.

Torgau. 14 April 1537.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther and the other theologians and jurists.

(Regest.)

Order to consider the points and articles procured at Schmalkalden about the alleged concilium set up by Pope Paul and to inform the Elector soon with which answer one is to be heard.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, pag.* 124. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 277.

No. 2356.

Aalborg. 17 April 1537.

Christian III of Denmark to Luther.

(Regest.)

The king asks Luthern to pursue Bugenhagen's resettlement in Denmark. His preachers had written a church order and submitted it to him for review, which he sent to Luthern for his perusal, with reference to the controversial question among his German preachers as to whether the Lord's Supper should be served immediately or only after proper instruction in both forms.

From the *Cod. chart. bibl. rigens., No. 244, fol. 91,* communicated by Dr. Waltz, Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., II, 301. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 304.

1) The nun was a widower of the sex (Sagittarius).

No. 2357.

Strasbourg. 26 April 1537.

Capito to Luther.

(Regest.)

The rumor had spread among the Jews of Strasbourg that the Elector of Saxony, as a result of a crime committed by Jews, had expelled the Jews from his territory and forbidden them to travel through it under heavy penalty. Referring to the toleration practiced against the Jews in Strasbourg, Capito recommends a Jew, Joseph, who is respected in Alsace, and whose request for the withdrawal of this harsh prohibition Luther should support with the Elector.

From the *Thes. Baum*. reprinted in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 304.

No. 2358.

(Wittenberg,) May 21, 1537.

To Conrad Cordatus, pastor at Niemeck.

About Cordatus' call to *Eisleben* and his melancholy.

Handwritten by Aurifaber in his unprinted collection. Printed by Schütze, vol. III, p. 227 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 65. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1455.

Grace and peace in Christ! Your appointment to my hometown of Eisleben would please me very much, my dear Cordatus, for there you would be an effective opponent against Wicel, whom you hate with a vain, holy and just hatred; only you should go there first to take a look at everything; then you could leave Niemeck's corner, if it pleased you, without regret. What God has decreed would happen, and I would like to see it happen. Perhaps a more wholesome air would blow for you there than the swamp air here, since the air is purified day and night by so many fires.

I thank God that your health has returned. But, I beg you to curb your suspicion, which imagines I do not know how many illnesses. You know the saying: Imagination makes it come true (*Imaginatio facit casum*). Therefore thou must strive to strike the thoughts, not to take them up. For I also must do this. For our adversary the devil goeth about us, not only to devour the soul, but also to wear out our body with the thoughts of the soul, whether he might kill it, knowing that the health of the body is great.

partly depends on the thoughts of the soul, as it is said, "Good courage, half the body," and [Proverbs 17:22], "A sad courage dries up the bones, but a cheerful heart makes life merry." This I teach thee, although in the meantime I do not teach myself, as Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans [Cap. 2, 21.], pictures the Jews. Be well in the Lord. On the second day of Pentecost [May 21] Anno 1537. Martin Luther.

No. 2359.

(Wittenberg,) May 29, 1537.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercede for a prisoner.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N, pag.* 108. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 82, No. 146; in Walch, vol. XXI, 398; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 66, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 180.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

G. u. Fried 2c. and my poor *Pater Nöster etc*. Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! The good people of Wolf Schalreuter's imprisoned friendship ask that I write to E. C.F.G. on his behalf for mercy; as they also did to M. G. H. Duke Johanns Ernsten, whether eternal imprisonment was imposed on him, in order that such a journey as they report in their writing might be changed. But forgive me, E. C. F. G. will consider such causes graciously, and show themselves accordingly; for where it would have such true need, as they write, it has its opinion. But because I, often shrewd with evil things, have become stupid to ask, I still do not want to deny my service to poor people, where it is possible; such is the case in E. C. F. G. gracious concern, [and E. C. F. G. GOtte,] 1) of whose grace and spirit E. C. F. G. blessedly rule and keep, Amen. Tuesday after Trinity [May 29] 1537.

E. C. F. G. submissive M . Luther.

1) Added by us. De Wette notes: "Here Luther has omitted something in the distraction."

No. 2360.

(Wittenberg,) 3. June 1537.

To Mrs Dorothea Jörger.

Recommendation of St. Andrew Hill, who goes there as a preacher. Greetings from Michael Stiefel.

The original is in the city archives at Oedenburg in Hungary. Printed in the program of the public Protestant schools in Oberschützen 1860. 1861. (quarto) in an essay by Director Sillem, "Michael Stiefel, der erste evangelische Prediger im Erzherzogtum Oesterreich", p. 14 and in Burkhardt, p. 278.

Grace and peace in Christ. Noble, virtuous woman! Because he now intends to be of service to Andres, required by 1) you, I ask that you command him in favor; he is, as you know, a pious 2) man, and he cares that he might be there for a while, and drag you with him into the journey, but you will know well to advise him where need would arise. I have given him counsel of my understanding, where it may be that he shall so hold himself. Christ, our dear Lord, be with you and bless you and all yours in his holy work, amen. M. Stiefel has asked me, if I had writing to you, 3) that I should greet you almost very much for his sake and wish you his *pater noster.* It stands, praise God, well. Sunday after Trinity. [3 June] 1537.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2361.

(Witteuberg.) 4. June 1537.

To Friedrich Myconins in Gotha.

Luther asks to be used for a poor debtor and sends a disputation.

Handwritten in *Cod. chart. Goth*. 1048 and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 240. Printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 44 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 67.

Grace and peace in Christ! I commend this poor man to you, my dear Frederick, so that you may plead his cause with Johann von Gleichen or with the one at Remda, and ask in my name that he release him from the 10 florins by grace, if it is possible,

1) "of" put by us instead of: "in order to".
2) In the "program" "t," is displaced: it offers: "wisse eint, frommer". Burkhardt has made this printing error knowingly, because he notes: "so f. wisset ein".
3) We suppose: "thäte" (thette).

as you will see from the letters. The thing has not much on it and (as it seems to me) can be easily obtained if you press for it.

I send you my disputation, because we are here anew *creators of* doctors, and will at last one day also make you and Justus 4) doctors; you may remember this when the hour comes, which I have foretold. My Lord Käthe salutes thee reverently with thy rib, and pray for me. On the fourth of June Anno 1537.Yours Martin Luther, D.

No. 2362.

Brettin. 28 June 1537.

Severin Schultze to Luther.

He asks Luthern for intercession because of appropriate settlement from the monastery estates of Lichtenberg. - Accordingly, Luther addressed the next letter to the Elector.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ll, p.* 172. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 278.

Venerable, Respectable, Esteemed, Generous Lord and Patron! Your Eminence, I hope that you will remember that I petitioned you about a year ago in Wittenberg, in the presence of Heinrich Baumgart, a gardener from Lichtenberg, on account of my departure from Lichtenberg, that I, a poor man, who for sixteen years had been employed in the two houses in Lichtenberg and zur Eichen, and likewise on the farm for nine years, had not been given more than 20 bn. for an entire settlement. I have had to give the preceptor a prescription for this, but the others have received a hundred guilders in compensation. In addition, they have sold a golden head or credenza with a unicorn foot, which the old preceptor Goßwinus had given to the whole collection for a testament, as well as eight silver bowls, which are also the responsibility of the brothers of the convent; the golden head, as I have reported, was given for 200 fl. the same 200 florins and what they bought from the bowls, likewise several silver cups and spoons, all divided among themselves, and gave me poor man nothing at all of it, in spite of the fact that I was one of the chief abbot at Vienna and the old preceptor Goßwino,

4) Menius in Erfurt.

of which letters and seals I still have with me, I am bound to be provided for and preserved by the touched monastery property for the rest of my life. Thus, with truth, no other cause can be attributed to my low, unequal compensation than that I, according to God's gracious will, have turned to the holy Gospel first among them and, according to my need, have entered into matrimony, although I did not do so without the foreknowledge and advice of the Lord Preceptor, who then directed me to the High Angels in Wittenberg to ask them for advice in this matter, whereupon I dared to do so in the name of God, and was married. For this reason I ask E. E. as my generous Lord and dear Father in Christ JEsu, where it is possible for E. E. without any disadvantage with our G. H., the Elector, and also that it should be lawful with our Lord God, that E. E. would petition me, a poor man, against our most gracious Lord with a writing, that his Electors would help me, my poor wife and little children, of whom I have, praise God, six, two boys and four maidens, for their good and grace, and that I, without hindrance of my prescription, which I had to do to the Preceptor of the 20 Fl. 20, and that I may also receive as much as the other Lichtenberg brothers for payment, and thus help my children, as the boys to school, and the maidens, two of whom can read and write quite well, to be taught something else, and to provide a little house for them, in which they can live after my death, since I have not been able to buy so much in the parish here in Prettin, that I have bought [a] little house of my own, indeed, I have added 200 gulden; GOtte ordered. E. E. wanted to show goodwill in this, as much as possible, I will earn the same with my prayer to God and poor fortune quite willingly. Date thorn day after Johannis Baptistä [28 June] Anno 1537.

E. E. w[illiger] Severinus Schultze, pastor at Prettyn.

No. 2363.

(Wittenberg,) June 29, 1537.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther presents the request of Severin Schultze to the Elector. - The passage enclosed in square brackets in this letter is not in the original, as already noted by De Wette. Burkhardt. p. 280. reports that the note, which has quite different lettering from Luther's than the letter itself, was perhaps accidentally enclosed with the letter.
than the editors of the Leipzig Supplement and Walch saw him. - It is in it an intercession for the old locksmith at Beltitz. Therefore it will be wrong that Burkhardt l. c. refers "to the matter" from letter no. 2301, because there the debtor is Kunz Pfeilschmidt, Schösser zu Schweinitz, and the debt sum 400 fl.; whereas here the debtor is the Schösser zu Beltitz, and the debt 200 gulden. This Burkhardt himself confirms by his note p. 269. Whether the note belongs to the year 1537 is uncertain.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg Ll, p.* 172. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 82, No. 147 and in Walch, vol. XXI, 399; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 67 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 181.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen. Roman Empire Archmarshall and Elector 2c., Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

G. u. Friede in Christo und mein arm Pr. nr. etc. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I humbly inform E. C. F. G. what the pastor of Brettin has asked me to write to E. C. F. G. and to ask, as E. C. F. G. may hear from the enclosed letter 1) (which E. C. F. G. would like to have read). Now it is true that I have been to Lichtenberg, and have also heard vehement complaints against the good man, Dr. Reißebusch, and yet have known no way to advise in this; for I have heard from some that it is in vain that I should make intercession to him, when he should have received so much from the Lichtenberg monastery that it would be no harm to him to throw a hundred or six into the Rappuse among the brethren, and to satisfy [them] with it. Now it is also true that this priest has so many children and needs almost all of them. But since there is no other advice here than whether C. F. G. can help a little with the aforementioned Dr. Reißenbusch, I will humbly ask C. F. G. how C. F. G. wants to be done without difficulty, will graciously show himself. 2) Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. 3) [I also ask for God's sake, most graciously.

1) This is the previous letter that came into the Weimar archives in this way.

2) As we can conclude from Luther's letter to Reißenbusch of Nov. 25, 1537, the Elector himself did not settle this matter, but assigned it to Luther.

3) For the following piece we have used the improvements given by Burkhardt.

Lord, for I cannot get rid of the people from my neck. How great a load of writings else am I, I must have E. C. F. G. also complain. The old forester at Peltitz (Beltitz, Beltig), for whom I also wrote, 1) is here, and asks for God's sake that E. C. F. G. should leave it at the 200 fl., since he has surrendered with his life and property, so E. C. F. G. is not helped by his ruin. I also hear that he is claiming to E. C. F. G. that his property is worth 1600 fl., which a part of him admits to be missing by 1000 fl., yet E. C. F. G. has lost many a 1000 fl. in the past year to the damned godless service, and is still losing it daily, even in other minor matters, E. C. F. G. also wanted to lose such a small amount to this poor man, for the sake of Christian love. Is it not a strange thing that princes have gained wealth badly, and have been killed even worse; it is their way and fall ordained by God. E. C. F. G. look at his wife and child; methinks there is no guile under there, E. C. F. G. apply too hard]. Friday after St. John the Baptist [June 29] 1537.

E. C. F. G. undersigned Mart. Luther.

No. 2364.

(Wittenberg,) July 9, 1537.

To Johann Schreiner, pastor at Minima.

Luther is displeased with the high demands that the nobles make of the pastors.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 203; in the Jena (1562), vol. VIII, p. 378; in the Eisleben, vol.II, p.377.; in the Altenburger, vol. VI, p. 1110; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 566; in Walch, vol. XXI, 401; in the Innocent News 1738, p. 595; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 69, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 182.

To the worthy Mr. Magister Johann Schreiner, pastor at Grimm and superintendent, my favorable friend in Christ.

Gratiam et pacem in Christo. My dear magister and priest! Tell the nobles, where Spalatinus will not do it,

1) "wrote" put by us instead of "write". For "schreib" often stands for "wrote". Cf. Dietz, Wörterbuch zu Dr. Martin Luther's German Writings, p. XXIII.

and who they are, that mau cannot paint parish priests as they would like, and should thank God that they would like to hear the pure word written out of a book, because before times under the pope they had to hear vain devil's farts and filth, and pay dear enough. Who can create such begging service for the noblemen vain Doctor Martinus and M. Philippus? If they want to have vain Saint Augustine and Saint Ambrose, they can get them themselves. If a priest is sufficient and faithful to his Lord Christ, a nobleman who is a little less than Christ should also be satisfied. A prince must be content in his temporal government to find three pieces in the whole of his nobility, and to have patience with the other pieces. They want to have it all, but they themselves do not want to be, nor do they want to be, exquisite.

Such things ye shall do yourselves in your own circle, for without this we shall have no rest nor peace from the things of all lands. Let this letter come before princes and lords, or wherever you want, I do not care. *Feria 2. Post Kiliani* [9. July] Anno 1537. Martinus Luther.

No. 2365.

(Wittenberg,) July 9, 1537.

To Wolfgang Fabricius Capito.

About the publication of his works and about a gift to Luther's wife.

The original is at Strasbourg in the archives of the church convent. Printed by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 261 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 70. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1278.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Wolfgang Capito, Doctor of Theology, the extremely faithful servant in the church at Strasbourg, his brother who is very dear in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ. By these Frenchmen, my dear Capito, whom you recommended to me, I have wished to write again; perhaps they will tell what they have seen and heard themselves. With regard to the collection of my books in volumes, I am very unenthusiastic (*frigidior*) and disinclined (*segnior*), because, from a hunger equal to the

of Saturnus, 1) would rather wish that they were all devoured. For I acknowledge none of them as my right (*justum*) book, except for instance that of free will and the Catechism. But I have charged the matter to Dr. Caspar Cruciger, if anything is to be done. My intuition told me that you would labor greatly in this matter [of the Concordia, but at the same time I prayed that our Christ would not let you labor in vain. Others have sufficiently portrayed the Satan of Augsburg 2) to me, but we will wait for him who has begun his work; he will certainly come in his time and will not forgive, therefore we will not despair. For of you and Bucer I am convinced that you act truly and sincerely, and not only that, but I am also glad that all who write to me or speak orally have the same opinion of you when they think of you.

For the golden ring my Catharina thanks you, whom I have hardly ever seen more indignant than when she realized that it had either been stolen from her or lost through her carelessness (which is not likely, although I keep bringing it up), because I had assured her that this gift had been sent to her as a happy omen and foreshadowing that it was now certain that your church would be in sweet harmony with ours. I write this so that you may know that our hearts are fully and sincerely in the hope of harmony. Let Christ himself accomplish the thing, amen. But this I add: you will send nothing more to my wife, lest you make the sadness twofold, for Christ is enough for us on both sides.

Greet all yours and ours much, and bid them think the best of us, as we do of you. Let the Lord Jesus be the seal of this good will; to him be glory with the Father and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever, Amen. July 9, 1537.

Your Martin Luther.

1) Saturnus ate his own children, except Jupiter, Pluto, Neptune, Juno, Ceres, Picus 2c. He introduces time, which devours years, months, days 2c.

2) Probably the Zwinglian Michael Keller.

No. 2366.

(Wittenberg,) July 17, 1837.

To Justus Menius.

Intercession for Caspar Glatz, pastor in Orlamünde, who was in danger of losing his parish.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, in *Cod. Gud*. Printed from the Schmid collection at Helmstädt by Schütze, vol. III, p. 45 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 71.

To the highly respected man, Mr. Justus Menius, Visitator in Thuringia 2c.

Grace and peace in Christ! You, my dear Justus and Frederick Myconius, are visitators, and you are entrusted with the district of the churches in Thuringia. Therefore the testimony of every pastor and every church depends on you; for in vain is this desired of me, since I know nothing at all of these things. Therefore I refer to you Mr. Caspar Glatz, pastor at Orlamünde, who, I do not know for what cause, stated to the prince, is in danger because of his parish. Sighing and saddened, he asked me to see to it, if for nothing else, that he might be heard. I answered him: that is your office, and Frederick's. Therefore I beseech thee to help the cause of justice, and, according to thy office, to bring before the prince whatever testimony thou hast concerning the same, and as much testimony as thou canst. For as I would not that he should be unjustly condemned, so I would that his good confidence should be tested as to what he may obtain. Thou knowest that there is but one prince who will not knowingly and willingly be given empty words. I truly do not envy him his parish, nor do I wish him to be removed, especially since he promises that he will also offer a scholarship for a student in theology. Summa, what other things there may be that weigh him down, I know not. You know everything, and will be able to consult with Frederick in this matter. Fare thee well in the Lord. Tuesday after Margaret [17 July] 1537.

Your D Martin Luther.

No. 2367.

(Wittenberg,) July 26, 1537.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther exhorts the Elector not to be too lenient against M. Paul Heinz from Lübben, who is imprisoned because of his sacrilege.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, pag. 143. EEE* 9. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 83, No. 148; in Walch, vol. XXI, 402; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 72, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 183.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshal and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen. Roman Empire Archmarshall and Elector, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

G. and F. in Christo, also my poor *Pater Noster*. Most Illustrious, H. F., G. H.! I had well intended to spare E. C. F. G. with this writing, and let go of what is possible, on account of the imprisoned M. Paul, who, with his diabolical mistreatment, has created for us all an everlasting, unoppressive reproach, that we must everywhere be reviled as dog-burialists (although it has not been a dog). Now the jurists have also become merciful in the name of the pope (devil), but not over us, who must suffer such, and want to make the founder of such disgrace holy, over which we poor theologians are bloodthirstily driven away, so that I also (as I hope) have shown my mercy over many evildoers more than E. C. F. G. could often have suffered. Now the outcry is so great and growing that I am defending myself against the university with writing and words; if their mercy were lacking, and my concerns were all too true, then I would be excused, and afterwards in the pulpit I would know well how to hold my ground against such jurists.

1) Magister Paul Heinz von Lübben had married the widow of the Wittenberg physician Dr. Heinrich Stagmann, who brought a little son from the first marriage. Stagmann had left a house and some property. In order to obtain possession of the child's inheritance, the parents pretended in 1535 that the child had died of the then prevailing plague, and arranged a fictitious funeral, but they took the child to a farmer near Jüterbock. This came to light by the fact that the boy was brought back to Wittenberg on June 16, 1537. See *Rebenstock, colloquia, tom. II, fol.* 100 and 180; Tischreden, cap. 9, §44, St. Louis ed. vol. XXII, 374.

Because E. C. F. G., as the Prince of the country, is not interested in this, because it is an important matter: so I must show myself subservient to E. C. F. G., so that I may not afterwards be able to state to E. C. F. G. why I have kept silent at such a time; for I shall (as the whole town says) shout out at the top of the window and drop letters, one of which will be sent to me in the pulpit. why I have kept silent at such a time; for the knave shall (as the whole town says) be defiant, call out at the top of the window, and drop letters, one of which comes to me in the pulpit, in which he desires (though I did not know who the person was) that one should pray for a wretched man, who would be abandoned by all men, and no man would take care of him: this you deny (said I), for here am I and the Caplane 2c. And do the woman and her friendship great defiance, as if they had done no evil.

Therefore, in order to protect my conscience, as well as my loyalty to E. C. F. G., I humbly ask, if the matter against E. C. F. G. would be so holy and well done, that E. C. F. G. would provide a respite until E. C. F. G. himself comes here and learns the matter thoroughly; for he can well sit so long in such a sorry dungeon. E. C. F. G. would graciously grant me such a writing, I may be angry not without cause; but I would like that afterwards one may not say: Who would have meant that! and we must nevertheless have the slippers. My judgment is, what they have buried, that I let go; but because they have let their child be buried for a year and a half, and have kept silence, let them bury it and kill it, if the child may live to see Methusalah. E. C. F. G. wanted to consider this my writing for the coat, shirt or skirt, but nevertheless your selb honor and rumor beside the whole landscape, churches and community. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Thursday after Jacobi [26 July] 1537.

E. C. F. G. subservient Martin Luther.

(Wittenberg,) **2368.** ^7 July 1537.

To Friedrich Myconius in Gotha.

Congratulations on the birth of a son 2c.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 240, printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 46 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 74.

Grace and peace in Christ! I wish you happiness, my dear Frederick, that at last God has also given you a little child! I understand quite well, since you count seven daughters, how eagerly you also longed for and lovingly accepted a little son. I wish you renewed happiness, and pray that he may be preserved for you, and that he may surpass you, the father, in all gifts, amen. Since you boast that your constancy is praised by your magistrate, that you have denied me, who desired it, a grave in your diocese, I have at least in the meantime very often regretted that I have not been buried in your city. 1) For since I am restored to health, I see such things as I would not have seen had I been buried in God or in Gotha. But Christ, the victor over all, overcomes even this little evil. As there are more angels with us who believe, so there are more goods with us who see. For though all others have eyes, yet they see not the Lord, as Paul saith, 1 Cor. 2:[2]9. My lord Käthe greets thee, and also wishes thee happiness for the son that is born; but she warns that thou mayest abstain from the milk of the son, and leave the mother alone until the son is weaned from the milk. The other thou shalt understand as a husband, though she also despairs that thou wilt obey her request. Fare well in the Lord.

I would like you, after you have investigated everything, to publish a book about the history of Erfurt, because this matter is for the glory of Christ and the comfort of many, not to mention that it will frighten the monsters of the pope. Friday after Jacobi [July 27] Anno 1537. Yours M. Luther.

(Wittenberg.) No. **2369.** August 1537.

To Coban Hesse.

Luther thanks him for the sent poetic Latin translation of the Psalter and praises it, but even more the Psalter itself.

1) Luther speaks here of the time when he had left Schmalkalden because of his stone sickness and had received relief at Tambach, but was still in great danger of his life at Gotha on February 27 and the following days. See the letters No. 2347, 2348 and 2349.

2) In the issues: 1 Cor. III.

Handwritten at Gotha, *Cod.185.4*. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 256 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 74 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1280.

To the most famous poet of our time, who is both godly and chaste, Mr. Eoban Hesse, his exceedingly dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in our Lord Jesus Christ, amen. I have received your Psalter, Eoban of great renown, and in the Lord exceedingly dear brother, which was given to me in your name. And with the greatest pleasure I have read it, am reading it, and will always read it, so pleasant is your work to me, which has been spent on this book, which is exceedingly dear to me. I give you the greatest possible thanks that through your so kind, so godly muses I have been allowed to see this royal, divine, and among the Hebrew most excellent poem made into a Latin one. For I also greatly praise the efforts of all others who have put their toil into translating, explaining, and embellishing this poem, even though they may not attain everything somewhere, for not all of us can do everything; with the exception of those [whom I do not praise], 3) who bring us the Jewish darknesses into the exceedingly bright light of some Psalms, for I cannot help but look at this with distaste. So I like yours best, who were invented as the first and perhaps the only one in the whole Latin language who so happily undertook to translate these divine poems into Latin poems, and accomplished this with equal happiness. By this you have indeed shown at the same time that in poets there is a spirit that comes from heavenly heights, but in you richer and stronger than in others, since you have been able to reproduce the thoughts (*vires*) of this royal poet, which other poets, however moved by great enthusiasm, have never recognized in the least. This you would not have been able to do in any way if you had not been moved by the things themselves beyond understanding, as we are wont to say, even in truth. But this movement does not come from nature, nor from the common power of the Muses,

3) Inserted by us for the sake of understanding.

or is received by your ordinary inspiration, but is in truth a new gift of the Spirit and a higher inspiration from heaven. Therefore, I not only wish you happiness, but also praise my Lord Jesus Christ, who has filled you with his spirit for this godly work, which will undoubtedly be of great benefit to others and serve as an example, especially to the youth, who through faithful teachers can learn from this poem both the sciences and the arts, along with spiritual things and matters. For I confess that I am one of those whom poems move more strongly, delight more, and in whom they stick more firmly than unbound speech, even if it be that of Cicero and Demosthenes. Since this happens to me in other things, how much more will it happen to me in matters of the Psalter! With this book I have occupied myself from my youth, feasted and practiced, and, thanks be to God! not without great fruit. For, not to prefer my gift to the gifts of others, yet I boast this with a holy presumption, that for all the thrones and kingdoms of the world, as that one says, I would not lack the very thing, whatever it is, that I have obtained by delighting and meditating on the Psalms under the blessing of the Holy Spirit. For I do not have such foolish humility that I should pass over with silence the gifts of God which He has bestowed upon me. Of myself, of course, I have enough and more than enough that can humble me and teach me that I am nothing; in God one must certainly be hopeful, be joyful in his gifts, triumph and boast, as I do in my own German Psalter, now even more in your Eobanic; but all to the praise and glory of God, who is praised forever. In him be well for ever and ever, Amen. Wittenberg, August 1, 1537, Martin Luther.

(Wittenberg.) **No. 2370.** 9 August 1537.

To Prince Johann von Anhalt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 820. - There, as in De Wette, vol. V, p. 755, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 141, this letter is addressed to Wolfgang von Anhalt, and bears the date 1545. (Cf. De Wette, vol. VI, p. 187 and p. 463, and Burkhardt, p. 477.)

No. 2371.

Coburg. 16 August 1537.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

Response to No. 2367, regarding the punishment of 21st Paul Heinz.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O. EEE,* No. 9, printed by Burkhardt, *p*. 280.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! Our decreed councillors at Torgau have sent us your letter, dated the thorn day after Jacobi, which was delivered to us at Hildburghausen (Hilperhausen) on Monday after Laurentii [Aug. 13].], which we have read and from which we have noted that you have all kinds of misgivings as to where the imprisoned Magister Paul von is to be punished according to our university sentence and judgment because of his maltreatment and misdeeds, and have asked that we postpone this transaction until our arrival. We do not wish to reassure you in your gracious opinion that we have previously received two writings from our university in which it has been indicated that such maltreatment and misdeeds should have no explicit punishment in law, but are at the discretion of the judicial office, and that they should be considered, and to expel him from the university for eternity, with the submissive request attached that we graciously yield to this and give orders for more punishment, so that the said magistrate may also be forbidden for eternity from our and our dear brother's principality and lands. After we had been informed about this, as if the said magistrate should not be punished any higher, and we nevertheless had all kinds of misgivings about this unpleasant and annoying deed, we nevertheless considered the university's request and gave our bailiff in Saxony an order for this and on the way. Because such a thing happened before and before we received your letter, you might consider how we may [not] 3) evade our granted permission, which in our opinion will now really be executed, but you should consider that if your letter had reached us sooner, we would have known how to comply with your request, and therefore graciously request, because this deal has gone so far, that you also be satisfied with it and leave it at that.

1) That is, discretionary.
2) Burkhardt: "muge".
3) Inserted by us.

And we have not noted your custody other than in your gracious opinion, nor do we doubt that if the said magistrate or anyone else would subject himself to something unreasonable about this, he would not then escape his due punishment. This we wanted to report to you again on your letter of gracious opinion, and are inclined to you with grace and good. Date at Coburg, Thursday after *Assumptionis Mariae* [Aug. 16] Anno 1537.

No. 2372.

Wittenberg. 21 August 1537.

To the council of Torgau.

Luther asks the council to give a building site to Gabriel Zwilling.

From the original in Lingke's Luth. Gesch. zu Torgau, p. 91; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 76 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 185.

To the honorable, respectable, prudent, mayors and council of Torgau, my favorable, good lords and friends.

G. and F. in Christo. Respectable, prudent gentlemen and friends! I have often talked with Mr. Gabriel, your priest, how he kept house, and what he would leave his wife and children. He said he would let him be content, but his Else would like a little house, as is also reasonable. Now they showed me a room (because there was no house left), on which they thought they could put one, namely at the sexton's house, as he may well show you. Now I wanted to have fallen with this request to my favorable lords; so I think that it is more honest and praiseworthy for you (if it is your power) that you show yourselves friendly to your faithful pastor, who has now served fourteen years with you in the word, and let your gratitude shine, especially because it should come or remain under civil law. Therefore my friendly request is that you give him such a place or help him, because he lies there in vain and unregarded. In this way you will give a good testimony of your favor and love for the word and its servant, who otherwise seldom has much favor.

1) De Wette and after him the Erlangen edition: "Bürger recht".

...prove it. Be it known to me that you will show yourselves to be Christian and benevolent in this. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Tuesday after Assumption of the Virgin Mary [21 Aug.] 1537.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2373.

(Wittenberg.) August 23, 1537.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for a scholar.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Mm, fol. 66 b*, No. 12. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 282.

God and peace in Christ and my poor Paternoster! E. C. F. G. graciously gave a scholarship from a fief to a city boy in Eisenach, named Hermannus Brothecker, whom he also used well and increased in theology. But now the time has come that it is over, he complains miserably, how he must leave the studio and learn a trade where he has no further entertainment. He therefore asks most humbly that E. C. F. G. graciously grant him the scholarship mentioned above for another year or two, 2) for then he will also be old enough to need it. Since he is a theologian, C.F.G. himself knows and sees what a lack of such offices is daily increasing, therefore C.F.G. will also graciously show himself Christian in this to God's praise and glory; be it with C.F.G. abundantly and steadily, Amen. On St. Bartholomew's Eve [23 Aug.] 1537.

E. C. F. G. submissive Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2374

Wittenberg. 27 August 1537.

To Prince Johann von Anhalt.

Luther asks to excuse his non-appearance in Roslau and Dessau.

First printed in 1830, after the original, in Lindner's "Mittheilungen," vol. II, p. 42; then in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 206, and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, pp. 186 f.

2) Burkhardt notes: According to document, datirt Torgau, Wednesday after Ursula [Oct. 24] 1537, the fief was given to him still for one year.

To the illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascania and Lord of Bernburg, my gracious lord.

G. u. Fried in Christo 2c. Sublime, highborn Prince, gracious Lord! That I might not have come this time, I ask, E. F. G. to be graciously excused. For it was not due to a lack of willingness and readiness of mind, but could not have happened, since I had undertaken this of my own accord, and was too anxious to appear at it before F. F. G. desired it of me, since my heart drove me to it. As soon as I can, I will not leave it. God grant his mercy, amen. I hereby command God. Monday after Bartholomew [27 Aug.] 1537 E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2375.

Freiberg. 1 September 1537.

Jakob Schenk to Luther.

(Regest.)

The brother of Dr. Jakob Schenk, Michael, although he did not understand Latin, was immatriculated in 1525, but left Wittenberg again, and became shift foreman in Joachimsthal. In 1537 he was again sent to Wittenberg by his brother, so that he might again perfect himself in preaching and continue his studies. But Luther had Jonas command him that he should abstain from preaching in Wittenberg and in the whole Electorate. Thereupon Jacob turned to Luther by this letter and asked that his brother be permitted to preach, for there had been no explicit command so far that the permission of the theological faculty was necessary for preaching. He himself, since he had been lent by Luther to Freiberg only for a short time, wanted to return to Wittenberg for a year in order to study and to show his gratitude and to help honor the university and its law.

From the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N, pag.* 369, No. 184, printed by Burkhardt, p. 282.

No. 2376.

(Wittenberg.) 1) September 2, 1537.

Agricola to Luther.

(Regest.)

Agricola had published a small pamphlet "Drey Sermon und Predigen" in June, with Luther's approval.

1) In the Christmas days of 1536 Agricola had left Eisleben and gone to Wittenberg.

After a closer examination it had turned out that the sermons were antinomian. (See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 50d f.) Now in this letter he expresses his regret that Luther had changed his judgment about this writing, in which he had only followed the teaching of the apostles, and asks to let Jonas judge about it.

Mitgetheilt von Kawerau in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, IV, 303. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 309.

No. 2377.

Coburg. 4 September 1537.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Spalatin.

The Elector expresses his joy at the news of Luther's good health. With the Margravine of Brandenburg no change could be made now. About a matter of Georg Rörer. Luther's sermons and lections are to be collected and brought into the Liberei 2c.

From a copy in *Reg. Goth.* 452, fol. 154, printed in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 309.

Churf. Joh. Friedrich to Georg Spalatin, priest and canon.

Our greeting before. Worthy, dear devotee ! We have heard the contents of the letter you have now sent to us, and that [the] venerable and reverend, our dear devotee, Martin Luther, Doctor, is thankfully fresh and healthy, and also preaches and walks weekly. We have graciously and gladly heard this, and we hope to God Almighty that His omnipotence will graciously preserve and maintain him in long-term health for the promotion of His salvific Word, and also for the comfort of Christendom. The report which you have given us on account of the message, 2) which the said Doct. Martinus gave to a man from Germany, who had been made so that he was still alive, we have also heard with favor. And since such reports and cries resounded in Germany, we believe that it came from the fact that Doct. Martinus was so very and severely ill at Schmalkalden.

We also like to believe that the said Doctor Martinus will be tried hard enough by our mistress, the Margravine, and her daughters, but since this is what has happened with her dear arrival in Wittenberg, no change can now be made in this respect.

We have also ordered Magister Georgen Rörer's transfer in all readiness, but he has to follow the instructions.

2) No. 2352. There it is reported that the message was sent from Hall in the Inn Valley; here, from Etschland (Etzschland). Both are in Tyrol.

We will be patient about this for half an hour until we, God willing, come to Torgau again; then we will prepare the same and have it sent to him.

(2) Thus we have also, as you know, previously put up with the fact that Doctor Martinus' sermons and lectures are brought together by him and copied into the Liberei during his life. Martinus' sermons and lectures are brought together by him and copied into the Liberei during his life, 1) we have also ordered you, as we know no other way, to seek for one who will transcribe such sermons and lectures. As this is once again our gracious request that you seek one, for we would like such work to be done in a beneficial way, we also do not want it to lack due remuneration and reward, for whatever it may be, we do not want it to be lacking.

(3) Concerning some great contracts which are to be made in the Liberei, we want to think about it and, if we come to Torgau, let us be heard on further remembrance of it.

4th Concerning the old dukes of Saxony, blessed, bones, which are to be brought from the monastery into the monastery and, besides a common inscription, are to be ordered there, so you want to talk about it with Doctori Martino and the others. If they now consider it good, we will also put up with it and let it be done and decreed. We have received the enclosed Pasquillum as a gracious favor. We have not wished to restrain you from such things in our gracious opinion, and we are graciously inclined towards you. Dated at Coburg, Tuesday after Egidii [Sept. 4] Anno 1537.

No. 2378.

Hummelshain. 16 September 1537.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

(Regest.)

Order of the Elector, Luther should make an effort to stop the discord between Dr. Jakob Schenk of Freiberg and the Wittenberg theologians Jonas and Melanchthon, because this would cause a rejoicing among the adversaries, especially Duke George, and also otherwise bring harm to your Gospel. - Burkhardt notes that the disputes arose over the Sacrament, which Schenk sometimes distributed under one, sometimes under two forms.

From the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N,* p. 369, No. 184, printed by Burkhardt, p. 286.

1) Kolde: "been".

No. 2379.

(Wittenberg,) Middle of September (?) 1537.

To Johann, Prince of Anhalt.

Report on the sick Margravine Elisabeth and invitation to come and see her.

First printed in 1830, after the original, in Lindner's "Mittheilungen," vol. II, p. 44; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 208; and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 187.

To My Gracious Lord, Prince Johann of Anhalt. For the attention of S. F. G. Handen.

My lord and master! It is now my gn. Frau Markgräfin 2) has awakened from her sleep, but so cleverly that she understands little; if E. F. G. would like to see and hear such things, they may come now. My Käthe sits with her on the bed and keeps her quiet, and thinks it good that E. F. G. should come, not only to see, but whether she can be quieted by it 2c.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther.

No. 2380.

(Wittenberg,) September 26, 1537.

To Margaretha, Princess of Anhalt.

Luther could not find a place for her in Wittenberg, where she wanted to come because of her sick mother, and he resisted her coming.

First printed in 1830, after the original, in Lindner's "Mittheilungen," vol. II, p. 43; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 207; and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 188.

To the illustrious, high-born princess, Frauen Margarethen, née princess of Brandenburg, princess of Anhalt, countess of Ascanien and Frauen zu Bernburg, my gracious wives.

Sublime, high-born princess, madam! E. F. G. are my dutiful and obedient service always ready beforehand with diligence. Gracious Princess! After E. F. G. has informed me in her recent farewell that the same E. F. G. would be inclined and willing to go to the same mother,

2) The "Margravine" is Elisabeth, the widow of Joachim I of Brandenburg, mother of Princess Margaretha of Anhalt, the wife of Prince Johann of Anhalt.

and for this reason I have requested that I provide shelter for E. F. G. and a number of associated persons in my home or otherwise set up a comfortable place to stay: now, because the city is full of people everywhere and all the corners are completely full, I cannot provide E. F. G. with a suitable place to live, nor do I know how to do so. Therefore, I do not consider it necessary that E. F. G. be with the same mother, for her grace, God willing, shall have no lack, for which I will spare no possible effort. Thus, I am also of the comforting hope that the almighty God will now turn and send things to improvement more and more from day to day, for which reason our church always implores God. If now E. F. G. should go about this, and neither have nor be able to get a comfortable lodging for E. F. G., as mentioned above, E. F. G. themselves have to consider, since it wants to be completely inflexible. Therefore E. F. G., because it has no need nor should have any need with the same wife mother, as touched, if God wills, know to abstain. I humbly wish to inform E. F. G. of this, for I am quite willing and undaunted to render her dutiful and obedient service in all respects. Wittenberg, on Wednesday after Mauricii [26 Sept.] Anno 1537.

E. F. G.

humble, obedient Martinus Luther of Wittenberg and Doctor.

No. 2381.

(Wittenberg,) September 27, 1537.

To Augustin Himmel, preacher in Colditz.

Luther sends him a schoolmaster and recommends him to him.

From the Kraft Collection at Husum in Schütze, Vol. III, p. 47 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 77.

Grace and peace in Christ! Caspar Schaller is sent to you, a godly and poor man, the bearer of the letter, my dear Augustin, so that he may direct your boys' school. I wish you to have him highly recommended to you. Then I ask that you, also on my account, either order the superiors of the church treasury to

or to persuade them that some pay be paid him, so that he may clothe and furnish himself, but that afterwards this be restored or charged in his time according to the rules of subtraction 2c. If again I can be to your liking, you will find me ready. For this man's extreme need compels me to write to you for him, since in the meantime no other way presents itself to advise and help him, until another place shows itself of which he is worthy. For he is a gifted man, well instructed in learning and music, who, since he has lost his own through misfortune, has fallen into the most extreme lack. Fare well with all your own, happy in Christ, Amen. Thursday after Mauritius [Sept. 27] Anno 1537. Yours, Martin Luther.

Neustadt. No. 2382. 5 October 1537.

To Johann Fesel, pastor at Coburg.

Luther's petition for him had been carried. The Elector is unwilling about the neglect of the ordinances that have been made by the visitators. Fesel will receive what is his.

The original with seal is in the royal library at Stuttgart. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 312.

To the exceedingly dear brother, M. Johann Fesel, the faithful servant of the word at Coburg.

Grace and peace in Christ! The Chancellor has told me, my dear Fesel, that my petition has been promoted, as you will perhaps also hear from Kastner and H. von Sternberg. For the Prince is very indignant about those who neglect what has been decreed by the Visitation, and they have been soundly scolded. If you should perhaps see that the Kastner is disturbed by this scolding, then you can comfort him, because this scolding was not directed against him, but against the one to whom it was due. For I fear, if trouble or vexation has already befallen him, it may now come to the ears of his wife, and trouble the very good woman still more. Your salaries will now be put in order, and new provision made for them. And they 1) will call for obstetricians, because

1) probably: the visitators.

also the council has probably been scourged. Other things at another time. Greetings to all of us, especially the Kastner and his wife. From Neustadt (*Neapoli*), 5 October 1537.

Martin Luther.

No. 2383.

(Wittenberg,) . 7 October 1537.

Ordination certificate for Jakob Stigel.

From the Cyprian collection at Gotha in Schütze, vol. III, p. 48 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 78.

Jakob Stigel, from Moravia, came here and reported that he had been called by the church in Saalfeld to the office of a deacon, and asked that he be given the office of teaching the gospel and administering the sacraments by public ordination, as is customary in our church. But since he had a testimony of his calling, and approved the manner of the church at Saalfeld, we learned, after inquiring into his doctrine, that he accepts and holds the pure doctrine of the gospel, which the general church of Christ professes, and which we teach in our church, and that he has an abhorrence of all ungodly and fanatical opinions, which are rejected by the judgment of the general church of Christ, and which dispute with the doctrine which is presented in our church. But he has promised diligence and faithfulness in his preaching ministry, and that he will purely teach and defend the very doctrine of the general church of Christ which we profess. Therefore, according to the word of God, by the reputation of our Church, the calling was confirmed by public ordination, and this Jacob was commanded the office of teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments. This is witnessed by this letter. And since the church appoints church ministers by God's command, we implore with right and godly prayers that this gospel, where Jacob teaches it, may be strong, and that our Lord Jesus Christ may be rightly known and revered, and that many may come to godliness and be saved. Given at Wittenberg, on the seventh day of October in the year 1537.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 2384.

(Wittenberg,) October 21, 1537.

Luther, Jonas and Melanchthon to the council of Naumburg.

(Regest.)

They confirm the church order of this city delivered by Nicolaus Medler and the mayor of Naumburg.

Communicated by Seidemann in the Studien und Kritiken 1878, p. 708. The above register with Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 313.

No. 2385.

(Wittenberg,) 2. November 1537.

To Johann Wickmann, pastor at Prisick.

(Priesnitz near Camburg?) (Regest.)

Concerns a matrimonial matter.

Communicated by Seidemann in the Studien und Kritiken 1878, p. 703. The above register with Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 313.

No. 2386.

(Wittenberg,) November 7, 1537.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for M. Johann Fesel, pastor at Coburg, to obtain the allowance ordered for him from the monastery of Mönchroden.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji, fol. 122 b. C. 5. 9b.* Printed by Burkhardt, p. 287.

God and peace in Christ and my poor *pater noster*. Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! Magister Johannes Fesel of Coburg, parish priest of the Holy Cross, to whom E. C. F. G. graciously gave the 10 fl. and ten [bushels] of summer grain for an allowance from the monastery of Mönchroden (Munchröte) last year, indicates to me how he had previously been assigned by order of the visitators to add 10 fl. from the first fief that would become due, but now this year three have become due and unpaid. But he Hans Schott, knight, refuses and refuses to follow such, he then brings a new order from E. C. F. G. Therefore he asks humbly, E. C. F. G. want to procure from the said he Hans Schott that he wants, according to the visitators order, to follow the ten florins, 1) because it

1) Burkhardt: "lasse".

here is also the dear poverty, children much, and everything becomes expensive. E. C. F. G. will know how to graciously show themselves. 1) Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befehlt, Amen. Wednesday after *Omnium Sanctorum* [Nov. 7] 1537.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther, D.

(Inserted note.)

Most gracious Lord! Magister Fesel (*Feslinus*) has sent a messenger from here with this writing, waits here with me E. C. F. G. gnädiger (gnedigs) answer, so that he may be allowed to the Zehrung less. He is a pious man, and has suffered, forsaken and done much.

No. 2386a.

(Wittenberg,) (About the 7th of November) 2) 1537.

To Vice Chancellor Burkhard.

Recommendation of the matter of Pastor Fesel at Coburg and report on the state of illness of Margravine Elisabeth of Brandenburg.

From the original at the library at Helmstädt printed by P. J. Bruns, Beiträge zur kritischen Bearbeitung unbenutzter alter Handschriften 2c. Second piece. Braunschweig 1802. 8. p. 163 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 444.

To the distinguished and worthy man, Mr. Franz Burkhard, Vice Chancellor Sach
sens, his brother most dear in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Dearest Francis! I commend to you the cause of M. Fesel, that you help as much as you can my letter addressed to the most noble Prince. He is worth it and that Knight (*Centaurus*) of Coburg 3) is a kind of Timon 2c.

At the same time, I believe that Chancellor Brück is also in the cause of my Margravine at

1) The Elector hereupon instructed the Franconian visitators, Torgau, Sunday Martinmas [Nov. 11], to procure for the petitioner what is due to him (Burkhardt).

2) Already on October 5, Luther had written to Fesel (No. 2382), now he brings his matter again to the Elector and asks the Vice-Chancellor to support it. Since Fesel's matter was settled on Nov. 11 by a rescript of the Elector (see the last note to the previous letter), it is most probable that this letter went out at the same time as the previous one.

3) Meant is knight Hans Schott, keeper at Coburg.

I have written to the Prince, as I have asked, for advice, so that I may finally also be released from this burden. From day to day more and more new incidents occur, which I bear with great annoyance. That Bohemian sow (*schrofa* == *scrofa*) has forced its way into this house, indeed into the chamber and to the side of the mistress herself, and is trying to gain favor and make all others hate her. The mistress herself has virtually lapsed again (though not yet into her usual frenzy, but) into a ridiculous childish nature, from the day on which the money was paid to her 2c. This, indeed, she bravely squanders, and gives it even to those whom, if she be sensible (*sobria*), she exceedingly hates. "My gracious lord must do this, otherwise there is no help nor advice. She is a child, and remains (I care) a child," therefore it is nothing that a raging man has a sword, and a child money 2c. Thou understandest why, and thou counsellest and workest. "But it will be done," I have done enough.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2387.

(Wittenberg,) November 9, 1537....

Luther, Jonas and Spalatin to Hans von Taubenheim, Landrentmeister.

Intercession for the fish master's widow.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Aa,* pag. 412. VIII, but only with original signatures. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 288.

God's grace and peace through Christ before. Honourable, strict, especially favourable friend! After I, Doctor Martinus Luther, recently asked the most noble, high-born Elector of Saxony, our most gracious Lord, for Mr. (before) Jobsten, Fischmeister, blessed, widow and orphan, and his ch. G. also at that time gave me a gracious and consoling answer, but we are now both reported that, perhaps due to the prevention of our most gracious lord, in 4) [the]

4) This "in" will be displaced in Burkhardt; it comes before "perhaps."

For this reason, our very friendly and diligent request to you is that you will faithfully and favorably help the poor widows and orphans reported to our most gracious Lord, so that they may be graciously provided for, as Mr. Jobst, blessed one, will certainly provide for you completely in his life. Thus it is a great and godly work to help widows (witwyn) and orphans and to serve and support them. This also God, the right eternal Father in heaven, will reward abundantly in time and eternity. So we are also kindly willing to deserve you. Date Friday after Leonhardi [Nov. 9] Anno Dmi. 1537.

Martinus Luther, Dr. Justus Jonas, D., Psrobst^. G. Spalatinus.

No. 2388.

(Wittenberg.) November 12, 1537.

To Johann Langer, pastor at Coburg.

Luther exhorts him to put an end to the discord between two women.

From *Ms. Jen. in 4th F. sign., p. 223b. in Schlegelii vita Jo. Langeri, p. 159*; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 262 and in De Wette, vol.V, p. 81.

To Mr. Johann Langer, the exceedingly faithful pastor of the church at Coburg, his brother in Christo.

Grace and peace in Christ. Dearest Long One! I am writing to you in few words because you are aware of the tragedy between these two respectable women, the Schösserin 1) and the Schmiedin. (*Fabrissam*), is known to you. Now that the blacksmith's wife appeals to you, and cites you as the author, since perhaps your words are torn from a sermon, it is fair that you purify yourself, and free her from suspicion, so that she may no longer be oppressed by your reputation. And this thou must do, that thou mayest strive to make these women whole,

1) *Quaestrix* is Arnold of Falkenstein's second wife, Magdalena of Feilitsch, Heinzen of Lichtenstein's widow (Burkhardt).

...as diseased in the mind, to heal and to reconcile. This requires both your duty and the obligation of love. Therefore, may you not feel burdened to care for and nurse these wounded sheep of Christ, bought by his blood. This will please God as an exceedingly pleasant sacrifice, and you will destroy the devil's pursuits and works. Be well in Christ, and use prayer to help them, if perhaps Satan should be too persistent, amen. On Monday after Martinmas [12, Nov.] 1537.

No. 2389.

(Wittenberg.) 16. November 1537.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther wishes to be rid of the sick Margravine Elisabeth and complains about her wasteful nature.

The original is in the Weimar *Archives, Reg. C, fol.* 16, No. 12. 2. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 289. - The reply was made on 9 Dec.

Grace and peace and my poor *pater noster* to God. Most illustrious, high-born Prince, most gracious Lord! Now my most gracious wife writes to E. C. F. G. about the arrival (as she indicates to me) of Margrave Hans. But I have hindered and misappropriated the letters to Margrave Hansen. Therefore E. C. F. G. will know her Grace's writings well to understand. The brain is still as soft as butter and again wants to do a lot and gives a lot of ripening that I no longer know how I should hold on. She had been fine, but when the money came from [the] sons, it started again, and there is no measure nor cessation of wastefulness and slenderizing. She hath also given me two tumblers and a hundred gold florins within. But I cannot and will not accept them, for many reasons. You disdain this then, and the matter stands thus, that I am tired of the being and would gladly be rid of it: therefore I ask most humbly, E. C. F. G. would graciously help me from it. If it will not or cannot be otherwise, then I will at least let them go to Lichtenberg in God's name, be it better or worse. For I cannot (because the Mark is in such a position) do such things alone.

nor lay them down, and have persevered long enough. 1) Christ our dear Lord be with E. C. F. G. always, Amen. Friday after Martinmas [Nov. 16] 1537.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 2390.

Wittenberg. 25 November 1537.

To Wolfgang Reißenbusch, Preceptor at Lichtenberg.

About the matter of the poor priest at Brettin.

Cf. No. 2363.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 204; in the Jena edition (1568), vol. VI, p. 505d; in the Altenburg edition, vol.VI, p.11I0; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 566; in Walch, vol. XXI, 404; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 81; and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 188 f.

Grace and peace in Christ. Respectable, venerable sir, especially good friend! The priest of N. 2) has reported his distress to me, so I have seen it myself. His wife and child are in misery, poverty, and his housekeeping is getting sour, God knows that. But because he has received 20 florins from N. 3), others will receive 100 florins, even though he has granted this at the time: but now there is thirst and need, and such a grant is to be regarded as nothing by all who are sensible. And if one should take it from Christ's feet and give it to him, it would be more of an indulgence than a sin.

Now E. A. can get the most and best from N.3), and can easily help him from the surplus: so not only is my diligent request, but also faithful advice, that E. A. should attack himself, and also hand him 100 florins; considered that E. A. such small money does no harm in the case, and helps the poor man greatly.

For I will not save E. A., that not only the conventuals of N., 3) but almost everyone speaks angrily and evil of it, that E. A. should take everything to himself, and the others

1) Cf. the letter of Sept. 4, No. 2377.

2) Brettin.

3) Lichtenberg.

so bare and naked; and do this with such a mighty appearance that even E. A.'s good friends, and I myself, do not find nor have the means to shut them up, and yet do not like to hear that E. A. should have an evil cry for money's sake, especially because E. A. otherwise has enough, and does not need this poverty (of which the good man should comfort himself with holy things and child). And, as many go out, they consider: it should probably now (when E. A. wanted to be so hard) call the poor cry to heaven about E. A.

If I were in E. A.'s place, I would cast a few hundred florins or two among them in the Rappuse, and quench such a reputation, and make my conscience the more abundantly secure and glad before God, than that I had done enough there; for God gives E. A. more, and can give more. A. give, and may well give more. It is said: *Facite vobis amicos de Mammona iniquitatis* [Make friends with the unjust Mammon].

I ask that E. A. understand such writing best from me, as from a good, faithful heart that grants E. A. all honor and good, here and there. For the poor priest's need forces me together with his wife and child.

And if I did not hope that E. A. would not take a hard line, I would perhaps not have undertaken to ask such a thing. I also hope that E. A. will not refuse me this request, if I think that E. A. has given so much to a common box here, as it has been given much more here, because of greater need. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Given from Wittenberg, on the day of Cätharinä [Nov. 25] Anno 1537.

No. 2391

Proßnitz in Moravia. In November 1537.

The Moravian Brethren to Luther.

(Regest.)

They reminded him of the promised printing of the Confession and Apology sent to him in June 1536. - Luther answered orally: he had not found a printer who wanted to take over the printing at his own expense, sent the books back, and asked not to resent the outcome of the matter.

Printed by Gindely, *fontes rerum austr*. XIX, 25. Above regest by Burkhardt, p. 290.

No. 2392.

(Wittenberg.) Before the 1st of December 1537.

Joh. Agricola to Luther.

(Regest.)

Agricola asks Luther to refrain from the intended publication of certain sentences, *Antinomi cujusdam Propositiones* (St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1624), and declares that he always wants to submit to Luther's judgment in matters of faith.

Mitgetheilt von Kawerau in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, IV, 307. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 313.

No. 2393.

(Wittenberg.) 1. December 1537.

To the Reformed Swiss Places.

See St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2143.

No. 2394.

Strasbourg. 3 December 1537.

Bucer to Luther.

(Regest.)

Bucer urgently asks Luther to write to the Swiss congregations and, if possible, to the Bernese in particular, since they were beginning to grow impatient and all kinds of rumors were circulating, especially through Erasmus Alber, that they were pretending not to have understood each other. Under which conditions he citire sentences of Zwingli and Oecolampad. - Even before receiving this letter, Luther had written the previous letter.

From Thes. Baum. printed in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 314.

No. 2395.

(Wittenberg.) December 6, 1537.

To Martin Bucer.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2147. - The original of this letter is in the library of the *Corpus Christi College* at Cambridge. (Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 316, note 1.)

No. 2396.

Torgau. 9 December 1537.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector has misgivings that the Margravine Elisabeth could move there in view of the state of the house in Lichtenberg.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. C, fol.* 16, No. 12. 2, in part very difficult to read. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 290.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We graciously inform you that our kind and dear mistress, the Margravine, has now written to us with her own hand, stating that because her beloved son, the Elector of Brandenburg, has once again refused to come to her lordship in Wittenberg, she intends and is willing to dispose of Lichtenberg once again. to come to Wittenberg, that she is intent and willing to dispose of herself again against Lichtenberg, and asks, as you will hear from the enclosed copy of her L.'s letter, to which we give her L.'s answer, as you will also note from the copy of the same kept in custody. Now we cannot know whether the said letter of our Lady, the Margravine, was sent to us with your foreknowledge and concern or not, also whether you consider it good and advise her L. to go to Lichtenberg after the occasion of her L.'s condition. Because we have all kinds of misgivings on behalf of her l. that the same should dispose of herself in Lichtenberg at the present time, and first of all, before and before her beloved's household there is set up and brought into order and correctness, also on behalf of the persons who will enter the jurisdiction, change is made, so that otherwise and without that her l. would be given cause for further complaint. which, however, we did not wish to do, which is why we would have preferred that her lord's son, the Elector of Brandenburg, had come to her lord in Wittenberg, so that we had a friendly talk with each other for the sake of her lord's household and other complaints. But since there is a lack of the Elector of Brandenburg, and we nevertheless, in our opinion, do not have unreasonable reasons and reservations to get involved in the matters concerning her household; 1) for if it turned out otherwise, the blame would have to and would be ours. Thus we have all kinds of misgivings that her lord should go to Lichtenberg in this manner and before the household and persons at Lichtenberg are put in order and correct. But since we understand that her lord's son, Margrave Hans, should come to her lord in a beneficial way, it is our gracious request that you speak and act with her lord for the reasons indicated and also for the reasons which we ourselves have reported to her lord in our answer, so that her lord may direct and promote Margrave Hans' arrival to her lord in Wittenberg, and that he may also stay there in Wittenberg for as long as she wishes. For since Margrave Hans, to come to their liege in Wittenberg

1) With Burkhardt: "to allow alone". - Immediately following: "anders, wan wol" 2c.

1) as we have no doubt, we want to put back all our things and go to Wittenberg at this time, and talk and compare with Margrave Hansen, as there is nothing much to do with Margrave Joachim, about her L. household and other more protruding complaints, trusting that her L., to whom we mean friendship and good, will not take this unkindly from us. Since we also note from her two letters that her L.'s daughter, the one from Brunswick, is also to come to her L., to which we did not want to give a letter of reply through her love, we consider that you should be yearly to bring to her L. the weather that has been before, 2) therefore she wrote to her daughter. For you know that the same has given her L.'s daughter such a grievance, so she may not bring the good princess into further grievance and distress. What you will now do with her daughter, and what will remain, you will report to us by your letter and make known to us. This we have not wished to do in your gracious opinion, and we are pleased with it, and are also inclined to you with graciousness and good. Date at Torgau, Sunday after *Conceptionis Mariae Virginis* [Dec. 9] 1537.

No. 2397.

(Wittenberg.) December 10, 1537.

To the Jew Josel in Roßheim.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1826. - In all editions the addressee is called "Jesel" (probably by a misprint). But it is the leader of the German Jews at that time, Joseph Ben Gerson Loans, called Jossel of Roßheim in Alsace, born about 1480, died about 1555. Kolde, Martin Luther, vol. II, p. 609 uä p. 532. - Cf. no. 2357.

No. 2398.

(Wittenberg.) December 11, 1537.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Answer to No. 2396. Luther reports that the letter of Margravine Elisabeth to the Elector had happened without his previous knowledge, and that he had not known about the intended move to Lichtenberg.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. C, fol.* 16, No. 12. 2. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 292.

1) "is penetrated" put by us instead of: "innerungen".

2) Here the text is corrupted. Burkhardt offers: "that Ir fehrlichsten hiltet, i. l. der furgewesen weter" 2c.

Grace and peace in Christ and my poor *pater noster*. Most illustrious, highborn prince, most gracious lord! To E. C. F. G.'s writing, yesterday come to me, therein E. C. F. G., stating how they cannot know whether my most gracious wife has done such writing with my prior knowledge or concern, or whether she intends to move to Lichtenberg, 2c., I humbly reply to E. C. F. G. that I truly knew nothing of her C. F. G. letter. For now for some time I have noticed that letters and messengers have gone, but I have not known to whom or where. Likewise, nothing has been reported to me about the procession to Lichtenberg, except that there has been a rumor in the house as if Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg together with his spouse (who was recently at Roslau), also Margrave Hans and the Princess of Anhalt were to come to my most gracious wives to Lichtenberg. Such delusion is now strengthened by Philipp's arrival full of Lichtenberg (whom I thought was ordered by E. C. F. G. to keep house in Lichtenberg), to whom, as therefore called (as I hear it said), likewise keeping house is ordered by my most gracious wives; but I know nothing for certain; to which was added that at the same time the game, so E. C. F. G. to her C., is to be kept in Lichtenberg. C. F. G. sent to her C. F. G., was quickly sent to Lichtenberg, so that I thought such a gift and meeting would happen there, and the next day my wife would follow. As everything could be seen and hoped for, I could not think of anything else, because E. C. F.G. would have granted or ordered such a thing for reasons, because it is a wonder how reluctant one is here. And, as E. C. F. G. write to me that I should advise that the good Princess stay here for a while longer, I do so not only justly, but also gladly, because I do not yet know any better advice, based on my loyalty. But I fear I shall not hold the eel by the tail at last, so it struggles and presses to turn itself out; causes I know not, for it would dream me awake, or would have dreamed me awake. E. C. F. G. help the best in God's name, otherwise I will have to let go what does not want to stay. Today he told me Philipps (so come again), what a desolate being at Lichten-

3) Rumble. Burkhardt reads, "rumble." (Dietz.)

berg. So they tell me that all the young nobles and the previous court shall be called together again, and everything is directed to the train. If it will not be otherwise, then I am content, for I do everything not for the sake of enjoyment, but for the good of their 1) C. F. G. for the best, that I know well. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befehlt, Amen. Tuesday after St. Nicolai [Dec. 11] 1537.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 2399.

Torgau. 16 December 1537.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector asks Luthern to delay the Margravine's departure for Lichtenberg as much as possible, since he will come to Wittenberg himself to put matters in order. He knows nothing of the visit of several princely persons to the Margravine. He intends to have things put in order in Lichtenberg.

The concept is in the Weimarsche Gesammtarchiv, *Reg. C, fol.* 16. no. 12. 2. printed by Burkhardt, p. 293.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have received your reply to our next letter to you, concerning our friendly dear wife, the Margravine Dowager, and her journey from Wittenberg to Lichtenberg, and have noted with gracious favor that you knew nothing of the writing that her beloved recently did to us, nor of her departure from Wittenberg. And we do not want to reassure you in your gracious opinion that we have not yet received an answer from her beloved about the situation of her son, our uncle and brother-in-law, Margrave Hansen, coming to her beloved in Wittenberg, and whether this is acceptable or not. But we are waiting for such an answer every day, and since such a meeting has reached its progress (furgang), as we undoubtedly want to provide for ourselves, since the said Margrave Hansen will be in earnest, we are once again obliged and inclined to dispose of the time to Wittenberg, and to be friendly with his sweetheart for the sake of the Margravine's household and other troubles, before and before she goes to Lichtenberg again.

1) Burkhardt: "yhr E. k. f. g.", which cannot be correct, may now by C. F. G. the Churfürst or the Markgräfin be understood.

to be able to overcome it. However, we do not want to deprive you of the fact that a number of things are now happening that will prevent us from coming to Wittenberg in the coming week. Therefore, our gracious request, if you will note that our Lady Margrave Hansen, her son, wished to require us to come to Wittenberg, is that you will see to it that this is not postponed until after Christmas. For what we think of and do here is for the good of the pious princess. Since you yourselves know of nothing better to do, [than] that her beloved abstain from Wittenberg for a while, it is once again our gracious request that you, in accordance with our gracious letter, direct it to her beloved and work diligently, as you will know how to do, so that this will happen. If, however, as we note, you do not wish to be persecuted in the long run, but her mistress would rise up to move to Lichtenberg, we cannot help it, and must let it happen and put it there, since we have done our part and are thus excused.

But that Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg together with his husband, also Margrave Hans and the Princess of Anhalt are to come to the Margravine in Lichtenberg, as has reached you, we have not heard anything about that before; what will also reach you further for that reason, let us know by your letter.

Because we also understand from your letter how a desolate being at Lichtenberg, and that the previous court shall be called together again, as you have been reported, so we are minded. He is to request Jörgen von Minkwitz to come here, and to speak with him thereupon 2) according to all necessity and for the best of the Margravine. We have not wished to restrain you from doing so, and are inclined to you with grace and good. Date at Torgau, Sunday after St. Lucius [Dec. 16] 1537.

No. 2400.

(Wittenberg.) 19 December 1537.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for Ambrosius Laub at Halle to give him the completed fief at Gera.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji, fol.* 122 b. C. 5. 9. printed by Burkhardt, p. 295.

G. n. Peace in Christ 2c. Most illustrious, high-born Prince, most gracious Lord! There will come a writing to E. C. F. G. for

2) "thereupon" put by us instead of: "ahead".

a citizen of Halle, called Ambrosius Laub, of a fief half in Gera 2c. Now the same man is not happy about that either in Halle under the evil worm and shameful Cardinal, and thinks away. For this reason he has asked me to inform E. C. F. G. and to ask him, if E. C. F. G. wants to use him for an office, that he can have a gracious support from E. C. F. G.. Now that he is such a man, who adheres to the Gospel and would gladly be there, my humble request to E. C. F. G. is, where it would be well to do, E. C. F. G. want to help such a poor imprisoned soul out of the dungeon and clutches of the desperate tyrant, as much as it would please E. C. F. G. and in time can advise the good man. The Father of our dear Lord Jesus Christ, may E. C. F. G. reign blessedly, amen. Wednesday after St. Lucia [Dec. 19] 1537.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 2401.

(Wittenberg.) . 19 December 1537.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Jonas and Melanchthon.

Intercession for Ambrosius Laube, the Elector wants to provide his son with a clay for the studio.
This letter is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji, fol. 122 b*. It is in Canzleischrift, only the signatures are originals. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 296.

God's grace through our Lord Jesus Christ beforehand. Most noble, highborn, most gracious Prince and Lord! The witness of these writings, a citizen of Halle, named Ambrosius Laube, has informed us that his son has been granted a fief in Gera by the Collator, but that the same fief has recently been turned over by the visitators of the same place for the improvement of a parish and school. Now the good man does not desire that the visitators should change their decree for his sake, for he also likes to see the promotion of the Gospel. However, because he is poor and has small children, we humbly request that E. C. F. G. will send his son to the church.
graciously consider and provide him with another fief in Altenburg or otherwise, so that something is transferred, in gracious consideration that the father, in honor of the Gospel, is satisfied and lets the fief in Gera go, and we ask in submission that E. C. F. G. will graciously let him enjoy our intercession, for the good man, because he is Magister Georgen [Rörer], the deacon's brother-in-law here, is the only one who has the right to the fief. C. F. G. will graciously let him enjoy our intercession, for the good man, since he is Magister Georgen [Rörer], the deacon's brother-in-law here, has quite diligently appealed to us on his behalf. God will reward such E. C. F. G. Elemosyne abundantly, and [we] do not doubt that this good man will always work with submissive gratitude. God keep E. C. F. G. always. Date Wednesday after Luciä [19. Dec.] in 1537.

E. C. F. G.

servant Martinus Luther, Dr. Justus Jonas, Dr. Philippus Melanchthon.

No. 2402.

Torgau. 22. December 1537.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther, Jonas and Melanchthon.

Answer to the previous letter. The Elector rejects her request because the fief has already been granted.
The original concept (with many corrections) is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji*, *fol.* 122b. C. 5. 9i. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 297.

[Our greetings beforehand. Venerable and reverend, dear devotees and faithful! We have received your entire petition, which you sent to us on behalf of Ambrosius Lauben's son in Halle, who is supposed to have been granted a fief in Gera by Johann von Walten, as collator, for the furtherance of his studies, and we have heard its contents along with your request, that such fiefs have already been put into common boxes by our appointed visitators for the entertainment of the church servants in Gera and elsewhere, and that some priests and others have been ordered to receive allowances from it, upon the worthy reminder of our dear devout Magistrate Georgii Spalatini. Should Johann von Walten, as collator of this fief, which has already been decreed for the entertainment of the ministers of the divine word, be deprived of the same of his property?

If you do not agree to grant the fiefs in the case of a fall, you must consider what disruption and separation this would bring to our visitation order, and what cause others would have to grant the fiefs in the same way. However, since this has not yet been done, and our mind and opinion is to keep the order of the visitation, you will not blame us for not granting your request in this matter, and you will again know how to indicate this to the guild, according to which it is to be judged; if we would not again restrain you, and are inclined to you with mercy. Date Torgau, Saturday after Thomä Apostoli [22. Dec.] Anno 1537.

No. 2403.

(Wittenberg.) 23 December 1537.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther refuses the council of Zerbst and the princes of Anhalt his intercession to the request to let Dr. Jonas come there permanently as preacher.
The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. LI, pag.* 213. n.151. 3. Printed in Burkhardt, p. 297 f.

Grace and peace in Christ 2c. Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! The pious Princes of Anhalt have asked me in writing that I should help their F. G. request, which they (eight of me) are making to E. C. F. G. Doctor Jonas. Now this would be an opinion that Doctor Jonas would be lent there for several weeks, especially because there is to be a prince's day in Zerbst (Zerwest), so that they would then have a handsome preacher. But to be pastor for and for there, because because of the lack of our church and school of the pastor, 2) and Doct. Martinus' fortune is uncertain, I do not know how to advise nor to ask, as I also answered orally to your F. G.. But E. C. F. G. will and may do what they think best in this matter. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befohlen, Amen. Sunday after St. Thomas [23 Dec.] 1537.

E. C. F. G.

subservient Martinus Luther, D.

1) "one" put by us instead of: "ime".
2) Bugenhagen was in Denmark at that time. Compare No. 2356.

No. 2404.

(Wittenberg.) 23 December 1537.

To Vice Chancellor Burkhard.

About the matter of the pastor at Brettin. Compare No. 2390.
Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 239. From the Schmid collection at Helmstädt in Schütze, vol. III, p. 52 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 88.

To the highly placed man, Mr. Franz Burkhard (*Burgardo*), Vice Chancellor of Saxony, his brother in the Lord and extremely dear godfather.

Grace and peace in Christ! I write to the Lord Preceptor, Mr. Wolfgang Reißenbusch, best Vice-Chancellor, as I hope will please the most noble Prince and you. You throw the letters back to him or see that they are returned to him, but with the exception of the sum of 80 florins, which, as I have written, are to be given to the pastor at Prettin. I have always thought that the Preceptor was a good man, but I think it is right and just that this poor parson, who has been affected by so much misfortune, should be comforted with this money. Other things verbally, for I intend to visit you Torgauers after the feast, not for the sake of this matter, of course, but also not in my own affairs; they are only partly my own. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. On the Fourth Sunday of Advent [23 Dec.] 1537. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

No. 2405.

Torgau. 27. December 1537.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector reports that he has consented to the temporary resettlement of Dr. Jonas to Zerbst.
From the Weimar Archives, Registrande *LI, pag. 213. n. 151. 3.* reprinted in Burkhardt, p. 298.

U. Greeting before. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have heard your letter, which you have now sent to us in response to the request of the Reverend and Reverend, our dear elders, the Princes of Anhalt, for the sake of Doctor Jonas, together with the contents of her dear handwriting, and we are pleased to hear of your concern.

and we do not want to be in any way able to let the said Doctor Jonam come substantially from the University. But because the people of Zerbst are not to have a pastor and preacher at the present time, we have graciously granted God, for the praise and promotion of his word, and also for the friendly favor of our neighbors from Anhalt, and especially because much rule will now come there, that Doctor Jonas may be used as a preacher there between here and Shrove Tuesday, with the avoidance that their lords may endeavor to find a pastor, for which we would gladly be of assistance to them. And it is therefore our gracious request, where our lords of Anhalt or those of Zerbst will apply to you for a pastor, that you be and appear conducive to them, so that they may be provided with an efficient and skillful man. We, in our gracious opinion, do not want you to do this, and we are graciously inclined to you. Date Torgau, Thursday Johannis Evangelistä [27 Dec.] 1538 [that is 1537].

No. 2405a.

(Wittenberg.) No date 1537.

To Vice Chancellor Burkhard.

Luther asks to send the writings made out for M. Georg Rörer. About the sad condition of the margravine.

Printed from the original at the library at Helmstädt by Bruns, Beiträge, p. 104 and by De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 445.

To the highly respected man, Mr. Franz, Vice Chancellor of Saxony, his extremely dear godfather and friend.

Most reverend Mr. Vice-Chancellor! You may see to it that you redeem your faith, hope and love, because Dr. Brück says that the writings for M. Georg Rörer have long been taken care of, but that it is your fault that they are not sent to the so distressed, and one expects 2c. Therefore, show us mercy for the sake of God.

I am not writing anything about the most illustrious Lady Margravine, because I did not want to be the writer of such sad things. God have mercy on the very good and holy woman. And let us all pray for her. It is God's most inscrutable counsel that He allows such things of Satan in our midst.

No. 2406.

(Wittenberg.) No date 1537.

To Johann Bugenhagen.

This letter does not contain anything personal, but advice and regulations for someone who has been called to an embassy (*legationem*); and deals with the way how the Old Testament, especially the passage Habakuk 2, 4. is to be interpreted.

From an old manuscript in Schelhorns Ergötzlichk., vol. I, p. 297; from the Schelhorn collection in Memmingen in Schütze, vol. III, p. 236 and (comparing *Cod. Goth.* 402. f.) in De Wette, vol. V, p. 89 f.

Grace, mercy and peace in the Lord! First, what I believe must be done, indeed, what I declare to be quite certain according to the testimony of God, that he should not doubt that he is called by God to this message (*legationem*) or work, which is exceedingly pleasing to God and necessary for the churches and salutary for many consciences, which he who has begun and will accomplish what he is doing will also bless and confirm. Secondly, that he may be glad in the Lord with all his heart, and not doubt that he is surrounded by legions of angels, so much so that, though he were alone, yet he should know that he is not alone. Thirdly, when he hath perceived that it was Satan, and is yet Satan, and that it shall be Satan, let him not wonder, but know that Satan is Satan, because he that is in us is greater than he that is in the world. For Satan cannot be absent from such a great work of God, for he has always been a rebel and a prankster even in heaven, in paradise, and in the church. He has other things without me from God the Father through Jesus Christ.

But from me [he may accept], if it pleases him: first, that he should not reconcile the pope and Luther. Secondly, that he should not let himself be persuaded that the Concilium at Mantua is a serious one. Third, that he should not believe that the executioner at Halle is a good man, nor teach this. For the rest, I promise my work, my prayers, my diligence, and whatever I am able to do, so that we may carry the work with one another and do and promote this work of the Lord together.

Lautes and Münster and other Hebrew grammarians have worked faithfully and are worthy of all thanks, but in opinion they follow the rabbis too closely. For grammar is not enough to understand the sacred Scriptures. Grammar is something different from the Hebrew language, just as Greek and Latin grammar do not make Greeks and Latins. But the Hebrew language, then also the sure (*positiva*) grammar, has for the most part perished among the Jews; it has fallen away together with the matter and its understanding, as Isaiah says, Cap. 29, 10. ff. Therefore nothing is to be conceded to the rabbis in the interpretation of the holy Scriptures (*in re sacra*), since they twist and force the word derivations and the word insertions, because they want to force the thing out of the words, and subject the thing to the words, although the things must not be serviceable to the words, but the words to the things. But after the matter is lost, the words are twisted in vain, which is the only work of the rabbis, but such a work as goes to the utmost. Yea, they are wont most of the time to falsify a clear passage, where also the grammar agrees with us, only out of hatred against Christ, and to refer it to remote things, which is easily proved from the fact that the newer Jews treat many passages in a fabulous manner, which their ancient masters treat correctly and according to the truth, and that at length and with great learning. This is testified to by Burgensis everywhere in the postilion on Lyra and in his *Scrutinium*. The same is testified to by Lyra himself. And in all things their endeavor is like that which was in our lines, that after the understanding of Scripture was lost, they imputed their imaginations and preconceived opinions to the words of Scripture, twisting with great violence even the clear passages to the opposite opinion, as even now both they themselves and all heretics do. Therefore, if grammatical things must be accepted from them, mau may accept them, but all their derivations of words or opinions must not be followed in any way, since we know that they are very diligent to twist the words by grammatical rules and to falsify the right opinions. You

You also see today how much those who strive to be considered pure as Latins reject the pursuit of word derivations and grammatical rules; they want not the rules but the use to be the master of speech and the purpose of word derivations and rules to keep the right measure. Hence comes the dispute between the Ciceronians and the other Latins, who take a different position. And I, who am neither a Latinist, nor a grammarian, much less a Ciceronian, yet give the most applause to those who appear to be Ciceronians and wish to be praised. So also in the holy Scriptures I would rather be in a pure way a Mosaic, a Davidic, or an Isaic, if it were possible, than a Kimchic (*Kumichius*) Hebrew, or a Hebrew equal to any other Rabbi. For we must take pains that, as much as we can, we may come exceedingly near to, and be like, the most eminent in any profession, since with them there is not only a pure manner of speech, but also a right understanding of things. They are ready to deny and condemn the right opinion of faith, if they were not prevented from doing so by the translation of the apostle Paul [Rom. 1:17]. But by this very means they manifest their ignorance of holy words and things. For who should not know that none actually corresponds to this word "faith" in the Hebrew? But they have another, namely, *Emeth, Emunah* (truth), to which again with us, either Greeks, or Latins, or Germans, no word corresponds. For "truth" signifies with them that which is firm, certain, constant, established, undoubted, and it is said of bodily and spiritual things, as the 89th Psalm [v. 38.] testifies, "certain in the clouds" (Vulg.: *in coelo fidelis*), that is, certain, firm, constant, as it speaks of the rainbow 2) of Noah. Is. 7, 9. he connects both by a play on words: xxxxx xx xx xxxxx xx xx,

1) Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 1465 f., ? 23.
2) Instead of *archa*, read *arcu.*

which is translated: *si non creditis, non permanebitis,* "if you do not believe, you will not remain". But it is the same verbum all changed by the derivation (*etymologia*). According to the grammar, mau might translate thus: if ye will not stand, be certain, firm, true, ye will not be standing, certain, firm, true people; or thus: if ye believe not, one. will not believe you. The one therefore refers to spiritual things, the other to bodily, in this way: If ye stand not firm in heart, ye shall not be firm and sure in mind; if ye doubt in mind, if ye are not true in understanding, if ye have not a right will, ye shall not be able to stand and abide, be anything true, firm, or lasting; but as ye waver in mind, and are nothing sure in your heart, so shall ye waver, and be nothing sure in your kingdom. Now if you understand here what we have called firmness, certainty of heart, truth, constancy of mind, in reference to spiritual things, namely, of the word of God, namely, that I should have a firm, certain, constant applause to the word of God: Dear, by what name wilt thou teach me to express it in Latin? Will you not say: It is quite the same thing that in Latin is called *fidere*, to believe, to have confidence, not to doubt? What, then, is to be done? You deny that in Habakkuk "faith" must be read, only because you deny that in him "truth" is read, since in Hebrew faith and truth are the same. And even in Latin truth is not much different from faith, whether one speaks of the mind or of the body. The scholars of words (*etymologi*) say that it is called *fides* because it happens (*fiat*) or fei, that is, it is the truth of things outwardly, which is made known inwardly by the word of the heart, outwardly by the word of the mouth. Further, as Hebr. 11, 1. explains the Hebrew word as it were by a definition in an exceedingly learned manner, he ninth the faith the foundation (*hypostasin)* or essence (*substantium*) 1) of the things to come.

1) The Greek text says xxxxxxxxx, the Vulgate: *substantia*.

Things, because faith produces a firm, certain, true, stable, and well-founded opinion of the heart, which is not wavering, not doubting, not vain, not false, and is a nothing in the heart, or a deceitful image or mockery without reality or truth, as there are the opinions of men of God, none of which has a reason, or is a true, certain, firm thing; but it is a wavering, unstable, indefinite image in the heart. Otherwise the same [faith] is also called truth, in Hebrew *Necona*, Ps. 5:10: "For there is not in their mouth that is called, nothing certain, certain, certain, certain, certain, certain, certain (*hypostaticum*), but all is deceitful, vain, doubtful, which in truth is the same as being nothing, not existing, not being a being (*hypostasin*). Hence it is said in the 51st Psalm [v. 12. Vulg.], "a right (*rectum*) spirit," that is, a true, certain, undoubted, firm, well-grounded, substantial (*existent*), not deceitful, fictitious, doubtful, indefinite; "a spirit which is a right spirit, not a painted, poetical spirit, for it is false, and not a true spirit," but a kind of thought and fancy of the flesh. Therefore, when mau says, "The righteous lives by the truth," is the same thing as: he lives by what is certain, not by what is doubtful, or void, invented, false, but by the firm, true, constant heart, with which he clings to the word of GOD, which Paul translated: "through faith," admittedly with knowledge and will, because faith is the foundation (*hypostasis*), the steadfastness, the truth of the heart, which adheres in truth, steadfastly, and well-foundedly to the word of GOD, not deceitfully or voidly, which is usually called the joy of faith (*plerophoriam*). But in this word *hypostasis* philosophy has deceived us, which uses it for essence (*substantia*), referring to what is false, vain, void, uncertain. So also of the divine persons we say *hypostases*, that is, not such as are either void or false, but true, stable, well-founded, and true.

2) Set by us instead of *etc*.

dete things. Now the word is easily understood [Hebr. 11, 1.]: *hypostasis rerum spe randarum* its solid foundation of things to be hoped for, when first one rejects the opinion of philosophy and takes it according to the word of God, in which things to be hoped for (since they are nothing) cannot be received unless they are presented by the word, whether by the true one, as there is God's word, or by a false one, as there is the word of men. Secondly, that the solid foundation (*hypostasin*) of things is not understood in a philosophical way or *formaliter,* as if the things to come had their substantiality (*substantiam*) from faith, and faith was the formal, the essential part of the things to be hoped for. Thus life is the solid foundation (*hypostasis*) of the living body, but according to the manner of Hebrews and Scripture, that there is a certain assurance (*hypostasis*) of things or
The one who sees things for himself and grasps them in an undoubted and certain opinion. This is "faith" in the word of God, which does not lie, and faith in the same does not deceive.

No. 2407.

(Wittenberg.) 3. [2]) January 1538.

M . Georg Karg to Luther.

(Regest.)

He explains his inclination to be instructed. He would have liked to have attributed his opinion in several articles to Luther in writing, which Luther had demanded of him, but because a whole series of points came into question, the time was too short for him. A personal instruction of Luther was the most suitable thing. Now, putting all the blame on Jakob Schenk, whom he had asked urgently, but in vain, for instruction, he asks Luther to give him further instruction.

From the Weimar archives in Seidemann, "Dr. Jacob Schenk", p. 164. A regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 318.

1) It seems to us that instead of *res ipsa it* should be read: *res ipsas*; after this we have translated.

2) Seidemann dates: "the 2nd or 3rd of January", but the 3rd of January is to be put, because Luther writes in the next letter of the 4th of January: "yesterday I sent to him in my name the two Chaplains", namely, as we see from our letter, M. Georg Rörer and M. Sebastian Fröschel.

No. 2408.

(Wittenberg.) 4. January 1538.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther reports about M. Georg Karg, who was held prisoner at Wittenberg by order of the Elector.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N, fol. 100. 37. 5.* Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 83, no. 149; in Walch, vol. XXI, 410 s.; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 94, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 195.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshal and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen. Roman Empire Archmarshall and Elector, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

G. u. F. in Christo. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! According to E. C. F. G.'s order, I quickly presented the notes to Mag. George Karg in the Sacristy 3) in the morning, in the presence of Dr. Jonas, Dr. Kreuziger, M. Philipps, and spoke to him sharply: whereupon he first wanted to apologize, as if he had not written such a thing, but quickly referred to it, said that he had always wanted to be instructed, and we ordered him to send us his opinion in writing, whereupon he wanted to stay, which he granted. Just in such speeches comes the Schösser, 4) and E. C. F. G.'s order, he takes his hand to the castle to be tricked; however, we would have liked to see him tricked into his inn, which the castle had done on our responsibility; but the bailiff soon after had him brought to the castle, which we now also like better, also on our part.

When it now transpired that Mag. George Karg wrote nothing, I sent the two chaplains to him yesterday in my name, so that they demanded from him the promised writing, and although the bailiff at first refused them, and would not let anyone come to him without E. C. F. G.'s order, he nevertheless considered it and let them come again.

3) See Tischreden, Cap. 4, § 77, St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 211; ibid. col. 1035: "The Elector has had that Magister Karg imprisoned without my advice."

4) St. Louiser Ausg., Vol. XXII, 211 the word "Quästor" should not have been explained by "Richter" but by "Schösser".

The same have brought me this inserted writing, which he afterwards sent to me.

Today I went to him myself with Dr. Jonas, and talked to him at his request, and found that the priest, of whom he reports in his writings, has been one of the right principal boys, and that great injustice has been done to him. That they have let him come to Freiberg, that disturbs me greatly; for he has induced the poor young man to dispute such articles, which I never read nor heard before; but we hope, because he let himself be finely instructed today, and confesses that he was misled into such doubts, 1) that he should convert himself rightly. For he is an inexperienced young man, and has perhaps first of all been offended at our persons, and afterwards has held the doctrine all the more in contempt, as they have all done hitherto, who have made mischief under our doctrine, and first despised our persons. But so that we do not make a joke out of the devil's accusation and strange request, I do not wish nor ask that E. C. F. G. release him until we may thoroughly and certainly indicate to E. C. F. G. what he wants to do or not do; for strange thoughts occur to me, even about people who are perhaps, and whether God wills it, innocent. E. C. F. G. will know how to keep themselves princely. The devil means us in earnest, and sends his servants among us (as the priest of Freiberg was one), and creeps in, unwelcome to us. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Friday after *Circumcis*. [4 Jan.] 1538.

E. C. F. G. subservient
Mart. Lutherus.

No. 2409.

Torgau. 6 January 1538.

Prince John Frederick to Luther and the other theologians.

(Regest.)

Order to send in their report on the imprisoned pastor Johann Heyne, who had asked to be released from prison. - He seems to be practicing medicine

1) In the editions: "im solchen zweymal". In the original probably "zweiuel" [doubt] will be found. Walch offers: "in".
At least he confessed in prison that he had given coriander and cubeb to people who could not sleep. The people came to him from Leipzig and Halle. Incidentally, the practice of medicine by clergymen was not at all uncommon in the age of the Reformation (Burkhardt).

From the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O. p. 148. FFF., N. 4.* printed by Burkhardt, p. 299.

No. 2410.

(Wittenberg.) January 6, 1538.

To Johann Agricola.

Luther revokes Agricola's permission to give theological lectures because of his antinomian teachings.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 245, printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 55 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 96.

To the highly venerable man, Magister Johann Agricola of Eisleben.

Hail! I have indicated to the Rector, my dear Agricola, that you should refrain from the theological lecture, which you took on at my request and according to my will, so that you would not be idle and only] annoying (*otiosus et odiosus*) to people, again, according to my will, and at the same time abstain completely from theological activity (*a theoIogia*), and this I indicate to you by this letter, so that you know that henceforth you must receive permission to read elsewhere, namely, at the university. Then, if you speak something against us in corners, I will not prevent it, but see that you take care of yourself. Fare well, and humble thy mind under the hand of the mighty God. At five o'clock in the evening on Epiphany Day [6 Jan.] 1538. Martin Luther, D.

No. 2411.

(Wittenberg.) January 7, 1538.

To Vice Chancellor Burkhard.

Luther sends him his disputations against the Antinomians and briefly mentions other matters, also those of M. Georg Karg.

From the Schmid collection at Helmstädt in Schütze, vol. III, p. 56 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 96.

To the highly placed man, Mr. Franz Burkhard, Chancellor of Saxony, his godfather and very good friend in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! I am finally sending you myself, because (as you write) another does not send them, the theses of the third and fourth disputations, my dear Francis. For you said that you had those of the first and second, and I wonder, since everything else is so diligently carried to court, that they do not omit even a flea-bite, that they do not report these all-known things. Next Saturday [Jan. 12] 1) I will disput the second disputation, to hear again, if they will, these antinomians.

From Freiberg everything is written about Jacob 2) so constantly that I myself am compelled to believe what I believe only with sorrow. "Come on!" the light will bring everything to light. About Magister Karg I do not yet write to the most illustrious prince, because he seems to be curable, and eagerly accepts the rebukes, and that is a sign that the man is miserably deceived. For he is plagued with quite monstrous opinions, but with grounds of proof which are utterly void. And Satan perceives that here (as they say) the fence is low. But of this more, and at another time. Be well in the Lord with all thine own. Monday after Epiphany [7 Jan.] 1538. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

No. 2412.

(Wittenberg.) January 9, 1538.

To Margaretha, Princess of Anhalt, Wolfgang's mother.

Comfort in sickness.

From a copy in *Cod. Dessav. B, published* in Theologische Studien und Kritiken 1835, Vol. II, p. 348; in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 56, p. XI, and in De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 193.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord and Saviour. Sublime princess, gracious lady! It is also brought to my attention by E. F. G. dear son, my Lord, Prince Wolf

1) See St. Louis ed. vol. XX, 1632.

2) Dr. Jakob Schenk.

I have been told that the letters I have written to E. F. G. are almost weak, so that I should have written a consolation letter to E. F. G. a long time ago. But it is prevented until now, without my fate and will. Well, there is there! But now that E. F. G. has been fatherly visited and burdened with sickness by the dear Father in heaven, who made us and gave us body and soul, and then redeemed Adam from error and death through his dear Son Jesus Christ, and through his Holy Spirit has given us the hope of eternal life in our hearts, E. F. G. should not grieve, but accept such gracious visitation with gratitude. Since we are told and know that all who believe in the dear Son of the Father cannot die eternally, as He Himself says: "He who believes in Me shall never die, and though he die, yet shall he live," John 11:25, and St. Paul. Rom. 14, 4) 8. saith, "Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's." [V. 7.:] "No man liveth unto himself, no man dieth unto himself," but unto him only who died for us all. Wherefore we which believe on him ought to have confidence, knowing that we are not our own, but of him that died for us. If therefore we be sick, we are not sick to ourselves; 5) if we be well, we are not well to ourselves; if we be in trouble, we are not in trouble to ourselves; if we be glad, we are not glad to ourselves. In sum, if it be so with us, it is not with us, but with him who died for us and became our own. Just as a good child, when it is sick and in distress, is more sick to its parents than to itself; for it affects the parents much more than the child, because the child is not its own, but its parents'. Therefore let us also confidently yield ourselves to the Lord, whether we live, are afflicted, or die, and not doubt that the Lord does not repudiate such things to ourselves, but to him who purchased the Lord together with us by his blood and death, in whom we also believe, and in such faith we do not die, though we die, but live; neither do we afflict, though we afflict, but live.

3) Maybe: Guilt?

4) In the prints: "*Roma* xv."

5) "so we are not us sick" is missing from the mscr. at the bottom of the page.

Who are sound in Christ, in whom are all things sound, fresh, living, and blessed, which seem to us to be diseased, infirm, dead, and lost according to the flesh. He is almighty, in whom we believe. May the dear Lord keep such comfort and knowledge in E. F. G.'s heart until that blessed day, to which I hereby faithfully command E. F. G., Amen. Wednesday after Epiphany [9 Jan] 1538.

E. F. G. williger

M. Luther.

No. 2413.

(Wittenberg.) January 9, 1538.

To Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt.

Regarding the letter of comfort to the Prince's mother.

The original is in Dessau. Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 993; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 567; in Walch, vol. XXI, 406; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 97; and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 197 and vol. 56, p. 209.

To the illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascania, Lord of Bernburg, my gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, high-born Prince, gracious Lord! 1) I would have written a consolation letter to E. F. G.'s dear mother long ago, at E. F. G.'s request. F. G.'s request, I would have written a letter of comfort to E. F. G.'s dear mother, but I did not have a messenger. For it happens to me that the letters are delivered to me; then no one is found, or perhaps they do not find me, who should receive an answer from me, that I often write letters in vain, which remain lying here, so that I have more to do than to write letters in vain. Therefore E. F. G. want to have me excused, and certainly halls for the fact that [it] has not been lacking in my willing ability, no matter what the fault may be or can be. Accordingly, I write to E. F. G.'s mother, as well as God gives me, and hereby command the same M. G.'s wife together with E. F. G. into the grace of the dear God, amen. Wednesday after Epiphany [9 Jan] 1538.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther.

1) Erlanger, vol. 56: "Prince" instead of: "Lord".

No. 2414.

(Wittenberg.) January 27, 1538.

To N. N. (Valentin?) Hausmann.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 818.

No. 2415.

(Wittenberg.) February 6, 1538.

To Justus Jonas in Zerbst.

Luther excuses his carelessness in letter writing.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. From the collection of Sagittarius in Jena in Schütze, Vol. III, p. 59 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 99.

You are right, my dear Jonas, to be so diligent in writing letters to me. And you do no less well if you bear with equanimity my negligence, which does not come from my indolence, but, as you know: *Carmina proveniunt animo deducta sereno* [Songs come forth, not fit for cheerful hearts]. My brain is wearied with thoughts, so that I may or can write or do almost nothing. But Christ liveth, the triumphant and electing of them that rule in the air [Eph. 2:2]: to whom be glory for ever and ever, Amen. In him be well and pray for me. Wednesday after the Purification of the Virgin Mary [6 Feb.] 1538.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2416.

(Wittenberg.) February 8, 1538.

To Johann Schlaginhaufen, pastor at Köthen.

Luther asks him to help provide for the support of a poor pastor's widow.

From *Cod. Dessav. B. ex chirographo Lutheri* mitgetheilt von Prof. Lindner zu Dessau in the Theol. Studien und Kritiken von 1835, p. 346; in the Erlanger Ausgabe, Vol. 56, p. XLII. and in De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 195.

To the worthy Mr. Magister Johann Schlainhaufen, pastor at Köthen, my favorable, dear friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Dear Pastor! My friendly request is to you, because the poor widow gentleman in your preaching ministry has become ill and also died in it, may you

Both of you, the rulers and the commoners, use all your diligence, and ask on my account that they not let her go away so miserable and poor, but do her a tax for the sake of God. Dear God, do you want to treat the poor widow like this, where do you want to get preachers in time?

I command you this thing faithfully, not only that ye do such service out of love, but also out of the duty of your office. Herewith commanded to our Lord, whom pray diligently for me. D[atum] on 8 Feb. of the 38th year.

Mart. Luther, D.

No. 2417.

(Wittenberg.) February 12, 1638.

To Justus Jonas in Zerbst.

News from home, likewise about those from Italy. From the Archbishop of Mainz.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 245 and in *Cod. Goth*. 4 Printed from the collection of Sagittarius at Jena by Schütze, vol. III, p. 50 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 100,

Grace and peace in Christ! There was nothing I could have written, my dear Jonas, but to tell you that I would gladly write more often if it were necessary, either for the sake of business or because of the angel of Satan and his blows. But there is no news here that would be of so much interest that it should be written to you, since you are in such a near place as a messenger. It is well in your house, thanks be to Christ, but your beer is spoiled if the same is in your cellar as that which you gave me as a gift. But the beer may perish, and at the same time with it the old man, the vessel or rather the hose of this water made a martyr, if only the incorruption of the inward man, who drinks the water and the living fountain, which quilts into eternal life, increases from day to day, amen.

Philip sends news from Italy. I take hope from the same that it will be

1) Instead of *corrumpitur* We have adopted *corrumpatur.*

That Christ, after the world hath broken itself in pieces, shall hasten his day, and make the world to break and to fall. The fearful, of course, may be struck by the ruins, but we shall have our imminent salvation, amen.

It is said here, but I do not believe it, that ours have forgotten in their matter that that epicure at Halle (since he shamefully killed Hans Schenitz) despised the restraining order of the empire, and that he now wants this restraining order to be upheld against our prince. This would clearly mean forgetting Cato's well-known saying: It is shameful for a teacher if the accusation falls back on him (*Turpe est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum*). For if the command of the empire had no validity against him then, why should it have any validity for him now? But, as I have said, I do not think that ours have forgotten this fraud, unless perhaps the honor of interpreting this revelation (*Apocalypsis*) is reserved for Luther, if he remains alive, with due approbation. If you have something certain about this matter, show it to me. For as I beseech God against this Pharaonic monster, so I hear nothing rather than God's judgment against him. For this vessel of wrath and sin resists and harms the Church greatly, and I do not pray for him.

Satan showed us our safety on the last Sunday, since God allowed it, and taught us that one must watch and live moderately. For he caused a murder to be committed by a man who, when he was sober, was gentler than a lamb, but when he was drunk, he was a warrior. At times he has been an industrious and good wage-earner for my Käthe. May God have mercy on him and protect us against all temptations of Satan through Christ, our Lord, amen. Therefore the rumor may bring to you, it is the servant of Luther; so was vaunted in this city for a whole day. He fled, of course, after he had bidden his wife farewell with tears, and left three children with their mother in the greatest poverty. But may Satan be so with ours: Misery

But woe to you, says that judge, who laugh, especially at the misfortunes of others; this comes to Satan, and to the Epicurean of Halle, and his like. For this Herodian laughter and mockery Christ understands indeed, and has willed that we also should understand it. After all, they will weep after our sadness is turned into joy. In a little while, if I can, more. For to this letter so detailed, thou, who art so joyful and calm in the rich peace of Christ (which I exceedingly grudge thee), owest me ten still more detailed, or rather a thousand. Fare well in the Lord. February 12, 1538.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2418.

(Wittenberg.) 23 February0 1538.

To Nikolaus Hausmann in Dessau.

Luther instructs him to thank the Anhalt princes for a gift and to wish Prince John luck. Of literary news.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 253. Printed from the Hanische Sammlung at Kiel in Schütze, vol. III, p. 62; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 264 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 102. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1457.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have not had time to write to several people, my best and most dear Nicolaus. Therefore, I also ask you first of all to give thanks for me to the noble Prince for the gift of the pike, and then also to wish the Prince, Mr. John, good luck in his reconciliation with his Princess in my name. May Christ confirm and accomplish the work he has begun with them, amen. Thanks be to him that he has so graciously heard our prayers in this matter. By this example it is taught that we must pray, and not desist; he will surely come, and save us. But, as I have said, now I am so taken up by some drudgeries of Satan, that I cannot write a more. More at another time, if Christ lend it. Pray thou also the Lord diligently for me, that I may do that which is good in his sight.

1) Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 508, places this letter on March 1, but the second date at the end of the letter is not in the original.

The monstrosities of the Roman Cardinals 2) will be published both in Latin and in German. But the ungodliness of this matter and the unworthiness of these men is too great to be sufficiently indignant about it or to be able to talk it out in words. Christ Himself will come as Judge; to Him must be reserved the due vengeance upon these mockers of God and men. You pray for me, as I have asked you, for I have confidence that your petitions are much appreciated by God. My Käthe greets you and M[eister] Peter 3) reverently in Christ. I wish that it may go well with you in the Lord. On Saturday after the feast of Peter's chair [23 Feb], that is, after the one so instituted by the pope to consolidate his tyranny. I send you the arms of the pope, which have been drawn by me, or which I have had drawn, 4) with his cardinals. I send a copy of the improved church. For before I have had it also translated into German. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2419.

(Wittenberg.) February 28, 1538.

To Jakob Schenk.

(Regest.)

Luther rebuked Schenk for his courtly conduct and tyranny in Schneeberg and Colditz, and cited as an example that he had committed himself to your Magister Georg Karg, who was imprisoned precisely because of heresies, in order to be able to rule everywhere. - Cf. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XXII, 1700, No. 98.

Baxmann at Niedner 1861, 619, IV. in the *Cod. chart. Goth*. 1048. above regest with Burkhardt, p. 301.

No. 2420.

(Wittenberg.) 2. March 1538.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for Hans Semler.

The original is found in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. C, p. 254*. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 301.

2) "Rathschlag von der Kirche eines Ausschusses etlicher Cardinäle" 2c. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVI, 1971, No. 1230.

3) "Master Peter Balbierer." See No. 2205.

4) On the title page of the "Rathschlag". "The Improved Church" will probably be the new improved edition of the "Lessons of the Visitators". St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1628.

G. and Peace in Christ. Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! The Royal Majesty of Denmark has written to me to write for the present Hans Semler to E. C. F. G. and to ask that E. C. F. G. would show him gracious support, whether he could admonish his guilt, 1) as I understand that His Royal Majesty will also write to E. C. F. G.. Therefore, since my support is also desired for this purpose, my humble request is that 2) His Royal Highness would graciously show his support, [which,] as I have no doubt, they already know how to do and are happy to do out of a Christian and princely spirit. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befehlt, Amen. The other Martii 1538.

E. C. F. G. subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 2421.

(Wittenberg.) 2. March 1538.

To Vice Chancellor Burkhard.

Luther recommends the successor of the deposed pastor Glatz in Orlamünde, Liborius, to Burkhard's protection.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 249. From the Schmid collection at Helmstädt in Schütze, vol. III, p. 63 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 103.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Franz Burkhard, Vice-Chancellor of Saxony, his exceedingly dear Gevatter 2c.

Grace and peace in Christ! Werther Vice-Chancellor Franz, I commend this letter from Lord Liborius, pastor of Orlamünde, to your loyalty, so that it may be handed over to the most Serene Prince. For today I have already showered his Serene Highness with two other letters. I know not what the Lord Glatz may think; peradventure he will be persuaded by un

1) Burkhardt remarks on the factual situation: J. Semler the A. was a deserving mining master, formerly in Danish, now in Saxon service, who had dug the famous "Semlerstollen" on the Schneeberg, and who came for intercession that, considered, "what he had suffered in the feud of the kings of Denmark, and what he was owed by the people under the counts of Mansfeld and Botho of Stollberg, may be brought in". The requested letters of intercession bear the date of Tuesday after Estomihi [March 5, 1538], Thursday after Johannis Bapt [June 26, 1539] - "ermähnen" - to admonish.

2) Omitted by Luther; added by Burkhardt.

He may be so puffed up by his letter of comfort that he may be taken care of elsewhere, or he may be so presumptuous, stirred up by others, that he dares to challenge the agreement, which is confirmed by such strong witnesses and the proper authority, unless some sins of his past administration press him. Do, I pray, as much as thou canst, and as I have confidence thou wilt work that the very good man of this Glatz suffer not scorn and harm. Fare well in Christo with all thine own. 1538, March 2. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2422.

(Wittenberg.) March 1538.

To an unnamed person.

Luther's letter against the Sabbathers.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1828.

No. 2423.

(Wittenberg.) March 27, 1538.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Uebersendung of new writings of Luther and news.

The original is in Dessau. Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 247. From the Hanische Sammlung at Kiel in Schütze, vol. III, p. 64; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 266 (without indication of the source) and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 104. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1456.

To the worthy man, Mr. Nic. Hausmann, the exceedingly faithful and upright servant of Christ, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! I send the booklet against the Sabbath-keepers 3) and the advice of the Cardinals about the church to be reformed. Everything else, I believe, you have what has been printed before, as, the pope hung up next to Judas 2c.

Dr. Jonas is my deputy in the journey to Brunswick; I myself have not been able to [travel]; I have feared for my health. I have no news except that which you already have, and that there is no peace between the Emperor and the French, and the Venetians are in distress through the Turk,

3) See the previous number; likewise No. 2418.

who has enclosed her fleet and forces her to be inactive. If the Emperor and the princes of Italy do not bring hulls, they will again be forced to enter into a treaty with the Turk. God forgive us our sins and have mercy on us, and bring about that day of redemption, Amen. Fare well in Christ and pray to the Lord for me. Greetings M[eister] Peter. 1) Wednesday after Oculi [27 March] 1538.

No. 2424.

Zurich. March 1538.

Heinrich Bullinger, preacher at Zurich, to Luther.

(Regest.)

He apologizes for not having written to Luther before, and explains why he is doing so now. He asks for a letter as a sign of friendship and sends several of his writings.

Casten C. Arch. Eccl. Tig. ex autographo, Printed in *Bullingeri Epist., tom. I, p. 172* and in Kolde, leeta, p. 320.

No. 2425.

(Wittenberg.) April 8, 1538.

To Justus Jonas.

News from Wittenberg.

From Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 248, printed by Schütze, vol. III, p. 65 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 105.

Grace and peace in Christ! I will not compete with you, my dear Jonas, in writing letters, not without cause: first, because you far surpass us in intellect and eloquence, which, of course, are [with you] hereditary gifts; secondly, because you have richer material to write with, since you associate among such great heroes and affairs that I would almost think the army of the Trojans and the Greeks were dull (*frigidas*) hosts before Troy, if the poetry of Homer had not puffed them up and made so small things shine with immense eloquence. Meanwhile, here we confess Christ in silence and hope, but sometimes with little bravery; we, especially Magister

1) Here Aurifaber, Schütze and Walch have the reading: "Master *Peter*; De Wette: *M. Petrum*. Cf. No. 2205 and No. 2418.

Philip and I (while you are absent) are overwhelmed with things and business to the point of overkill, while I, as an old man and a veteran, would rather enjoy the pleasure of old age in the garden these days, to look at the wonders of God in the growth of the trees, the flowers, the herbs, the birds, etc., and this pleasure, even the leisure, would be due to me if I had not deserved to be deprived of it through past sins, through burdensome and often useless business, and this pleasure, even leisure, would be mine if I had not deserved to be deprived of it by past sins, by burdensome and often useless business. Other things will this M. Johannes, the Saxon, my table companion, tell, if I have written something too little, or you wish to know more, if it is otherwise the case that he could know more. It is well in thy house. The daughter of M. Philip, Hanna, is here from the salt works with her husband and children, who have journeyed here, because it is very comforting to a man that he can enjoy the sacrament here. I have received the hope that this tragedy, too, will finally be concluded by a good end and be a very good comedy, so that we can boast that it was a funny tragedy (*tragicomoediam*). Amen for Christ's sake. In it be well, and tell Myconius that I do not now wish to answer his letters in turn, and that I only envy him his leisure, namely, the healthy, strong, cheerful, and handsome young man, indeed, who is also quite worthy that he should partly taste my leisure. On Monday after Judica [8 April] Anno 1538. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2426.

Wittenberg. 24 April 1538. 2)

To the Moravian brothers in Leitomyschl.

(Regest.)

Luther returns the Confession and Apology sent to him, regretting that he had not found a printer willing to print both at his own expense.

In *Gindely fontes rer. austr. XIX*, from the year 1537. Above regest in Burkhardt, p. 302.

2) Gindely has the year 1537: "Given at Wittenberg in the Vigil of heil. Evang. Marcus [April 24] 1537." But (says Burkhardt) the year 1537 cannot be correct, because the brothers had sent the letter of remembrance to Luther (No. 2391) in November 1537. Burkhardt dates: "end of April 1538."

No. 2427.

(Wittenberg.) After 1 May 1538 (?).

An M. Ambrosius Berndt.

Consolation because of the loss of his wife and his newborn son.

From the collection of Caspar Sagittarius at Jena by Schütze, vol. III, p. 233. Comparing the *Cod. chart. Goth. 402. 1*. which has some severe omissions, and the *Cod. Goth*. 187. 4. in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 195. - This letter seems to us, at least in form, to be spurious. Already Seidemann remarks 1. e.: "With the contradictions which all pieces referring to Berndt's mourning present among each other, I cannot yet consider all doubts removed." - Seidemann's determination of the time: "After May 1, 1538 (?)", which is based on the time when Berndt's youngest son died (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. III, 591, No. 1729), we have left with a question mark, because according to Cruciger's letter to Veit Dietrich of Nov. 24, 1537 (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. III, 454, wrongly resolved: Nov. 27) it seems certain to us that Berndt's wife died in November 1537, but in our writing the death of the son is reported as having occurred at the same time. Bretschneider (*Corp. Ref.* , III, 872) places Melanchthon's letter of consolation to Berndt in the year 1539, and ibid, vol. IV, 736, still more erroneously in the year 1541. Wrampelmeier places Luther's consolation speeches to Berndt in the "Tagebuch über Dr. Martin Luther, geführt von Cordatus," p. 145, in the year 1532, "since (as he says) all these colloquia fall about the middle of the year 1532." Preger's "Tischreden Luthers nach den Aufzeichnungen Schlaginhaufens" places them, p. XVI, in January to March, 1532. On November 27, 1538 (see No. 2479), Berndt, in his second marriage, married Luther's niece, Magdalena Kaufmann. Cf. St. Louis ed. vol. XXII, 822; *Rebenstock, tom. II, fol. 5*; *Bindeil, tom*. III, p. 208; *Cordatus, no. 615 sqq.* and *Schlaginhaufen*, no. 129 and no. 145. We have omitted the pieces which Seidemann printed in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 189, as being addressed to Ambrosius Berndt in mid-November 1537, because they are table speeches (Cap. 26, §60), which are not even in epistolary form, and most of which are already found in the 22nd volume of our edition. This piece, which also seems to us to be more of a speech than a letter, we share here after Seidemann in German translation.

Mercy and peace! I am not so insensible (*inhumanus*), my dear Ambrose, that I should not know how much the death of Margaret grieves you. For the godly and strong affection of the husband towards his wife is so great that it cannot easily be shaken off from the heart, and GOtte does not dislike this movement of sadness at all, if it is only moderate, so that he even approves of it, since he himself has implanted it. And I would not think thee a man, much less a good husband, if thou didst at once remove sadness from the

I know that you could drive away your heart. But, my dear Ambrose, I allow you this sorrow as far as it is not against the will of God. For it is necessary that a measure finally be set for sadness and sorrow. Therefore, you should think of yourself in this way: first, that you are miserable in this world, since your wife and son 1) have been torn from you; nothing more bitter can happen to a man in private matters, especially since you had such a wife, who was endowed with unusual gifts, who was at your beck and call in all things, who was also chaste and adorned with the best manners, and who, what is greatest of all, was able to gladden your heart with sweet and Christian conversation and move it not a little. And I know for certain that for no reason do you grieve more than because she was gentle and exceedingly suitable for your wife. Again, you must remember that you have become the most blessed person in the sight of God through the death of this woman, because she died in childbirth, that is, in her godly duty and her true calling, with a steady mind and in firm trust in Christ, whom she often confessed when she was already passing away, by calling upon Christ alone and by surrendering and offering herself completely to God. In addition, by a strange miracle, graciously supported by God in such great sufferings, she gave birth to your son John, who was baptized and buried together with his mother. These two things thou shalt diligently consider among thyself, and thou shalt hold bodily goods against spiritual goods, and so conclude that the spiritual gifts are greater than the bodily. In this exercise thyself continually, and temper thy grief as much as thou canst. Comfort yourself with the word of God, the most excellent consolation. Learn also to give great thanks to God for the spiritual gifts that have been granted to your wife Margaretha, while at the same time asking our common Father to let you and all of us die in faith in Jesus Christ. Yours, Mart. Luther.

1) The woman had not died immediately in childbed, but, after being well for a month, was seized with a disease which brought about her death. (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. III, 455.) The child died later (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. III, 591).

No. 2428.

Zurich. 4 May 1538.

The reformed Swiss places to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2154.

No. 2429.

(Wittenberg.) 6, May 1538.

To Duke Albrecht of Prussia.

Luther excuses Johann von Bora, his brother-in-law, because of his absence from Prussia. Of the delay of the Concilium and of the good concord with the Swiss.

From Faber's collection of letters, p. II, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 106, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 199.

Grace and peace in Christ and my poor Father-Ours. Sublime, highborn Prince, gracious Lord! I have been able to write to E. F. G. Hans von Bora, 1) my brother-in-law, who was previously E. F. G.'s servant on the Muemel (Memel). After he had let himself be delayed out here for a long time, for the sake of his property, that he also had to move into it himself, and compared himself, until he brought it to himself, nevertheless he has never yet gone to E. F. G.'s service, but has always thought of E. F. G. with high praise, and desired E. F. G. to be his servant. with high praise, and wished to serve her always willingly and gladly: therefore asks E. F. G. not to understand such delay, which he had to do out of necessity to confirm his and his brothers' goodwill, in any ungracious will, nor to recognize [him] as an ingrate or unwilling to serve E. F. G.. For I can testify with truth that he always praised E. F. G. very highly and considered him a dear gentleman before all others.

Where now E. F. G. (after he has provided for his child the estate and poor inheritance or house, and can also well order it) wants to use his service further, he begs to serve E. F. G. with all loyalty and diligence, and desires that E. F. G. be his gracious prince and lord. Thereupon is also my humble

1) He excused himself in a letter dated Wittenberg, April 29, and offered to return to Prussia with his family if the Duke would take him into his service again. On May 24 the Duke replied that Bora's position was already filled again and no other vacant, but declares himself ready to provide for his continuance if he wishes to come to Prussia again. (De Wette.)

Please, let E. F. G. have him graciously commanded and appear beneficial to him; this is pleasing to God as a good work. So I will, as much as I, poor Christian, am able to do against God, with my poor prayer, help E. F. G., as I do and am obliged to do, gladly change Christians' orders.

New newspaper from the Turk eight I E. F. G. shall know more than we. The king 2) has no luck, the emperor is back in Hispania; some think he is angry that the pope so shamefully shows up the Concilium, consumes, scares and flies. They are nothing but Roman scoundrels and knaves; but God has begun to afflict them, and he will not let up, but presses on, and makes them the longer the more fools of their wisdom.

With the Swiss, who until now have been at odds with us because of the Sacrament, things are on a good track, God help us; for Basel, Strasbourg, Augsburg, and Bern, along with others, are very friendly with us; So we also accept it kindly, that I hope God will put an end to the trouble, not for our sake, who do not deserve it, but for the sake of His name, and to the displeasure of the abomination at Rome; for they are greatly frightened by such a new newspaper, and are afraid, which is why they also so miserably shun the Concilium.

Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befohlen, Amen. Monday after *Philippi et Jacobi* [6 May] 1538.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther.

No. 2430.

Wittenberg. 12 May 1538.

To Sebastian Heller, Ansbach chancellor.

Luther thanks him for a gift of Franconian wine, and asks that he be excused for having, ignorantly, spoken contemptuously of the same.

From the original in the Imhof Collection at Nuremberg in Schütze, vol. III, p. 68; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 266 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 108.

To the highly placed man, Mr. Sebastian Heller, Doctor of Laws and Chancellor of the Prince, Margrave Georg. "Grace and peace in Christ!" I pray thee, if any thing thou wilt do...

2) Ferdinand.

sten, my dearest Doctor, or to anyone at court, that I had despised this rich gift of Franconian wine [, you will excuse me]. 1) I confess my guilt and am aware that I uttered words when this gift came, it seemed to me [, that it was not worth much], 1) because it would be Franconian wine, which is so infamous with us, either through the unworthiness of the sellers or the carters, through whom almost no unadulterated or wholesome wine is brought to us. Yes, I would have wished that not a drop of Franconian wine had been given to me, since I was certain that I would not enjoy this drink. If, therefore, anything of the kind is said about me, I beg you to excuse me as much as you can. Perhaps those will tell too true (*narrabunt*) who tell such things (*narrant*), but I have been by far the greatest fool (*narrator),* and even gross fool (*narrus),* since I did not know that you Franconians are blessed with such a good wine, when in other parts of Franconia one has such a wine. For immediately after I had tasted it and tried it for a few days, I sang the revocation and still sing it. For I have never drunk wine that would have been more beneficial or wholesome to my body than this cloudy wine of this year, which I considered particularly suspicious. Meanwhile, before that, I have despised all wines, and have refreshed myself on this one. This I write, that thou mayest graciously excuse my ingratitude, which I condemn and abhor by this letter; wherefore I beseech thee much. Above the rest, I will not believe those who are hostile to Franconian wine in all things, unless I shall first know by experience what is the nature of that which is put forth to drink. Fare well in your Lord and greet all of yours, but especially commend me to your most noble Prince, and say thank you to his Serene Highness in my name, after you have excused my ingratitude. Wittenberg, May 12, 1538. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2431.

(Wittenberg.) May 12, 1538.

To Justus Jonas.

Because of a journey to be made to Wörlitz or Coswig. News full home.

From Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 249, in Schütze, vol. III, p. 67 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 109.

Grace and peace in Christ! The noble Princes of Anhalt have also written to me, my best Jonas, about the day that should be appointed for me either in Coswig or in Wörlitz. I have not yet answered them for lack of a messenger, and now that this messenger is suddenly here, I have not wanted nor been able to answer so briefly. You will meanwhile tell, as a lively and of speech mighty Pericles, that I am busy with sermons on Saturday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, especially because you and Pommer are absent, then M. Agricola, to say nothing of the letters and secondary business which pursue me and constantly overwhelm me; therefore, if the time which I am to devote to the very good princes must be stolen, it will be most convenient if the Thursday after Cantate [May 23] were appointed for me, so that after the sermon on Wednesday I will mount the carriage and appear in the evening of the same day either at Wörlitz or at Coswig. For the place is not in question for me, but the time, namely that I will stay there on Thursday and return home on Friday, for the sake of the following Saturday. For according to Vocem Jucunditatis the time is not available, since I must keep holidays throughout the week, 2) except Friday. If, in addition, it is necessary to write to the Prince, then I will write tomorrow or the day after tomorrow.

Your Halls is as you left it, but ill good hope, however the small Sophie began to suffer a little all some fever heat (*calorculo*). But there is no danger there. For in these days a feverish heat is frequent and many times in this city, and now with me two maids have a strong

1) Added by us.

2) For in this week was added to the rest of the sermons that were preached on Ascension Day.

Fever. My little Martin and Paul can hardly resist. Farewell in Christ, good Jonas, and pray for me. My lord Käthe salutes thee reverently, and commends me to the princes. About Mr. Weller and the Emperor and the Turk more extensively, when I will have written to the Princes at the same time, if it concerns. On the day Jubilate [12 May] Anno 1538.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2432.

(Wittenberg.) May 12, 1538.

To Edward Fox, Bishop of Herefordshire.

On the occasion of the journey of the Chancellor Burkhard and the Superintendent Myconius as envoys of the Elector to England, Luther renews the friendship with the Bishop, who was in 1536 with the English legation in Wittenberg.

The original is at the library at Wolfenbüttel; from it at De Wette, vol. V, p. 110. From the Börner collection at Leipzig at Schütze, vol. III, p. 70.

To the venerable Father in Christ, Mr. Edward, Bishop of Hereford (*Erfordiensi*) in England, his superior to be highly venerated in thy Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord! When these men, our friends and the envoys of the princes, set out on their journey to your most noble king, I, venerable sir, could not refrain from writing a letter to you, fearing that I would be highly reproached for being an ungrateful and unfeeling man. For, since you have, apart from the exceedingly pleasant contact which you have cultivated with us here, also done me a great deal of good and have helped me with advice against my enemy, the stone, there is no occasion for me to forget you. We have often spoken of you and at great length, especially since, because affairs in your kingdom are so changeable, you have either been unable to write letters to us, or those that have been written have perhaps been intercepted, with which we might have satisfied our longing. For we were in uncertainty, and feared indeed that this hard

The silence of the Roman Catholic Church might have been the sign of a very sad accident that had befallen the Gospel. And there were those who said that your king, entangled at last by the Roman intrigues, would again enter into good terms with the pope. Here we prayed, and wished with hope and fear that Satan might be crushed under your feet. Nor are we yet certain what or how will be done among you in the Gospel. But we hope, by these messengers, when they return, to hear glad tidings and a right gospel concerning your English church. But how it stands with the church and the commonwealth in our Germany, you will be able to learn abundantly and completely from these people of ours. May the Lord Jesus Christ increase in you and us at the same time His grace and gifts to the glory of God the Father, Amen. My Käthe respectfully greets you, venerable Lord. In Christ your dignities are well pleased, and let me be in command of her. On the 12th day of May in the year 1538...

E. W. most devoted Martin Luther.

No. 2433.

Wittenberg. 14 May 1538.

To Heinrich Bullinger, preacher in Zurich.

Answer to Letter No. 2425, with which Bullinger had sent his writing *De autoritate Scripturae et functione Episcoporum.* Luther does not conceal that he cannot agree with Bullinger's opinions, and wishes that they and their parties would still come to an agreement.

The original is in the Zurich government archives, but the beginning is missing, and it only begins with *Nosti vero*. Printed by *Hottinger, Hist. Eccl.,* VI, 730 and from it by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 268. According to the original by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 111.

To the highly placed man, Mr. Heinrich Bullinger, the industrious and diligent servant of the church at Zurich, his dear [friend] highly honored in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Your letter has been handed over to me, my dear Bullinger, at the same time as your book on the standing of the

Scripture and the administration of the bishops. Of course, I have not yet read through the book, since I am busy with other and many things; but I did not want to postpone the answer beyond this Leipzig fair, even though I cannot give you what you want, my opinion of your book, with so much lack of time. You know, however, that we do not otherwise dislike the way you write and the content of the things you deal with, but we are not the same in our opinions and attitudes. For I will say it freely: after I saw and heard Zwingli at Marburg, I thought that he was a very good man, as was Oecolampad, so that your accident almost deprived me of my life, for no more reason than because I was forced to believe that he was a stranger to our opinion, or rather that he remained a stranger to it, which we hold to be no less true than you hold to yours. And this also hurt me, that you afterwards praised and published under your name the book which Zwingli wrote to King Christian with extraordinary praise, although you knew that there were very many things in this book which are annoying not only to us, but with the greatest right to all godly people; not as if I were envious of Zwingli's honor, over whose death I felt such great pain, but because the integrity of doctrine must be held in low esteem for no man's favor. This I write that you may see that I deal with you in right sincerity without all hypocrisy. You may think that we are mistaken; this I commend to God's courts. Surely even we cannot approve all that is yours, if we would not burden our consciences; you will not ask this of us, as I do not doubt. But before I depart, nothing could be more joyful to me than if at last, by the grace of God, the Spirit were given to refresh my heart and soul in the Lord, that we might be of one mind and speak one word in Christ, to the glory of God the Father and the salvation of souls. In the meantime, take this for the best, until, God willing, I have read your booklet. Fare thee well. Wittenberg, May 14, 1538.

No. 2434.

(Wittenberg.) May 18, 1538.

To Sebastian Heller, Ansbach chancellor.

Recommendation of a young clergyman.

From the original in the Imhof Collection at Nuremberg in Schütze, vol. III, p. 71 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 112. From Strobel's *Melanchthoniana* in *Corp. Ref.,* vol. III, 526. Bretschneider maintains that "according to the manner of writing" Melanchthon is to be regarded as the author.

To the highly esteemed man, Mr. Sebastian Heller, the Right Doctor and Chancellor of Margrave George of Ansbach.

Honored Sir Chancellor! I hear that Sebastian Stibarus of Schwabach is known to you. Since he was here recently, he has offered us his work if he should be called to lead any church. But he is of good and gentle character, and his age is already suitable for public office. Although he has devoted himself chiefly to the holy Scriptures, he is also well educated in the common philosophical doctrine. I believe, however, that those who distinguish themselves by scholarship are more yielding and have a more sound judgment [than others]. He has a modest and chaste wife. Therefore, since he is still in need of a position, I beg you to take him into consideration when the opportunity arises. I see that he is having difficulty in keeping house. I therefore ask that you let this upright man, who can be of use to the community, be commanded to you. Be well and happy. On the 18th day of May, Anno 1538, yours Mart. Luther.

No. 2435.

(Wittenberg.) May 20, 1538.

To Justus Jonas.

About Luther's journey to Anhalt (see No. 2431) and about the Turkish War.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 252, printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 72 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 113.

1) We have here adopted the reading of the *Corp. ref.: sanioris judicii* instead of *saniores* in De Wette. - This and the preceding sentence do not seem to fit Luther.

Grace and peace in Christ! I am surprised that my letter was delivered to you so late, my dear Jonas, or that you answered so late. But let it be done what it may, for the convenience of princes. I hope to appear at the appointed day and place, by the power of Christ, if the holiday (*sabbathum*) of the stone and the fist of Satan so continue.

That of the Turk is more the truth than we would like to believe. And the voice of blood cries, and the voice of Rabsake cries, the voice of the oppressed cries against Germany. Ferdinand's hands are stained with blood, hearing the blasphemies of the bishops, and the hostilities of known truth. Who will have mercy on those who irritate God and knowingly worship lies? But Christ will be mindful of His poor and finally show His power against the exceedingly hopeful and cruel enemy, the Mahomet (*Mahumeten*), Amen. Greetings to the most noble lords and princes. I will speak orally about the future preacher in Zerbst; I have several names. About Weller I can say nothing with certainty (*statuere*). Things are well in your Hanse, only that the slight fever has not yet completely left Elisabeth; such an attack is frequent at this time, not only in this city. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. Monday after Cantate [May 20] Anno 1538. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2436.

(Wittenberg.) 22, May 1538.

To George and Joachim, Princes of Anhalt.

Luther reports that he cannot come to the princes today, but that he is ready to come at another time.

First printed in 1830, after the original, in Lindner's "Mittheilungen", II, p. 46; in the Erl. Ausg.) vol. 56, p. 210 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 197.

To the noble, highborn princes and lords, Mr. Georgen, provost of Magdeburg, and Mr. Joachim, brothers, princes of Anhalt, counts of Ascanien and lords of Bernburg, my gracious lords.

G. and Peace in Christ. Sublime, high-born princes, gracious lords! Because it may not be that I should come to E. F. G. today, in the middle of the week, so let it be when it will be convenient for E. F. G., but not on Monday, Tuesday 2c., when I must be here and work, because God gives me strength; for without that I am uncertain and must miss and celebrate more than is dear to me, as I have written to Dr. Jonas before. Jonas also wrote before. For I am willing to serve E. F. G.. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befohlen, Amen. Midweek after Cantate [22 May] 1538.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther.

No. 2437.

(Wittenberg.) May 24, 1538.

To Justus Jonas.

About Luther's journey to Anhalt.

From Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 252, in Schütze, vol. III, p. 73 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 114.

Grace and peace in Christ! I pray thee, my dear Jonas, that thou answer as soon as possible in what part of the world thou art, for I dream that thou art perhaps at Dessau, still at the fourth-milestones, which I know from a certain dream; so the letters that have been sent to each other confuse me. For to the one I received to-day I think I answered yesterday sufficiently, as was done once before; I do not know whether the fault lies with the intervening woods. Now I answer again (if this answer reaches you before you change again) that I am ready to help the worthy princes in whatever place and day they want. I believe you will understand when the letter is delivered.

Many and great things are said here about the Turk, which would perhaps prove that everything is false, and that this platoon is being equipped against the Lutherans under the fictitious name of the Turk. But in the meantime we are perishing very well, since we have neither believed nor do believe. May Christ come soon, amen. Farewell in the Lord. On Friday after Cantate s24. May) Anno 1538.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2438.

(Wittenberg.) 24 May 1538.

Letters of Recommendation.

The recommended one is called a Moor in the editions.

In the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p.206; in the Jena edition (1568), vol. VII, p. 2I d; in the Altenburg edition, vol. VII, p. 22; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 580; in Walch, vol. XXI, 406 f.; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 115, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p.201.

Grace and peace in the Lord to all pious Christians and friends in Christ! To these good men, He Franciscum, who come to Germany from distant lands, I pray that every one who will visit them may be ordered to do so and appear helpful to him.

For we are almost overloaded here in Wittenberg, and more than our poverty is able to provide, are visited by many both exiled and otherwise good people, who would like to study, for help, and do not find so much here as they would have provided, according to the great name, that more arid surrounding neighbors, who are spared such a daily burden, should also do help and tax. Who knows how God will protect us and greet us, and what he may want to make of such people?

There were also among the people of Israel some strangers, which became better than many others of Israel, as the tenth leper in the gospel of Luc. 17, and the centurion of Capernaum. Wherefore we ought to think that for Christ's sake we ought to be justly favorable to such men, notwithstanding that they are sometimes lost to wicked men, whom the pious ought not to reward.

Let each one do what he knows in his conscience. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Friday after Cantate [24 May] Anno 1538.

Dr. Mart. Luther.

No. 2439.

(Königsberg.) May 24, 1538.

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

(Regest.)

Answer to Luther's letter No. 2429. The office Johann von Bora had held in Memel was taken, and now no position was vacant. The Duke, however, gives the assurance that he wants to see to his continuation,
if he wants to go to Prussia with yours. The Duke sends Luther several pieces of turned and unturned amber.

Printed in Faber's collection of letters, p. 14. The above regest in Burkhardt, p. 303.

No. 2440.

(Wittenberg.) 27 May 1538.

To Bernhard von Dölen, pastor in Sion.

Luther invited him, who was suffering from temptations, to come to him.

In the Unsch. Nachr. 1722, p. 538; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 269 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 115 f.

To his exceedingly dear brother, Mr. Bernhard voll Dölen, the disciple and faithful servant of the crucified Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I have not yet been able to answer your last letter and the temptations, my dear Bernard, for the messenger left while I was obliged to teach. And what can I write to comfort you now but that, if you hear my counsel, you may come here to me as soon as possible; for perhaps your temptation is too violent to be alleviated by short writings, and, God willing, it will be better healed by the living voice and personal intercourse. In addition, I do not know what kind of trouble you are in, from what cause it comes, whether from conscience or from weakness of faith, and therefore I cannot write anything in particular; only that in the meantime, until you come to me, you should believe that it is not you alone who suffers such arrows, then that Christ himself is tempted in all things, so that he undoubtedly felt this temptation of yours, otherwise he would not be tempted in all things. But He is tempted in all things [Heb. 4:15.], that we may know and have confidence that all temptations are overcome for us through Him, as He says, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." GOD Himself, the Victor over sorrow, over death and hell, comfort and uphold your heart by His Holy Spirit, Amen. Pray for me, who also am afflicted, even as I pray for you, who are afflicted. Monday after Vocem Jucunditatis [27 May] 1538.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2441.

(Wittenberg.) 29 May 1538.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther, asked to give his opinion on the Turkish war, advises the Elector to take part in it.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, fol. 45*. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 84, no. 150; in Walch, vol. XXI, 408; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 116 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 202.

To the most illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Herr Johann Friedrich, Her
Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen.
The Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious lord.

G. ll. F. in Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Sublime, highborn prince, most gracious lord! By E. C. F. G.'s command, as reported to me by Dr. Brück, on account of the march against the Turks 2c., since E. C. F. G. also desires my concern, these are my thoughts. Because Germany is full of blood debts and blasphemy, since they rage and rage against their conscience and known truth, that it is impossible (where God lives and rules otherwise) [that it] should go without great punishment, and God allows King Ferdinandus to begin with such a loose and unskillful regiment and being: for his sake there is no hope, but rather vain sorrow, yes, certainly vain misfortune. Now that it is true that the Turk himself is up with all his might, I think that the rut is bound, which will not be resisted: therefore I command all things to God, and with prayer I will act the things that will happen or come to pass. For methinks, as they stand, God will not give them much happiness, because they will not visit E. C. F. G. for help, nor give peace in such distresses. As in all this, because in this great distress not Ferdinandus nor others of our enemies, but also our fatherland and many pious, faithful people will have to suffer with us: so I consider it my duty (if E. C. F. G. will be called and requested to do so), E. C. F. G. should help to comfort and help the poor lot (not the tyrants) cheaply and with a good conscience, so that the conscience does not have to sigh afterwards, and according to God's will, I should be able to help them.

And if we would fear that, when our adversaries smite the Turk (which I believe they do), they would turn the tables upon us, we know that they cannot do it, for they have not done it. For if we should fear that our adversaries should smite the Turk (which is not to be believed of me), they would turn the tables upon us, we know that they cannot do it, for the multitude would not follow, as was done before, when the Turk was forced to depart from Vienna, and yet nothing was done against us. And even if it is to be feared that they will do so, as they certainly would like to do, there is nothing to be done or left undone for such an uncertain game, which could be annoying and dangerous to our conscience afterwards. For it is in God's hand, not in their will, what they shall do to us, or what we shall suffer, as we have hitherto experienced; and if we are not and will not be helped for this reason, whether we are firm or strong against them (indeed, this is the first thing that should be lacking); neither are we for this reason abandoned or lost, whether we are weak or despised, as is still the case today. Even if one does not want to ask E. C. F. G. for help (which would be a terrible sign of hopefulness and presumption, which the Turk would almost like to be proud of), I hope that E. C. F. G. would nevertheless let happen that other princes and states, related to E. C. F. G., would go along to save the fatherland and poor people. For *necessitas* has no *legem,* and where there is need, all that is called law, alliance or treaty ceases, for need is above all; although I almost fear, because such shameful treachery is needed for separation, that even ours will be sacrificed on the flesh bench (where God does not work miracles, and will preserve King Jehoshaphat in the army of Achab). But we must dare good and evil with our brothers, like good companions, like husband and wife, like father and children with each other, and digest sweet and sour; God will nevertheless know how to find His own even in death. Such are my theological thoughts, which I cannot be a counselor in such high matters, because I do not know the opportunity of the people and things, but by the grace of God, I ride in the dark and counsel, as I want to do, where it (not further reported) concerns me.

meet. 1) Christ our dear Lord will guide and lead E. C. F. G., as he sees further in such high matters, for which we faithfully ask, as we owe: to the same I cordially command E. C. F. G. in prayer, Amen. Wednesday after *Vocem Jucunditatis* [29 May] 1538.

E. C. F. G. subservient

Mart. Luther.

P. S. Even if the other estates, E. C. F. G.'s relatives (if E. C. F. G. does not request it), want to move, E. C. F. G. would like to have this done, with such an obligation that they are thereby not separated from E. C. F. G. and E. C. F. G. is not affected. C. F. F. G. yet could not leave it. Although my thoughts are much different than that it should go as they perhaps think. But God will do all things, that he himself shall not be put to shame, nor they to honour with the devil, amen.

No. 2442.

(Wittenberg.) 1. June 1538.

To George and Joachim, Princes of Anhalt.

Because of Luther's journey to Wörlitz.

First printed in 1830, after the original, in Lindner's "Mittheilungen," II, p. 46; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 211, and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 198.

To the noble, highborn princes and lords, Mr. Georgen, provost of Magdeburg, and Joachim, brothers, princes of Anhalt, counts of Ascanien and lords of Bernburg, my gracious lords.

G. and Peace. Serene, highborn princes, gracious lords! Where I remain by God's grace of health and fortune, I will arrive at Wörlitz in the evening of the next midweek [June 5], as E. F. G. has now written to me and requested. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Saturday pt. 2) *Ascensionis* [1 June] 1538.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther.

1) "auträfe" set by Us instead of: "thun wollt" in the original.
2) The Erlanger offers: ,,*pr.*" (=pro) instead of: "*pt.*" (= *post*), has also not resolved the date.

No. 2443.

Wittenberg. 13 June 1538.

To Anton Unruhe, judge at Torgau.

Thanks for the right procured for a poor woman and for a gift of beer.

In Lingke, Luthers Geschäfte zu Torgau, p. 92; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 119 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 205, with the wrong date: "12 June".

To the honorable and wise, Mr. Antonio Unruhe, Judge at Torgau.

G. u. F. through Christ our Lord. Honorable, wise, dear favorable Lord and friend! *Timete Dominum*, *erudimini*, judices terrae [Fear the Lord, "be chastened, ye judges of the earth." Ps. 2:10.] This is the word which shall be the judge's daily sentence, and I believe it is yours; for such a pious and Christian judge are you, as all who have known you before bear witness. Thank you, my dear *Antoni judex,* that you have been helpful to Margaretha Dorsten, and that you have not let the noble Hansen take the poor woman's goods and blood. You know that Doctor Martinus is not only a theologian and defender of the faith, but also an advocate of the right of poor people who flee to him from all places and ends. It is his aim to obtain help and intercession from him to the authorities, so that he would have enough to do with it, if there were no other work pressing on his shoulders. But Doctor Martinus serves the poor gladly, as you are accustomed to do; for you fear God the Lord, love Jesus Christ, search the Scriptures and God's Word, and still learn your catechism daily as well as the children in your school. The Lord Christ will remember you again. But, dear Judge Antoni, was it not enough that you heard my plea and intercession, and gave me a comforting report of your love and willingness? Did you also have to live in remembrance of my person with a gift? and even with a whole tankard of Torg's beer, your brew. I am not worthy of the good deed, and even though I know that you are not poor, but that God has blessed you with goods and abundance, I would have preferred that you had given the beer to your poor, who with their prayers would have given you more.

blessings together than poor Martinus alone. But thanks be to you for your favorable will, and God reward you, to whom you are hereby commanded. Dat. Wittenberg, Thursday after Pentecost [13 June] 1538. Martinus Luther.

No. 2444.

Wittenberg. 16 June 1538.

To the parish of Wittenberg against M. Simon Lemnius.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 762.

No. 2445.

Basel. 20 June 1538.

Oswald Myconius to Luther.

(Regest.)

Myconius testifies to his joy over the Concordia; assumes that the letter of the Swiss to Luther (St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2154) will not satisfy him, while Luther's letter of reply (ibid. Col. 2143) was quite sufficient for them. On Wicel and other defenders of the papacy. Whether they must be answered?

From a copy in Simler's collection at Zurich, Ep. T. 46, p. 363, in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 324.

No. 2446.

Wittenberg. 22 June 1538.

To Hans Schwalb.

Citation in Matrimonial Cases.

This writing is found in the editions of the Tischreden, Cap.43, § 123 and in De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 200.

I, Martin Luther, in place of the priest of the churches of Wittenberg, hereby declare that Martha, Urban Pfeifer's daughter of Schlieben, has come before me and the others who have been summoned to interrogate her in matrimonial matters, and has complained that her husband, Hans Schwalb, of Atzamsdorf near Erfurt, left her twice six years ago without any just cause, and thus remained outside the other time and abandoned her, and, as some believe, has moved about the country with an illegitimate wife. Has therefore asked to inform her of Christian advice and, as she has been unfairly abandoned, to have her arrested by a reported swallow.

to separate. Therefore I, by virtue of my order and parish office, require and cite the said Hansen Schwalben for the second, third time, and *peremptorily* ordered before me and the others to appear at the rectory on the tenth day of July next, at the eighth hour in the forenoon, to hear the complaint and to make his answer thereto. In the event that he does not appear, either by himself or his attorney, he shall nevertheless be tried and what is right shall be done. In witness whereof I have hereunto set down my petition to Dr. M. L. my petition printed hereunder. Date Wittenberg, on the 22nd day of June, Anno 1538.

No. 2447.

(Wittenberg.) June 27, 1538.

To the Assembly of Deputies of the Reformed Places of Switzerland.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2161.

No. 2448.

Wittenberg, July 1, 1538.

To Philip III, Count of Nassau.

Luther suggests Johann Beyer to him in response to his request for a Lutheran preacher.

The original is in the Idstein 1) Archives. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p.54, no. 73; in Walch, vol. XXI, p. 257; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 344 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 19. In all these editions with the wrong year 1528. Compare the letter of August 17, 1538. We have used the variants given by Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 564.

To the well-born Lord Philipps, Count of Nassau and Saarbrücken, my gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Gracious, merciful sir! When E. G. wrote to me to send me a skilled preacher, I was heartily inclined and looked around as best I could, for there is also a lack here in our country that we have to fetch from the villages and occupy the cities. However, I have dealt with one who has come to us under our Lordship from the godless monastery in Halle, but who is still living with his wife and child.

1) Thus Burkhardt, p. 304. Seidemann: "in the Weltbürger Archiv".

advise. He is from Steinach, a countryman, and I am confident that he will be able to serve there. For I consider him so skilful that I thought, if a chaplain were to leave our church, [he] should be appointed to such an office. Since I know of no other this time, I will have reported the same to E. G., and have spoken to him about it, so he will willingly accept my advice 2c. Where now E. G. his marital status in E. G.'s country does not hinder. G. lands does not hinder, so may E. G. write, so that I have him from E. G. order to demand and drive. I hope he shall please E. G.. I ask, however, that the church, where he is to go, send him provisions, or, if he has to borrow them here, reimburse them there. For such a journey is too heavy for his poverty. I am willing to serve God. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. The first of July, 1538, at Wittenberg.

Your Grace willing Martinus Luther, Doctor.

No. 2449.

Torgau. 9 July 1538.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

About the occupation of the superintendency at Freiberg.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. N, p. 100. 37. 6. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 304.

Johans Friedrich. U[nsern] G[ruß] before. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee ! We graciously inform you that Doctor Jacobus Schenck came to us from Freiberg towards Weimar the day before yesterday upon our description, and wants to be used as a preacher at our court, as he has then also obtained his farewell at Freiberg. Now you know what the also highly learned councillor and dear faithful, Gregorius Brück, Doctor, by virtue of Doctor Jacobus and the further appointment of the Superattendence at Freiberg, has spoken to you from our command, and you have allowed yourselves to be heard on it. Although it is true, as we note, that he should have good will and a hearing with our cousin, Duke Heinrich of Saxony, and also with the common people of Freiberg, we nevertheless consider, for all kinds of reasons, that the superintendence of the place should not be ordered to him. For this reason we have ordered the pastor of Zwickau to Freiberg to preach there for a time and to administer the superintendence. - But because we understand from the said Doctor Brück, as if you were to be next in line, since he is with you on
have, by our order, appointed one called Wendelen to such office, who is said to have been Count Gebhard's of Mansfeld's court preacher: If the same would be skilled and suitable for this, we graciously request that you write to him favorably, and propose such a condition and service, and hear from him whether 1) he [wants] to go there against Freiberg, and what you therefore understand from him and what he will give you in reply, that you will give us favorably to know, so that we may further act on it with our cousin, Duke Henry, and inform his love of it. We do not wish to hold this against you in your gracious opinion, and do us a gracious favour. Date Weimar, Tuesday after Visitationis Mariä [9 July] 1538.

No. 2450.

(Königsberg.) July 24, 1538.

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

(Excerpt.)

The duke writes that Luther in his writing against M. Simon Lemnius *Epigrammata* (St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 762) had attacked the Elector of Mainz too hard.

Printed by Faber, Preuß. The excerpt given here is found in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 123, in Luther's answer to this letter.

. . . For though it is well known that in the supposed spiritual state there may be all manner of abuses, yet it is also known that there may be many faithful hearts that see such abuses, and though they do not all immediately and without delay confess the word wholly and without distinction, yet it is reasonable to have patience with them also. - Should we not build more than we break? Is in my simplicity highly to be considered, considered that still other ways to meet an unskilful poet with more glimpses and modesty. So then, as reported above, my kind-hearted concern and confidence causes me to write, not only because I, like the truth, do not like to see the house of Brandenburg stirred, but rather would prefer that the divine word break through, and my dear father Martin's much, and all electoral and princely houses would be more weighed, and thus through the weightiness of the person also the salutary word would be so much more promoted: so my very Christian, high and diligent request, my dear father, is that you do not do this.

1) In Burkhardt: "furslagen und an ime vornhemen, ap" 2c.

mer Doctor and Christian teacher, you want to take all this to heart in a Christian way, also consider what else the devil might create and bring about from such, and not leave too much room for the troublesome Satan 2c.

No. 2451.

Wittenberg. 26 July 1538.

To Christian III, King of Denmark.

(Wrong address and wrong year.)

Under this false heading and incorrect date, both De Wette, Vol. V, p. 121 and (following him) the Erlangen edition, Vol. 55, p. 207 bring the letter to Christian, the Crown Prince of Denmark, of July 24, 1528, which is found in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 361 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 54, p. 29. We have already reported it in No. 1273a. Burkhardt notes nothing about this error, and Seidemann has both addresses in the register, De Wette, vol. VI, p. 490.

No. 2452.

Wittenberg. 31 July 1538.

To Johann, Georg and Joachim, Princes of Anhalt.

Luther asks, the princes would let their preacher Nicolaus Hausmann, who had received the appointment to the superattendence in Freiberg, from them for the promotion of the Gospel.

First printed in 1830, after the original, in Lindner's "Mittheilungen," II, p. 47; then in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 211, and by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 202.

To the noble, high-born princes and lords, Mr. Johanns, Mr. Georgen and Mr. Joachim, brothers, princes of Anhalt and counts of Aschania and Bernburg, my gracious lords.

God's grace through our Lord Jesus Christ beforehand. Illustrious, high-born, gracious princes and lords! E. F. G. I add to know that the most illustrious and high-born Prince and Lord, Mr. Johanns Friederich, Elector, Duke of Saxony 2c., my most gracious Lord, has written to me, and graciously desires, after the worthy and respectable Magister Niclaus Hausmann has been appointed to the Superattendent of the Churches at Freiburg (Freyburgk) by an honorable Council at Freiburg.

and vocirt is that I want to work diligently with E. F. G. and with M. Niclao, so that the same *vocatio* will not be refused. For although S. C. F. G. would well consider that E. F. G. would not gladly let Magister Niclaum go, they nevertheless hoped that E. F. G. would be willing in view of the great need of the churches at Freiburg, and would gladly help to improve them and prevent many troubles out of a Christian spirit. Now I hear that the illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Duke Heinrich of Saxony, has also written to Magistrum Niclaum and summoned him that Magister Niclaus also recognizes his duty to serve the church in his fatherland and is willing to do so as much as he can. Therefore I, E. F. G., graciously ask Magistro Nicolao to allow him to follow this appointment and to go to Freiberg (*sic*) to serve the same church. For even though he serves usefully in the present appointment, E. F. G. themselves know that the necessity of the church is not to be ignored. themselves know that the need in Freiberg is greater, since the church has recently been brought into a better state and is still tender and needs a noble, sedate, experienced man who could maintain peace between the preachers, who also has a reputation and good will in the surrounding towns, as Magister Nicolaus in particular is known there and very much loved because of his Christian, sedate nature, so E. F. G. have undoubtedly heard that he is a good man. F. G. have undoubtedly heard that before this time there was a real disagreement between the preachers there. Should the church now stand without a noble superintendent, then the F. F. G. can assume what trouble there is to worry about, which the F. F. G. themselves are undoubtedly most inclined to prevent. Therefore, in view of the great need, the Foundation will do its best to promote and help the preservation of the church in question, in honor of our Lord Christ; and if the Foundation desires another person to take the place of Magistrate Nicolai, I will do my utmost to again indicate to the Foundation a pious, learned, and sedentary preacher. For I am willing to serve E. F. G.. Date Wittenberg, Wednesday *ultima Julyi anno* 1538.

E. F. G.
willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 2455.

(Wittenberg.) 15 August 1538.

To Duke Albrecht of Prussia.

Response to No. 2450.
From Faber's collection of letters, p. 18, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 123, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 208.

G. and peace in Christ. That E. F. G. (gracious lord) should take such a hard line against the bishop of Mainz and ask so warmly, I cannot blame E. F. G. as a friend of blood, but do right and well. But I hope, when E. F. G. will read my causes, they themselves shall not think nor say much good of the bishop; for as he also let himself be found at Zerbst, in the action with the Elector of Saxony, E. F. G. can learn from the other princes of the laudable house of Brandenburg, who were very ill pleased about him, and one said: Ah, that he were not Prince of Brandenburg! 2c. But how shall one do it? he overpowers it with malice and mischievousness, so that [it] must be apparent to everyone. No lineage has ever been so high and noble; sometimes an ill-bred child has come out of it, and the nobler the better. What boys have come out of the house of David! Out of the chosen apostles kain Judas, out of the angels the devil, out of the holy bishops the heretics. And whence come harlots and knaves but from pious parents 2c.? It is no disgrace to have boys in one generation, but honestly that they should not be praised nor defended. Therefore I humbly ask, E. F. G. to let the desperate priest be commanded to God's judgment; he wants it so, I do not want to do him wrong, or let him find me justified here 2c.

In praise of God, the Sacrament is on a good course, and I hope to achieve a happy Concordia at last in the near future. Hiemit dein lieben GOtt befohlen, Amen. *The Assumption of Mary* [15 Aug.] 1538.

E. F. G.

willing

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2454.

Wittenberg. 17 August 1538.

To Philip III, Count of Nassau in Weilburg.

Luther reports that he has received the requested travel money for Johann Beher (*Joh. Bavarus*), and that he will start his preaching ministry in September.

From the original in the archives at Weilburg in G. H. Ebhardt's History and Description of the City of Wiesbaden. Giessen 1817. 8th Supplement I, p. 217; in Eichhoff's Church Reformation in Nassau - Weilburg in the Sixteenth Century. 1832. .8. p. 66; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 204; and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. XI.II.

To the well-born Lord Philipps, Count of Nassau and Saarbrück, my gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Gracious Sir! I have received E. G.'s letter and the twenty Thaler, and have handed them over to Ern Johann Beyer as soon as he is able (forgive me for *crucis exaltat*. [Sept. 14]), who will find himself with E. G. and take up his profession. For it is not possible for him to do so sooner, because he must sell and redeem his dinglein. May God Almighty grant him His Holy Spirit, that he may produce much fruit in the Gospel for the comfort and salvation of many people, amen. May E. G. be hereby commanded to the dear Lord Christ. And I am willing to serve... I am willing to serve him. At Wittenberg, Saturday after Assumptionis Maria [Aug. 17] 1538.

E. G.

willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 2455.

Augsburg. 19 August 1538.

The Council of Augsburg to Luther.

The council complains about the ecclesiastical grievances caused by the preacher Johann Forster's teachings and his annoying way of life. - Luther received this letter on August 28.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, p.* 133. 6. copy in *Cod. chart. Goth*. 398, fol. 124, without the supplement. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 305. the supplement in a note, p. 308 f. Latin. We have translated the same from the end and into German.

Our friendly, willing service, and what good we can do, your honorable with diligence before.

Venerable and highly learned, favorable, dear Doctor! We are well aware of what the Almighty God has mercifully and wonderfully wrought in this city of Augsburg, as in many other places, with the illumination of the salvific preaching of the pure light of evangelical truth (may His divine grace grant even longer and always), and distinguished the light from the darkness in such a way that we hope that the greater part (tail) of the churches here will be found on the path of divine truth. We therefore give God first of all eternal praise, honor and glory, and your E., as a tool and faithful planter chosen for this purpose from time immemorial, our thanks. And even though we and the common city may have been held in unjust suspicion years ago, as if our church did not agree with the church in Wittenberg, perhaps more out of the instigation of the enemies of divine truth and unity than out of the right reason of things, we have nevertheless been found on both sides in the same, right understanding of the Holy Scriptures, and even so that by the grace of the Almighty not only a fervent love, concord and brotherhood between your E., the Church at Wittenberg and us in the Word of the Lord, but also by common Christian estates and heads a faithful commitment to persevere in the evangelical truth has been made, as the Christian Concord, our printed church order and established understanding indicate. In this, we, praise God, have so far stood and remained firm with unanimous doctrine and church service, also performance, which is due according to the reported understanding, and, if God wills, want to remain unchanged. And where some of our preachers preached, wrote or spoke against this, we would neither permit nor impose such. And to further indicate that we have been and still are cordially well pleased with the Christian church in Wittenberg, we have written to your E. and Mr. Philippo Melanchthon in various years for a Christian, understanding servant in the Word of God, and have faithfully requested that he be assigned to us at our expense. Thereupon, undoubtedly out of a faithful, good mind, Master Johann Forster was sent to us, whom we also, as scholars and educated in such a famous Christian church, received and accepted with all joy, in the good hope that the disciple would follow the master with honorable conduct, Christian doctrine and morals without means, and work the Christian fruit in time. But as we have lived up to our hope

We, God knows, would much rather tell you about the things that have or have not been done for you, than to tell you about them in so many words. However, because we have always for our and the common city of Augsburg's Christian patron and promoter, and still do, we cannot, out of special trust, refrain from having had a little patience and oversight with the appointed Master Johann Forster during the years and times of his service, from daily improvement with him, and also, as we have had the good fortune to show towards him, from some of the things we have done, We have also refrained from such disparaging remarks as we might have had the right to make against him, in order to avoid and cut off such disparaging remarks as we might have made against this city before others, as if we were not in agreement with the Wittenberg church doctrine, in which doctrine we have always been very pleased, and therefore have preferred to call the Forster mentioned; But immediately in the beginning of his preaching ministry (we do not know, from his own or other people's movement) he took upon himself to bring all other of our preachers to a public recantation of false and erroneous doctrine, and to discuss it in the open pulpit, if it had not been confessed, much less overcome, which aroused not a little displeasure and annoyance in both his confreres, the preachers, and also the common people, in view of the fact that everyone, or the very best (very first) and most part, 1) in Christian, brotherly love and unity, had been quite content and unaccusatory after the expulsion of the Concord. We were also disconcerted that he, above all others, took it upon himself to strike at strange persons, presumably as much attached to the papacy as to the Gospel, and to almost make a party, although herewith, further than the day lies, shall be unjudged by men. God wills, however, that Forster's and the persons mentioned's conduct be done out of Christian, good zeal, for to compare themselves with a few persons in such a way that they attend only one preaching and church service, and despise all the other preachers because of their person and their doctrine, will have little good reputation for us. Likewise, we are sufficiently informed that his conduct and life are found inappropriate for the parish office according to the teachings of Paul in many ways, with the loading of excess wine, quarrelsome, bitter words, and other things, he is called to the sick late or even after midnight.

1) Burkhardt offers: "jederman oder jeder allerwegerst vnd maisttaie" 2c. We have assumed: "jedermann, oder je der allerwegerst und maist tail" 2c. - "wegerst" - on the best way. See St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2260, s. v. weger.

and come, since he was not yet sober, but rather very 1) drunk and immodest. What Christian consolation such a person may communicate to a person in mortal distress, your E. has to understand, and although his shortcomings have been sufficiently made clear to him in a solely good and modest manner, no improvement has been felt in him, as he has also accepted the warning impatiently enough. For as our ordained church priests (truly, according to the occasion of our city, honorable, select men) indicate to us, there has seldom been a meeting in which he did not engage in unnecessary bickering and brooding, not only against his confreres, but also against the preachers, the preachers, but also against them, the church priests, from which it also happened a year ago that two of the church priests, stately, reasonable people, no longer wanted to sit with him, but had renounced their office. And although we would have tolerated such a thing and the resulting annoyance with a heavy heart, and would have had more reason to change the forester than the reported church priests, we nevertheless hoped for improvement from him, and were also concerned about the unfounded clamor with which the repugnants tended to burden us before others, as if he would be abolished contrary to the church in Wittenberg, and would again tolerate him longer. But the longer we watched and waited for improvement, the more he was able to abuse our patience. For beyond the fact that he himself has publicly confessed before the convention of church presbyters and preachers that a unanimous doctrine and church service of the Concord and our printed church order is here and will be kept by all means, he wants, as it were, to provoke quarrels and disputes, which is why he also sent this letter to one of our preachers, Master Me! Keller, the other day and sent these notes 2) and questions, which are kept here, and, regardless of the fact that he hears them daily and may not accuse them of any repugnant doctrine, requests his own handwriting from him, which does not give a slight indication of an unbrotherly and hostile will. Now our church provosts and preachers were recently assembled on Thursday [Aug. 15], almost all of them, up to 20 persons, before whom Master Michel bemeldts Forster's request for the handwritten note, half a little inconveniently, but, as the provosts and others say, modestly, talked about it and asked a question: whether there had ever been a question of

1) In the text: "prießlich", which will probably be read from "größlich".
2) At the end of this letter.

had been so taught or heard, that he might have given cause for such a request of Forster's, and at the same time have given an explanation of the prescribed articles of Forster's, wherefore they were all well satisfied, and no one had anything against it; but Forster, after Master Michel had spoken, would have said, that the said Master Michel had said, among other things, at that time, that the articles which Doctor Luther had lately let go forth, 3) were not according to the Concord. But that Master Michel did not confess, and called the whole assembly to witness, whether they had heard such from him or not, to say publicly; whereupon they all and every one said in particular, that they had not heard such speeches of Master Michel. But Forster would have said that it was spoken by him, and that he had written it out, which would also be true; and what the church provosts and preachers all said against it, not once, but in many ways, all together and especially, and asked him, Forster, not to diminish them all in this way 2c.., he finally insisted on it, and wanted to overcome them all to the untruth and punished them, thereby moving the aforementioned church priests, as requested and ordered by superiority for this, so that they all appeared before us, and complained and complained to the highest degree about Forster's iniquity, as well as about the various quarrels and impropriety that had long since passed, with the indication that they would by no means continue to sit with him: but intended to renounce their office all together, because no improvement was ever to be expected, but all repugnance and unresistance was to be worried about with him, because he also now often spoke something, which he immediately denied again, and again wanted to accuse the people of their words and speeches differently than they had announced. How burdensome and unpleasant it would be for us and for the common city to see and allow, beyond our long patience, that a church leader, forgetting and neglecting good manners and the appurtenances of his office, should behave in such an indecent manner towards respectable, pious, pious people, who, by virtue of their superiority, have been appointed for this purpose, especially in these times, when nothing more than brotherly love, peace and unity are needed in our town (which has many different kinds of people in it)., being of high understanding, can easily consider. Therefore, and so that our church provost's office remains unchanged in good order as before, peace, tranquillity and harmony between other our provosts.

3) The Schmalkaldic Articles are meant, which appeared in 1538. - This passage gives a clue to the approximate time when the Schmalkaldic Articles were first published.

and unity, and also to prevent all kinds of disruption, then we are induced (God willing that we should have been left) to act against him according to our need and opportunity, asking your E. in an official and friendly manner to understand this thorough, truthful report of ours, which we have given to your E., as a special divinely ordained leader of the Christian religion, to do herewith with our own messenger, in our Christian friendly opinion and necessity, to understand whether also through him, Förstern, or someone else, whoever he or they might be, would be subjected to spreading and denigrating another of ours, not to applaud nor believe the same, but certainly to have and to hold that this is the true reason and root of his change 1) and no other, we also remain steadfast in the Christian Concord, our printed church order, and otherwise in other ways as Christian people are entitled to, as much as God graciously grants, in all ways, and your E. and to show your E. at all times a pleasant, servile and friendly will. Date Monday, August 19, 1538.

Burgomasters and Paumaisters as appointed War and Privy Councillors at Augsburg.

(Inserted note.)

Since I cannot sufficiently understand you in the matter of the Sacrament, I ask you, my dear Michael, to explain your opinion to me freely and clearly with your handwriting:

First, whether you hold and confess that the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper are truly and essentially the body and blood of the Lord, according to the words of Christ and the article of our Confession and Apology.

Secondly, whether thou holdest and teachest that in the Lord's supper even the unworthy truly and essentially receive the body and blood of the Lord.

Third, what people you think are the ones Paul calls unworthy.

Because this demand of mine concerns your hope and faith, which I demand of you not only as a Christian and a private man, but also as a teacher, I hope you will not be allowed to fail it, nor will you be able to fail it. *Io*. *Forstherus*.

1) That is, of his removal from office. See Tischreden, cap. 37, § 69, St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 1051.

No. 2456.

(Wittenberg.) August 29, 1538.

To the City Council of Augsburg.

Answer to the previous letter, Luther expresses fine displeasure about the behaviour of the Augsburgs against M. Joh. Förster and the Concordie.

According to the original found by archivist Herberger in the city archives of Augsburg reported in the twelfth annual report of the histor. Kreis-Verein für den Regierungsbezirk von Schwaben und Neuburg für das Jahr 1846, p. 71; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 213 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 206. From a copy in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 85; in Walch, vol. XXI, 412 and (duplicate) 1458; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 124 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 209.

To the honorable, prudent mayors and builders as ordered war and secret councilors of Augsburg, my favorable good friends.

God and peace in Christ! What your honorability and F. only wrote about Magister Johann Forster, I will leave in its value this time; for I am not the judge of these things, so you will know well how to keep your conscience, because I cannot nor will not defend him, where he would excuse himself. Therefore, I will leave all this to his judge, but I have heard with a saddened heart that the accident by the devil has happened between you in this way.

But of your writing I am most grieved. And where you yourselves or your preachers want to write or speak so much of Concordia, as this writing of yours reports, then no good game should come of it; for I respect that no one can speak of Concordia with truth, nor will I suffer it. It is therefore my friendly request that you yourselves and your preachers will refrain from such talk, and consider how this necessary poor Concordia has been kindled with great effort and work, cost and diligence by many people of high standing and learned people. Should the fire be blown up again, and the last become worse than the first, then you must answer for it from Augsburg, that I have warned you herewith quite faithfully, but for the sake of the unreasonable patience of the matter, I will first let it reach Dr. Capito and M. Butzer, whether they could or would act in this, before we cause the papists a new fool's delight. Yours Michel

Kelner's little books, along with others, are still available, but they do not make him as pure and beautiful as your writing and his group would like, especially without prior repentance. I want you to hear this from me again as my need, until God does better with you, as your writing says. Hereby God bless, Amen. On the Thursday after Bartholomew [29 Aug.] 1538, Martin Luther.

No. 2457.

(Wittenberg.) August 29, 1538.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for the Wittenberg student Sebastian Birnstiel because of a scholarship.

The original is in the Coburg House and State Archives. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 311.

Grace and peace in Christ and my poor prayer. Most noble, highborn prince, most gracious lord! There is a town child of Coburg, Sebastian Birnstil, who through my intercession has obtained from the council there a promise of the next fief to be granted, provided he has or would bring E. C. F. G. favor. Accordingly a fief has now been disposed of, therefore requests this my intercession to E. C. F. G.. Since he is now a fine, skilful boy, already writes Latin very well, and can easily study what he is supposed to, in addition to being a poor orphan without parents, and having no other help, my humble request to E. C. F. G. is that he be graciously granted the favour for such a fief or scholarship, 1) so that he does not have to leave the studio because of poverty. E. C. F. G. will know how to graciously show themselves. Hiemit dein lieben GOtt befohlen. Thursday after St. Bartholomew [Aug. 29] 1538. Mart. Luther.

No. 2458. August 1538.

To an unnamed person.

(Unauthentic letter.)

Under this heading and time determination Seidemann brings in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 205 an alleged letter, which, however, in fact is a somewhat modified one

1) According to *Reg. Ji, fol. 133B. 1538. C 7. 62* (in the Weimar archives) Johann Friedrich wrote on 2 Sept. to the visitators of the Franconia, they should report to him if there was still a fief or a prebend not beaten to the common caste (Burkhardt).
Table Speech, which is found in St. Louiser Edition, Vol. XXII, 1241. There it is to be read (according to Seidemann) in line 12 of the second paragraph: "too good". In Seidemann I. c. Z. 11 of the text is to be read instead of: "Groll": "Georg".

(Wittenberg.) **No. 2459.** August 1538.

To Bernhard von Dölen.

Luther advised him against a second marriage.

From the von Ludwig collection at Halle in Schütze, vol. III, p. 74; in *Strobel-Ranner, p.* 270 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 125 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1460.

Grace and peace in Christ! My dear Bernard, I will not resist your will if you want to attempt a shipwreck in marriage for the second time, but there are many reasons that seem to me to justify your not marrying for the second time. You know your weakness; then, after this second marriage, you will not be so popular with the people, because of the exceedingly wicked people who are very ill-disposed against us in this region. 2) And those who are godly will not marry again. And those who are godly already have enough burdens to bear, so that it is not necessary for them to be burdened by your and similar things. But this moves me, that there is danger that you may find one like the one you have lost, and I know your well-known leniency in the government of the household, which at this time is exceedingly burdensome, so that if I were a younger man, nevertheless, since I have experienced the wickedness of the world, if a queen were also offered to me after my Käthe, I would rather die than become a husband anew. Therefore, if thou wilt hear me, thou wilt desist, lest thou complain further of thyself and of us. Farewell in Christ. The last of August, 1538.

No. 2460.

(Wittenberg.) Early September, 1538.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

(Missing letter.)

Intercession for the printer Nickel Schirlentz, who was denied his concession because of the printing of the epigrams of Lemnius.

2) Thus Walch translates, he must therefore read *regione* instead of: *religione* at De Wette. We have taken the former all.

that he be allowed to print Luther's interpretation of the Psalm *Dixit Dominus* and another booklet.

According to *Reg. O, p. 168. w w 4*. (in the Weimar Ar.
chiv) Schirlentz received the concession again by a electoral rescript to the university of September 12. (Burkhardt.)

No. 2461.

(Wittenberg.) 1. September 1538.

To Philipp Gluenspieß, citizen of Mansfeld.

About the death of Johann Reinecke, metallurgist at Mansfeld, who was a good friend of Luther and the father-in-law of Phil. Gluenspieß.
From the original in Cyprian's collection at Gotha in Schütze, vol. III, p. 75 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 126.

To the highly placed man, Philipp Gluenspieß, citizen of Mansfeld, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace! It is to be marveled at, my dear Philip, with how great diligence all, both friends and relatives, have concealed from me the passing away of your father-in-law, Johann Reinicke, my very good friend, in such a way that not only my brother Jakob Luther, but also my Käthe, who was ill, did not want to report anything to me. Therefore I have learned very late 1) the passing away of the so great man and so great friend. But I am glad that he has passed away so happily and godly; however, I bear this accident very unwillingly and with sadness, namely that we have lost such a man. I would comfort you, if I did not know that you are one of the number of whom Paul writes [1 Thess. 4:13.), "Ye are not sorrowful as others which have no hope." Christ has given us a certain hope, who rather made the man so godly fall asleep so gently as to die. It is only left that thou, as the successor in the friendship of the father-in-law, shouldst remember our common

1) Hans Reineck had died at Nordhausen in the house of his daughter, the wife of the younger Meyenburg, on July 15, 1538. (Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 500, note 1.)

Friend and relative, Ambrosius Reuter, 2) that if he should be in need of you in any matter, you will not let him lack help or advice or service. Certainly he has lost a very good patron in Johann Reinicke. Now it is incumbent upon you successors to maintain such great benevolence, because you are certain that it would not only please Johann Reinicke very much (if he were alive), but would also be exceedingly pleasant to GOtte. Fare well in Christ, my dear Philip, and pray for me as I pray for you. On the day of Aegidia [Sept. 1] 1538.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2461a.

(Zurich.) 1. September 1538.

Heinrich Bullinger to Luther.

(Regest.)

Bullinger thanks Luther for his letter and his friendly opinion of Zwingli and Oecolampad. He excuses the publication of Zwingli's writing "to King Christian," which Luther had noted with displeasure; he had not known that there was much in it that was rightly annoying to all the godly. With reference to Augustine and Chrysostom, he seeks to demonstrate Zwingli's orthodoxy. Finally, since Luther had said that he could not endorse all of theirs, he asked Luther to indicate where the Swiss differed, so that any appearance of discord could be removed.

From *Epist. T. I, p. 174. Casten C. Arch. eccl. Tig. ex autographo* reprinted in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 327.

No. 2462.

(Wittenberg.) First half of September 1538.

Concerns in a matrimonial matter, jointly with Jonas.

Concerning Margaretha Bauersang of Mittweida.

The original conception by Jonas' hand - from the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, pag. 457. B. 7.* with Burkhardt, p. 311. On inquiries of the Duchess Elisabeth this expert opinion was drawn up.

So from the writing of the council of the city of the young Buntzel 3) and others so much is found that Margarethe of the Mitt-

2) The latter had the sister of Hans Reinecke as wife, Walpurg.

3) This is Jungbunzlau (Burkhardt).

We are of the opinion that her husband, Bastian Grnn, has always kept herself honest, chaste and upright with her husband, as befits and is due to a pious woman, and has done nothing against her honor all her life, and again it is reported that her husband, Bastian Grün, has been suspected of adultery and *adultery,* namely, that he broke into the window of the parlor at night with another wife, when she had been lying there for six weeks, and wanted to accomplish his will and disorder with her, so we consider, since these writings only report of the *conatu* and intention of adultery, and yet such *adulterium* with the deed and the work did not happen, that through the pastors or in other ways diligence should be applied, so that Margaret was reconciled with her husband, forgive him such out of Christian love and accept him again. For although the 1) worldly authorities are also guilty of punishing such vices in this case, as the reported Bastian Grün has already been punished with the dungeon, 2) the reported Margaretha, if she wants to act in a Christian manner, is nevertheless obliged to forgive her neighbor and her own husband and, as far as possible, to bring him back to repentance and correction, as Paul, the apostle, says to the Galatians in the 6th chapter: "If a man forgive his own husband, he is obliged to do so. If any man be overtaken in any fault, instruct him with a gentle spirit, and look to thyself, lest thou also be deceived." But where the reported Margeritt does not want to forgive her husband in a Christian way, but rather prosequir her right per *jura publica*, the gentlemen of *law will* know how to judge in this matter.

Dr. Martinus L. Justus Jonas.

No. 2463.

(Wittenberg.) 4. September 1538.

To Elisabeth, Duchess of Brunswick.

Luther thanks for a gift and sends tree seedlings.

From the original in the Wolfenbüttel library in De Wette, vol. V, p. 127 and in the Erlangen edition, vol.55, p.211.
1) Burkhardt: "the".
2) Added by us.

G. and Peace in Christ. Most illustrious, highborn princess, madam! I and my dear Käthe thank E. F. G. for the cheese. And for this reason the gift is very dear to us, even if it would be much less, that E. F. G. of God's grace [is] so earnestly inclined to his holy word. And we pray that the Father of all mercies, through His dear Son, our Lord, will abundantly grant and sustain E. F. G. with His Holy Spirit until that day of our final redemption. We hereby entrust ourselves to our Lord F. G. as willing servants, amen. I hereby send E. F. G. plants of mulberry trees and fig trees, as many as I now have. Else I have nothing strange. Wednesday after Aegidii [Sept. 4] 1538. E. F. G.

willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 2464.

(Wittenberg.) After September 9, 1538. 3)

To Dr. Cyriacus Gerich, pastor in Bernburg.

Luther teaches that people who have stiff-neckedly despised the church in their lives should not be given a Christian burial.
From the *Cod. Jen. B. 24. n., fol. 1*, in De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 207.

To the respectable Mr. Cyriacus Gerich, pastor at Bernburg, Doctor of Theology, his extremely dear [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! If this mallet has been buried outside the churchyard, this may go with the other things. The custom of our church is, that with him who persistently despised to have fellowship with us in life, even we, when he is dead, have no fellowship; that is, "we let him be buried who and where one will," outside or inside the churchyard. "But we with our disciples go not with him, neither do we sing to him, let them howl that bury him," according to the saying, "Let the dead bury the dead." For the burial...

3) This letter has neither date nor year. Since Gerich became Doctor on Sept. 9, 1538 (*Suevi Academia Witteb., fol. Fff,* the letter is written in some year after this date.

They are all rather of one who dies 1) in Christ; therefore we cannot sing them without falsehood and injury to conscience, or rather without blasphemy, in one who died in blasphemy and ungodliness. So canst thou also hold and do. M. L., D.

No. 2465.

(Wittenberg.) September 15, 1538.

To Jakob Probst in Bremen.

Recommendation of a poor clergyman and news.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 250, at Schütze, vol. III, p. 76; from Dan. Meyers ReformationsHistorie von Hannover, p. 105, at *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 271; at De Wette, vol. V, p. 128. German at Walch, vol. XXI, 1284.

Grace and peace in Christ! I write to you very seldom, my dear Jacob, and do not answer your letters as you might wish. But I hope that you will accept this in fairness and in good faith, since you know my manifold burdens of business, work, weakness of age and temptations, and also because I think that my letters are not necessary to you, since you are otherwise already abundantly gifted by God, so that even in these exceedingly bad times, which are overwhelmed with so much ingratitude and contempt for the word of salvation, you yourself can guide and comfort both yourself and all. But enough of that. Incidentally, two very good and learned brothers have come to us from Lower Germany, but we are overwhelmed with poor people everywhere, who are poor enough ourselves; nevertheless, we had decided to feed them both according to our means. But since they cannot be useful here, because of the language, it seemed good to Philip that we should send one of them back to you, if perhaps, as he thinks, a preaching post should become vacant among you, so that they should not be obliged to be idle, at the same time because you are rich, and the greatness of your riches can easily overflow on their little poverty. Now if the ingratitude of men has so prevailed among you that you cannot keep him until he is provided with a preaching office,

1) Instead of *veniente* we have adopted *moriente.*

send him back to us: we will divide with him what we have.

News. I, an exhausted old man, tired from so much work, am always and from day to day becoming young again, that is, new sects always arise for me, which a new youth would be necessary for me to resist. About the antinomians you get knowledge from these theses. If there were no reason to prove that we are called and chosen to the kingdom of God, and that we have in truth the word of God, this one would be enough, that we are attacked by so many sects, which are always rising up anew, some of them also of our origin, not to mention the papists and the special (*privata*) wars of Satan, and also the contempt of the word among our people. But we are no better than the apostles and prophets, nor even than our Lord himself.

It is written for certain (*constanter*) that the Emperor, the French and the Venetians have united their fleets against the Turks, and that on the sea there is a happy beginning against such a great enemy. God grant blessing and prosperity, Ps. 20. 2) The Concilium moved to Vicenza has completely fallen away. And the pope at Rome leads a life of prosperity, and endeavors, by right and wrong, to enrich and elevate his own, by bravely slaying or disposing with poison those whose goods his sons covet. Rome is incomparably worse than God could consider worthy of any allowance for reformation; the final wrath of God has come upon it.

Greetings from my mistress Käthe, and from your little path, my daughter, little Margaretha, to whom you will find some righteous suitor after my death. Of me I write nothing, but that thou mayest pray for me, that the Lord may deliver me from the blows and stings of the angel of Satan, and give me a good hour according to his will, when I shall be delivered out of this body (*materia*). The Lord be with you, and greet your mistress from me and our Käthe. On the Sunday after the Exaltation of the Cross [15 Sept.] 1538, yours, Martin Luther.

2) In Latin: *Psalm*. XIX, after payment of the Vulgate.

No. 2466.

Dessau. 28 September 1538.

George, Prince of Anhalt, to Luther.

(Regest.)

Request, Luther wants to communicate his advice in two matrimonial matters, which the priest of Harzgerode has brought to the prince. The original concept is in the state archives at Zerbst. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 330.

No. 2467.

(Königsberg.) 8 October 1538.

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Duke again exhorts Luther to be lenient against the Archbishop of Mainz, adding: "that in all places broken pots will recover". In Faber's collection of letters, pag. 20. The above regest in Burkhardt, p. 312.

No. 2468.

(Wittenberg.) October 14, 1538.

To George and Joachim, Princes of Anhalt.

This letter seems to be the answer to No. 2466, since it contains Luther's advice regarding two marriage matters sent to him by the princes. Cf. Tischreden, cap. 43, §82 (second paragraph) and § 83. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XXII, 1162.
In Lindner, Mittheilungen, p. 42; in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 56, p. 214, and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 208.

To the highborn, noble princes and lords, Mr. Georgen, provost of Magdeburg, and Joachim, brothers, princes of Anhalt, counts of Ascanien and lords of Berneburg, my gracious lords.

G. and Peace in Christ 2c. Sublime, highborn princes, gracious lords! In the two matrimonial matters sent to me by E. F. G., I know of no other advice than what we ourselves do here, namely:

In the first case: If a woman is betrothed, and the bridegroom commits murder, so that he becomes a fugitive or *civil mortuus,* and leaves his bride, and does not claim her, we do not know the bride to be in the

We are not to send him astray, or to let him sit there forever, but we are to keep him at the door of the church for three or four weeks, after which we may consider whether he will be near (for if he is in earnest, he will not keep his bride sitting there, and he will run to the end of the world). After that we practise 1 Cor. 7, 15: *Si infidelis discedit, discedat*.

Non enim est frater vel soror servituti subjectus in ejusmodi etc., and they speak publicly in the pulpit free and free, regardless of what the rights of the pope, so hostile to marriage, and the driving of souls do not respect, put therein.

In the other: If a woman turns away from her husband through no fault of his, especially if one does not know where she is going and has not fled to her friendship, then we also have her cited (as said above), so that it may be made known to her friendship. After this we also 1) pronounce them free and absolved according to St. Paul's above 2) saying. For we deem it unreasonable that one part should sit in uncertainty for ever, and the other should be free for ever, as often as it pleases, to run away and come again; which freedom maketh many whores and knaves. But where the same liberty is not allowed, they must suffer to run, or mean to be bad. That's our *style*. If the F.F.G. will do so, I'll put it to the F.F.G. home. Hereby commanded by God. *Oct.* 14, 1538.

E. F. G.
willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 2469.

(Wittenberg.) October 26, 1538.

To George, Prince of Anhalt.

Luther reports that he has made the desired intercession for Wilhelm Rink, sends him entrusted writings about Duke George's negotiations with his prelates at the Diet in Leipzig, and speaks out about the desirable right use of the ecclesiastical goods. He will try to procure the two requested preachers.

In Lindner, Mittheilungen, p. 51, with the incorrectly solved date: "October 19"; likewise in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 216. With correct dating in Seidemann - De Wette, vol. VI, p. 209.

1) namely, the innocent party.

2) "obangezeigtem" put by us instead of: "obengezeigtem".

To the illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord Georgen, Thumprobst of Magdeburg, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien, Lord of Bernburg, my gracious Lord.

G. and peace in Christo. Sublime, highborn Prince, gracious Lord! For the sake of Wilhelm Rinecken 1) I did not know otherwise, for I would have answered E. F. G. in the next letter. I know for certain that I had it in mind when I wrote, as it also fell from my pen. For my head and heart are full of thoughts. So age is now here, and, weakened also by labour, hath been forgotten. I therefore ask E. F. G. to have patience with me, an old forgotten man; for, without E. F. G.'s intercession, I myself would like to be at Wilhelm Rincken's beck and call wherever I can, as my special good friend, and also a true Christian, since I consider him to be. Therefore I add to E. F. G.'s knowledge that my gracious lord, even over the table, has graciously accepted my request and ordered in the canteen that S. C. F. G. want to take Wilhelm Rincken's things into the plot 2c. for E. F. G.'s faithful sake 2c.

That E. F. G. afterwards desires from Duke Georgeil and his prelates trade at Leipzig, as M. Hausmaun is said to have written, I would have written to E. F. G. long ago. Thus it happens to me that often also other good friends' letters and requests occur, after which there is no one who demands it, often also the messengers do not wait nor request it, but I cannot be ready for everyone at all hours, as also no lesser and greater office can do; so then the answers remain lying and decaying for me. Therefore, I hereby send the writings that are entrusted to me; E. F. G. will know how to send them back to me. I have spoken orally with E. F. G. how sincerely I would like the bishoprics and large monasteries to remain for church entertainment, so that Germany does not become a Bohemian (Behemian) *confusio.* For E. F. G. see well in this writing where Duke George's thoughts stand;

1) Seidemann calls him "Rink" from Mansfeld. In Luther's letters to Melanchthon of 2 Feb. 1539 he is written *Rinke.*

and will certainly become much worse after his death. The wretched man, Cardinal of Hall, could do much good and help in this; but the devil rides him that he asks nothing of the poor church and its descendants. Well, God help; if not, then the word of Cardinal von Schönberg will become truth, since he said: We do not want to do now, because we can; afterwards Germany will not be brought back as we think. I am indeed the Pope's arch-enemy; but still I would like to see the monasteries and convents come into right use, first of all for the church, then, what would be left, for common worldly use (as is reasonable); *primum quaerite regnum Dei etc.* ("Seek first the kingdom of God" 2c.). Behold, have I become a preacher? But because of this, gracious Prince and Lord, because E. F. G. desires some persons for pastoral care, and we ourselves are lacking everywhere, such gossip has occurred to me that now almost no one helps to educate persons, except what my most gracious Lord, the Prince, does, which cannot reach far, although S. C. F. G. uses the monasteries' goods for this purpose. Therefore, I ask that His Holiness also help me and do what is possible, as I quite consolingly assure His Holiness. However, I will look around to see where I can find the two persons E. F. G. desires. I hereby command the dear God, who is himself bishop, as he is also, of his dear bride and church, so that we may also ask and help, as St. Paul says: *Cooperatores sumus, sicut agricola est* cooperator *Dei in frumento creando, sed instru- mentalis et ,inductus* [We are co-workers, just as the cultivator is God's co-worker in the bringing forth of grain, but a tool and one brought forth]. E. F. G. give me credit for my ramblings. *Sabbatho post undecim V[ir]ginum* [Oct. 26]. *Si vera est historia* [On Saturday after the eleven(thousand) virgins, if the story is true]. 1538.

E. F. G.
willing

Martinus Luther.

2) This word is clumsily abbreviated in Seidemann: "gn.tl.". The Erlangen edition offers: "gn. h.".

No. 2470.

Wittenberg. 27 October 1538.

Ordination certificate, jointly with Jonas.

From Lesser's collection at Nordhausen in Schütze, vol. III, p. 192 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 129.

Since the church in the neighboring town of Heimchen had appointed Anton Otto of Herzberg to the office of Diaconus, and desired that this profession be confirmed by a public ordination, we found, after investigating the learning of Antonius, that he had diligently occupied himself with the study of Christian godliness, and understands the gospel doctrine, and accepts the opinion of the general church of Christ in all its articles, which our church also professes, and that he abhors all fanatical opinions, which are rejected by the judgment of the general church of Christ. He also promised that he would faithfully present to the people the pure doctrine which we profess. Therefore, by public ordination, he is commanded in the church the office of teaching the gospel and administering the sacraments, according to his calling. Therefore we commend him to the Church of Heimchen, and pray that the Holy Spirit may guide the ministry of this Anton to the glory of God and of our Lord JEsu Christ, and to the salvation of the Church. Given at Wittenberg, on the twenty-seventh day of October, Anno 1538.

The pastor and the preachers of the Gospel in the church at Wittenberg.

Martin Luther, Dr. Justus Jonas, D.

No. 2471.

(Wittenberg.) 30 October 1538.

To George, Prince of Anhalt.

Request for maintenance for the widow of Jakob Bernhard.

In Lindner, p. 54; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 218; and in De Wette-Seidemaun, vol. VI, p. 211.

To the illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Georgen, Provost of Magdeburg, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien and Lord of Bernburg, my gracious Lord.

G. and Peace in Christ. Sublime, high-born Prince, gracious Lord! This poor widow of Jacoff Bernhard, blessed, who drowned during the hunt, has asked me often and through many (for I do not like to trouble E. F. G.) that I should ask for her, because she is now a poor woman, burdened with so many children and orphans, that E. F. G. should graciously help her with bread this winter and spare her the duty of hunting. For she indicates how she must also be prepared to beg. Now I know well that E. F. G. together with the brothers, my lords, have Christian hearts and like to help poor people, without me thinking that sometimes (as in all courts) a Ziba falls in David's way, who hinders poor Mephiboseth, even without the will of holy, pious David. It is therefore my very humble request that E. F. G., as a Christian prince, created in the image of God, show himself to be a judge of the widows and father of the orphans against these poor women and not let any Ziba hinder him in this. For these are the right good works. Herewith to the dear God, together with both E. F. G. brothers, my gracious lords, and all common flesh, 2) Amen. Wednesday after *Simonis et Judae* [Oct. 30] 1538.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther.

No. 2472.

Wittenberg. 30 October 1538.

To the council of Amberg, together with Melanchthon.

Luther proposes Andreas Hügel as preacher to the council.

From Schenkl's Chronicle of the City of Amberg, p. 204, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 130; in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. III, 599, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 211.

1) So Seidemann. Lindner and the Erlangen: "dem Brudern, mein".

2) That is, "and all their dependents."

To the honorable, noble and wise, mayors and council of the city of Amberg, our favorable lords and friends. 1)

God's grace through our Lord Jesus Christ beforehand. Honorable, wise, favorable gentlemen! After your wisdom has applied to us for a Christian preacher, we kindly inform E. W. that we are most inclined to promote the beginning of Christian, wholesome life in your church, and thank God that He has called you to His praise and right knowledge and to blessedness, so that you will not be driven to strengthen false worship and persecution of the truth. But after so many pious preachers have been chased away in many places, and some of them have been murdered with cruelty, God sends the punishment that there are now few competent persons to be found. Now we can well consider that E. W. would like to have a respectable, stately person: such persons with us are burdened with offices that they cannot well be sent to other places; but we have nevertheless thought of one, by the name of Andreas Hügl of Salzburg, in whom there is no infirmity, except that the person may not be respectable and the voice not so large as is well befitting in a large church. Otherwise he is intelligent, very well taught, moral, God-fearing and of an honest nature, who also often preaches here in our church and has a good form and way of teaching. We have spoken with him and urged him to accept this office in your church, if he were called by your writings, to which he offered himself. But now we have not wished to send him to you with this messenger, because he is not a great person. But if E. W. would not respect the same, but would rather regard his good skill, and would write to him or to us that he would dispose of E. W., he has offered to do so. Thereupon let E. W. signify her opinion. E. W., as the wise and God-fearing, want to consider that this is the highest service of God and that God requires the highest, to plant right wholesome food, to help our people, and to help us.

1) This inscription is by Melanchthon's hand on the cover; the signatures are in his own hand, the text is by another scribe.
2) "in" put by us instead of: "to".

Our Lord Christ to praise and many people to salvation. Therefore, let E. W. earnestly promote this matter and not turn away from strengthening false worship and persecution of divine truth, which blasphemies will undoubtedly be terribly punished. God preserve and guide E. W. at all times, and to serve E. W. kindly we are willing. W. we are willing to serve him kindly. Dat. Wittenberg, *Oct.* 30, *ao.* 1538.

Martinus Luther, Dr. Philippus Melanthon.

No. 2473.

Wittenberg. 8 November 1538.

To the Drost Simon von Wenden zu Barenholz in the county of Lippe, together with Jonas, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

The church order there is approved.

In *Corp. Ref., vol. III, 603,* from Herm. Hamelmanns Opp. *genealogico-historicis,* p. 814. Lemgo 1711. 4. and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 212.

God's grace through our Lord Jesus Christ beforehand. Noble, honorable and strict Lord! We have read and considered your church order with diligence, as you will see that we have changed a few words in it, and we consider such order, as it is formed, to be Christian and right, and we also faithfully admonish you and all the rulers of the countryside that you, as God commanded all authorities to spread, promote, and maintain His holy gospel and right worship, will establish and administer such Christian order with earnestness for God's glory and for the praise of our Lord Christ and for the salvation of the people. For this is the right and highest service that the authorities should and can do, as is indicated in your order, diligently and Christianly. So all men owe this obedience to God, that we hear our Lord Christ, as commanded: *Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi est complacitum, hunc audite* ["This is my dear Son, in whom I am well pleased, him you shall hear"]. And God says: whoever will not listen to this same Lord, He will cast out and punish eternally, as God, without a doubt, will terribly begin such extermination with the adversaries of the Gospel in the course of time.

will be. For the tyrants do so much blasphemy against God, and sprinkle themselves with the blood of the heathen, that the punishment shall not fail long. Therefore, do not let human affliction turn you away. May God preserve and strengthen you for His praise and your blessedness. Date Wittenberg, on 8 Novemb. Anno 38.

Justus Jonas, Prepositus. Dr. Martinus Lutherus. *Ioannes Bugenhagius, Pomeranus*. Philippus Melanthon.

No. 2474.

(Wittenberg.) November 11, 1538.

To Johann Forster.

Luther wished him, who was driven out of Augsburg, luck for the call he had received to Tübingen.

From the Cyprian Collection at Gotha in Schütze, vol. III, p. 78 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 132.

Grace and peace in Christ! It has been pleasant to me, my dear Forster, that you have not written anything to me about your matter, so that the adversaries might not suspect that I have been so harsh on your initiative in the letter I wrote to them. 1) Now I am also glad, not that you have been expelled from your Augsburgs, but that you have been so honorably summoned by the Tübingen school. For otherwise I had resolved to recall thee to the service both of our church and of our school. Now that Tübingen has forestalled my recall, and I think that your work there is perhaps more necessary to strengthen the studies and the churches than it is with us (praise be to God!), I am happy and glad to see that you are following the call of the Tübingen church. Continue, therefore, and may the blessing of the Lord be upon your head, that you may produce much fruit and that your fruit may remain, amen. Everything else, as it stands with us, you will hear from Joachim himself, who has been a very pleasant guest to us. And God willed that, after the school at Tübingen is well founded (*radicata*), the sooner the opportunity would present itself for us to call him to our school.

---

1) No. 2456.

This thing, if I live, I will give as much thought as I can to. Fare well in the Lord Christ, and pray for me. May God, the Father of mercies, bless your house, your wife and your children, amen. On the day of St. Martin [11 Nov.] 1538.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2475.

Wittenberg. 16 November 1538.

To the bailiff Hans Metsch in Wittenberg.

On the above date Luther sent to Metsch a note by which he exhorted him, according to Christ's order, to lead a Christian life.

This note is found in all editions of the Tischreden, Cap. 21, § 4. in the St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 613. also in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 213.

No. 2476.

(Wittenberg.) November 18, 1538.

To Johann, Prince of Anhalt.

Luther promises to look for an unmarried preacher, as the prince had desired him because of the dying runs.

In Lindner, p. 55, with the incorrectly solved date: "November II"; likewise in Erlanger Ausg., vol. 56, p. 219; correct in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 215.

To the illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascania, Lord of Bernburg, my gracious lord.

G. u. F. and my poor *pater noster*. Gracious Prince and Lord! I am weak and clumsy now, but I have read E. F. G.'s writing almost with pleasure, that E. F. G. desires a preacher in his dying days, and I will also look around if I can get one, but I do not yet know if he is without a wife; but I will stop if I get one, who meanwhile leaves his wife sitting here, and serves E. F. G. for a short time, since it does not well rhyme, a wife of so short a time. F. G. for a little while, since it does not seem right to drag a wife with him for so short a time, let it not be repugnant to E. F. G.. I'll try what I can, and report it again... F. G. again. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. *Octava 8. Martini* [18. Nov.] 1538. E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2477.3705

(Wittenberg.) 20 November 1538.

To the war councils of the city of Strasbourg.

Of ecclesiastical matters, especially of church property.

From the original, which is in the archives of the Dreizehner- Kammer in Strasbourg, in a fascicle, headed: *Buceri* Handlung mit Carlewitzen 1538, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 132 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 213.

To the strict, firm, wise lords, the councillors of war, called the Thirteen, of the city of Strasbourg, my special favourable lords.

Grace and peace in Christ. Strict, firm, wise, dear lords! I have received your writing and Dr. Bucer's advertisement, and have also given him my answer, as he will tell you. Namely, that [there] shall be no lack of the propositions that have gone out on our part, insofar as this matter, previously agreed upon, is to be peaceful on both sides with silence. The other piece, of church property, I have also indicated to him that in this time (if much has recently come to light) *de facto silence* is to be maintained. However, the persons who have church goods and do not respect the pastoral care are to be addressed, so that they become *re vera* persons. Then, if they do not want to leave, they can be petitioned with such writings and rights as you have indicated, first by public writing and finally brought to justice, or something else can be done so that their will does not have to follow them. All this will be reported to you by *Dr. Bucerus will* continue to tell you about all this, and he will indicate my very just courage and heart to promote the churches, and he will also preach that it is also biblical that we, who have the gospel in vain, not only feed on the goods of the dead 1) but also attack ourselves, which St. Paul says Gal. 6, 6. f.: *Communicet instructus instructori omnia bona. Deus non irridetur*. But Dr. Bucer will know how to tell you. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befehlt, Amen. Midweek *post Elisabeth* [20 Nov] 1538. *Martinus Luther*.

1) So put by us instead of: "of the dead goods".

No. 2478.

(Wittenberg.) November 20, 1538.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

How to proceed against the Anabaptists.

From the original at Cassel in Dr. Rommel's History of Hesse, vol. 4. Cassel 1830. notes, p. 140; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. XLIII and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 215.

Grace and peace in Christ [and my poor *pater noster*]. 2) Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! I have received E. F. G.'s credence and writing and have heard Dr. Butzer's word. And as I am aware that E. F. G. is well aware of how to deal with the Anabaptists, but would also like to have [more] people's concerns, 3) it is not only my concern, but also my humble request that E. F. G. seriously expel them from the country, for it is nevertheless the devil's seed, and have at first something beautiful seemingly in addition to the evil for, but because it is the light devil, the end will finally come to Münster. E. F. G. have also not to complain that they, expelled, may do harm elsewhere, because elsewhere they have not much more room, and whether they have it, let those see who have the local government and churches. For though I may fear that the wolf that strangles in my stable may strangle more in other stables, I cannot therefore leave him unchased. Every man to his own sty. Further, E. F. G. will know how much to consider, because I can write, so Dr. Butzer will also indicate my opinion to E. F. G., where it is necessary. May the Father of our dear Lord Jesus Christ, through His Holy Spirit, guide and protect us and all of our small group with abundant gifts. Amen. Wednesday [after] 4) St. Elisabeth [Nov. 20] 1538.

E. F. G.
willing

Martinus Luther.

2) Added by Seidemann instead of: "u. s. w.". 3) Added by Seidemann.
4) St. Elizabeth was a Tuesday, so "after" should be added.

No. 2479.

(Wittenberg.) 22 November 1538.

To Johann, Prince of Anhalt.

Inquiry whether it would be agreeable to the Prince that M. Wendel, who admittedly has a wife, would come to him to serve during the time of his death. Request for game for the wedding of M. Ambrosius Berndt with Luther's sister daughter, Magdalene Kaufmann.

First printed in 1830, after the original, in Lindner's "Mittheilungen," II, p. 56; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 220, and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 216.

To the illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascania and Lord of Bernburg, my gracious lord.

G. and Peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! According to my next letter, I have been looking for a preacher. There is none here without a wife. But there is one called Magister Wendel, who can leave his wife here in Wittenberg as long as he would serve E. F. G. at this time of death. He is pious, learned, and moral. If this would please E. F. G., I would like to see him serve E. F. G. in this. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen.

I also ask quite humbly, where E. F. G. would have so much left over, to give me a fresh boar or pig's head, for I am to enclose my orphan, my sister's daughter, by midweek [Nov. 27], but that E. F. G. ever have no special trouble about it. I owe it to E. F. G. to serve him. Friday after St. Elisabeth [22 Nov.] 1538.

E. F. G.
willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 2480.

(Wittenberg.) November 25, 1538.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

On the occasion of a plague in Magdeburg, Luther reflects on the fear of death, and wishes that Amsdorf may not be infected by the plague.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. B 24. n, fol. 159* and in *Cod. Goth.* 185. 4. from the Schmid collection at Helmstädt in Schütze, vol. III, p. 79; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 274 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 133 f. German at Walch, vol. XXI, 1461.

Grace and peace in Christ! I, too, my dear Amsdorf, have certainly wondered very much what might have happened either to you or to yours that you wrote nothing to us. And after I learned that the plague was raging among you, I could not get any people through whom I could have written. Once I received a letter from you in the book against Schönitz (*Antischeniciano*) "vom Statthalter," but at that time I had no news of the plague. What you write, that people fear the plague so much at this time, I also experienced at the time of our plague these years ago. And I wonder that the more abundantly the preaching of life in Christ is there, the greater is the fear of death among the people, whether it be that before, when they were under the pope, they feared death less in the false hope of life, but now that the true hope of life is held out to them, they realize how weak their nature is to believe in the overcomer of death; or whether God tempts us through weakness and leaves us in fear, and thus Satan dares and is able to do more. For when we lived in the faith of the Pope, we were like the drunken, the drowsy, or rather like the frenzied, mistaking even the right death for life, for we did not know what death and the wrath of God were; now that the truth shines and we see the wrath of God more clearly, nature, awakened from sleep and frenzy, feels that its powers are nothing to bear death. Thus it comes about that they fear more than before. Likewise, when we were in the priesthood, we not only did not feel sin, but we stood secure in the presumption that it was righteousness. Now that our security is taken away by the knowledge of sin, we are more afraid than we ought to be. There we walked on the right hand as secure people, where we should have been exceedingly fearful; now we walk on the left hand as fearful, where we should be secure. Therefore, in this case, I comfort myself with this, that Christ wills that his power should be made mighty in the weak [2 Cor. 12:9.]. For since we were strong, righteous, and wise in the papacy, Christ's power was not only not made mighty, but also lay extinguished, and

one did not know of her. To this I draw the word of the 71st Psalm [v. 9. Vulg.], and apply it thus, "Cast me not away in my old age, when my strength faileth, forsake me not." For I think that this last time is the old age of Christ, and the time of waning strength, that is, the highest and utmost assault of the devil, just as David, in his last days, for want of strength, was almost slain by the giant, if Abishai had not come to his aid [2 Sam. 21:16. f.]. But I hope that thou wilt know that they which die fall asleep most godly, and in the faith of Christ, as we have known here. And this it is that he said, "Forsake me not," and Christ, "My power is mighty in the weak." The living, to be sure, fear and are weak, but they that are dying are immediately changed into other men, and die, strong in the LORDr. Now what can be a more just and better judgment than that the living should fear, the dying should become strong in Christ; that is, that as they are to be seven, they should feel themselves to be dying, and as they are to die, they should feel themselves to be such as shall retain the victory? I hope, I say, that not many of you will die in unbelief and despair, but that all, or at least most, will depart in the confession of Christ, and with the testimony of the sacrament which they have received, or rather will pass away, that is, through death into life. For thus we have seen it done here from the least to the greatest, and indeed I have learned to sing with Paul almost during this whole year: f2 Cor. 6:9Z, "As those who die, and behold, we live." And the same says [1 Cor. 15:31.], "By your 1) glory, I die daily." I certainly do not think that Paul was wood or stone, that he should not have felt the fear of death, or the power of death. And he does not speak of the agonies of others, but of his own agonies, as he says in the Epistle to the Corinthians [2 Cor. 11:22.], "I have often been in agonies of death." This, however, was not to him a contemplation or reflection on death, but the feeling and power of death itself, as if there were no hope of

1) With De Wette is to be read *vestram* according to the Vulgate.

of life would be there. For what is death, if one only contemplates it (*speculative*), but a non-knowing and non-sensing of death?

But why was it necessary to write this to you in such detail? But I do not think like this for you, nor about you, but for your own and ours. And because you complain about your own, I did not want to hide my thoughts from you in this case. By the way, I am not only concerned for you, but I pray very much that the Lord will not take you away. For thou seest how great a burden I am oppressed with, being already an old man, and exhausted in strength. For how much better it would be for me to be taken away, while you are left after me in this service of the church, than that, after you are taken away, I should be left behind, who am so lonely and more miserable than the most miserable, since I am no longer able to do anything for lack of strength and because of old age, and I see that I should nevertheless do many things which I am not able to do. May the Lord reign over you and keep you for a long time, and may you pray to the Lord for me, that he may keep me in his kingdom with you, amen. On the day of Catharine [Nov. 25], Anno 1538.

No. 2481.

(Wittenberg.) November 25, 1538.

To Duke Albrecht of Prussia.

(Inserted note.)

The duke had asked Luther and Melanchthon for information about the forbidden degrees of marriage. Melanchthon replied on November 24, and Luther enclosed this note with his letter the following day.

From K. Faber's collection of letters, p. 18, in *Corp. Ref.* vol. III, 611, and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 217.

I, Dr. Martinus, have now neither power nor time to answer in Prussia, but will do so as soon as I can. 1538 *The Catharinae* [Nov. 25].

No. 2482.

Wittenberg. 30 November 1538.

To the council of Amberg, together with Melanchthon and Jonas.

In the answer to No. 2472 the City Council had desired M. Andreas Hügel as preacher; now he is sent there.

From Schenkl's Chronicle of Amberg, p. 207, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 136 f.; in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. III, 612, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 214.

To the honorable, wise and noble, mayors and council of Amburg, our special good friends.

God's grace through our Lord Jesus Christ beforehand. Honorable, wise, noble, special good friends! In response to your other writing, we have spoken with Domino Andrea Hügel, that he may dispose of himself to you in Amburg, and that he may further hear your mind, which he was willing to do according to his former bidding. And although we do not doubt that he has a good understanding of Christian life, and is blameless in life and morals, and is also sensible and moral in his actions, and consider him to be godly, faithful, and capable of teaching, we, as we do not know the occasion of your church, do not want to set any measure for you, and ask you, if you will see and hear him, whether he will be accepted for the holy preaching office in your church or not; He himself also puts this to God's will and your concern, as he does not seek his own in this matter, but offers himself to serve for God's glory, if it is considered that his service may bring benefit. But we want to remind and admonish you of good, faithful goodwill, as you have begun to promote the holy gospel in praise of God and for the blessedness of the Christians in your city, that you earnestly want to plant and promote this true, high service of God, that is, right worship, which God demands above all things, and, as St. Paul says, that you want to be devoted to the holy gospel. Paul says, not to be ashamed of the holy gospel, but to consider how highly all men, and especially the rulers and potentates, are commanded to maintain such a ministry, also how horribly those despise and blaspheme the blood and death of Christ, who condemn his pure doctrine, and help to persecute Christians and shed innocent blood; how great grace also our Lord Christ offers for confession, and what punishment he inflicts on the despisers, saying: "Whosoever shall confess me before the world, him will I confess again before my Father which is in heaven: and whosoever shall deny me, him will I put to shame." These things we have spoken unto you in faithful charity...

and we herewith kindly command this Dominum Andream to you. May God bestow His grace upon you, and keep you always graciously. Dat. Wittenberg, on the day of Andreä [30 Nov.] Anno Christi 1538.

Martinus Luther, Dr. Justus Jonas, Dr. Philippus Melanthon.

No. 2483.

(Wittenberg.) 1. December 1538.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for the former monastery chaplain Wolfgang Wagener.

From Kelpen's histor. Notes on a Letter of Indulgence. Hannover 1723. p.151. III. addition; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 138 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 216.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave in Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

G. and Peace in Christ and my poor *Pr. No.* Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! This Wolfgang Wagener,1) Chaplain at Jessen, has received a promise from the sequestrators that he should receive his discharge from the monastery of Mühlpfort, as he spent 14 years there in the larval life. Now we no longer know what, where or who is sequestrator. It is therefore my humble request that E. C. F. G. will graciously give orders so that the good man gets what he hopes from the promise, or as E. C. F. G. will best consider it; for there is nothing but mere poverty until he fulfills his time in the office of the captain and earns his pay. E. C. F. G. will know how to show mercy. Hereby commended to God, amen. Sunday after Andr. [1 Dec.] 1538.

E. C. F. G.

subservient Martinus Luther.

1) Burkhardt, p. 314, has added this name. He notes that on December 15 the sequestrators were instructed to hand 40 fl. from the monastery Mildenfurt to the Wagener 2c. for clearance, according to the Weim. Archiv, *Reg. Oo, pag.* 792. 594.

N o. 2484.

Magdeburg. 11 December 1538.

Nicolaus von Amsdorf to Luther.

Amsdorf thanks Luther for his letter of comfort (No. 2480) and laments the lack of charity during the plague. The disease is on the wane. Of the wedding of the son of George of Saxony.

From the original in the state archives at Zerbst in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 334.

To the venerable Father in Christ, Dr. Martin Luther, the Apostle of Christ, his most reverend Lord and Benefactor.

Hail! Your letter, which is full of spirit and comfort, has pleased me greatly, my father, who is greatly honored in Christ, and I thank you infinitely for it, and it is quite true what you write, that none of our people die in unbelief or despair, but all, young and old, fall asleep in the Lord. But ten years ago, even under the gospel, they feared less than now, yea, they feared nothing: one neighbour visiting another, helping and serving him. Now, however, nothing happens to them, but they avoid one another in such a way that not only the neighbors, but also the closest and best friends keep away from their own. But, praise be to God, the plague has become less severe and is decreasing daily; God would that we were also safe from war, for everything seems to threaten us with it. You have already heard about the new marriage of Duke George's son; God grant his blessing to this event; here, at least, one prophesies and proclaims extremely bad things about this marriage. If there is a true spirit in the mouth of those prophets, then woe to that land and to the lords of the land! We pray daily and diligently for thee. How miserable would be the appearance of the church if the Lord took thee away and left us behind. Far be it, far be it, far be it, my dear father! Farewell in Christ with your whole house. Magdeburg, Wednesday after Nicolai [Dec. 11] 1538.

Your N. Amsdorf.

No. 2485.

(Wittenberg.) December 12, 1538.

To Nicolaus Specht, Rector of the school at Bautzen.

Luther wishes him luck on his forthcoming marriage and sends him the picture of Johann Hus as a wedding gift.

The original is in the Zittau municipal library. Printed in the "Budissiner Nachrichten" 1862, No. 132 and in Burkhardt, p. 313.

Grace and peace in Christ! I wish you and your bride happiness, my dear Nicolaus, and pray to the Lord that he may keep you with the grace of his blessing for eternity. But since my health is such that my business is far too great for me that I myself cannot be present, I send you through the Magister Antonius 1) a small and insignificant memento, but it is the image of the holy man John Hus, 2) which you will not judge according to its outward value (*ex materia*), but according to the heart that is good to you. Be well in Christ. On Thursday after Nicolai [12 Dec.] Anno 1538.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 2486.

(Wittenberg.) 16 December 1538.

To Johann Riemann, pastor at Werdau.

Luther consoles him in the adversities he has with his congregation. The Consistory would give him peace from his adversaries.

According to a copy of Riemann in the Weimar archives in *Ji, fol. 138 b. C. 9. 27.* printed by Burkhardt, p. 313.

Grace and peace in Christ! Not only my state of health, but also the amount of business has not allowed me to write as much as you desire, my dear John. First of all, I have ordered your son that if he should need my help or advice, he should turn to me. Secondly, I have commanded him to Philip, who has him commanded and will have him commanded. But what thou writest of this exceedingly wicked and

1) Probably Anton Lauterbach. This assumption gains strength from the fact that in Lauterbach's diary no records are found between December 12 and 17, 1538.

2) In 1538, a dramatization of the heresy trial of Hus, written by Johann Agricola, was published by Georg Rhau in Wittenberg. The title of the booklet is: "Tragedia Johannis Hufs, welche auff dem Buchristlichen Concilio zu Costnitz gehalten, allen Christen nützlich und tröstlich zu lesen. Decorated at the beginning as at the end with a woodcut portrait. Therefore Kawerau, "Agricola", p. 120, assumes that this writing is meant here.

The ungrateful world, then, that it does not want to suffer the punishment, that we learn everywhere. But now a consistory is being set up here by order of our prince; before it we shall be able to keep in check those who are repugnant to the word. In the meantime, continue, and be not oppressed by the offenses of exceedingly wicked men, but chastise, exhort, stop/) whether in season or out of season [2 Tim. 4:2], do the work of an evangelical preacher [v. 5.], commanding the other GOtte, who shall judge the ungodly. With these few words [take heed, and] 2) farewell. Monday after the third Sunday of Advent [16 Dec.] 1538. Martin Luther.

No. 2487.

Roslau. 22 December 1538.

George of Anhalt to Luther.

The Prince, prevented by indisposition to speak personally with Luther, sends Dr. Augustin Schurs, in order to communicate to him some things, which distress him.

The concept, from the prince's hand, is in the archive at Zerbst. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 335.

Grace, mercy and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ! Although I, venerable Father in Christ, who indeed hold you dear to me, have long looked forward to and urgently desire to converse with you, venerable Father, about several matters which I must not neglect, and also to enjoy your sweet discourses in the Lord, I have nevertheless, since my poor state of health, with which I am struggling so much, and now also another impediment, 3) prevented me from being with you, 3) I have decided to delegate Doctor Augustin Schurs, whose complete fidelity is undoubtedly known to you, venerable father, as well as to me, so that he may pour out into your bosom, venerable father, in my name some things that torment my heart not a little. Since these things arise from a mind that loves the promotion of the Gospel, the salvation of consciences, and the leading of a quiet life in godliness, I have no doubt that

1) Burkhardt: *justa instead of: insta*.
2) Added by us.
3) In the original: *alium* instead of: *aliud*.- Equally following: *integra fides* instead of: *integram fidem*.

your 4) kindness will lend him a willing ear. I would dare to ask this thing of you again and again, venerable father. I am sure that, in view of your kindness toward me, my requests of you will not 5) easily be in vain. Be well in Christ, venerable father, and remember me in your prayers.

Given at Roslau, December 22, 1538, to Doctor Martin.

No. 2488.

(Wittenberg.) December 26, 1538.

Johann Agricola to Luther.

(Regest.)

Since he had learned that Luther still distrusted him, he solemnly declared that he always wanted to stand by with all his heart what he had recently promised with mouth and hand, and asked that he be trusted, and that he, the challenged one, not be brought into even greater contestation.

Communicated (as from the year 1537, but corrected in Kawerau, "Agricola", p. 197) by Kawerau in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, IV, 308. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 336.

No. 2489.

(Wittenberg.) 28 December 1538.

To Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

About a philosophical writing of Melanchthon.

The original is in the library of *Corpus Christi College,* Cambridge. From one of Bucer's writings, printed by C. Krafft, in the Theologische Arbeiten des rhein.-wissenschaftl. Predigervereins, II, 102. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta* p. 337.

No. 2490.

(Wittenberg.) 30 December 1638.

To Hieronymus Weller.

Ueber die Besetzung der Superintendentur in Freiberg; von M. Nicolaus Hausmanns Tode.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. Printed in *H. Welleri Opp. omn. at the* end, p. 206 and in De Wette, Vol. V, 139.

4) We have not known how to use the word "*omnem"* in the text.

5) Kolde has added this *non.* - As we see from Luther's reply to this letter, dated January 2, 1539, this concerns Luther's writing Wider Cardinal Albrecht, Bischof zu Magdeburg, St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1888. Cf. the introduction there, p. 28b f.

Grace and peace in Christ! That I have not written until now, my dear Jerome, was due to the fact that I thought my letter was not necessary, after I had understood, not only from your letters, but also from the report of our prince, that your church was provided with the superintendent Mr. Paul, 1) and what pleased you and the prince could not displease me. I thought that you could easily think this, since you knew that your counsel could not appear bad to me, much less ungodly, since I consider you to be very good people and devoted to godliness. But this I did not know, that Mr. Paul was to take this place, and that you were to be placed in his place. In this I must inquire into the mind of [our] 3) princes; when I shall know this, I will immediately recommend you to the Senate, for I will write nothing but that you had taken over the theological lecture, as you wrote. About the [very good] 4) man, Mr. Hausmann, I would have written long ago, but I myself have also been sickly, so that I have not read nor preached for a long time. The gentleman's accident was very much concealed from me, until I learned it by chance through a speech by the prince, but very darkly.5) And I am wondering why

1) Paul Lindemann (Lindauer, Lindenauer). (Seidemann.)
2) Here's a gap that might want to be filled in that way.
3) Inserted by us into the gap located here.
4) In the *Cod. Goth. is* a gap here; *optimo* added by us.
5) Only Kolde, "Martin Luther", Vol. II, p. 474, has given the date of Hausmann's death with certainty, namely November 3, 1538. Köstlin comes close to the truth ("M. Luther", Vol. II, p. 528). De Wette, Vol. V, p. 139, assumes October, and Seidemann, "Lutherbriefe," p. 49, September 1. - Still on November 1 Hausmann had written a letter to Prince George of Anhalt (Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 332, note 6). On November 4, the preacher Bernhard von Dölen announced Hausmann's death to Jonas. This letter reached Wittenberg on Nov. 6 (see St. Louis edition, Vol. XXII, 1300, Tischreden, Cap. 48, §4.) - It is remarkable that Luther says here in our letter that he learned of the death from the prince, while Lauterbach reports in the same place that Luther's wife, Melanchthon, Jonas and Lauterbach had allmälig brought him the news. - Melanchthon's letter to Hieronymus Weller, *Corp. Ref.,* Vol. III, 607, No. 1751, is to be dated (instead of November 18 with *Peucer of* November 8, as already Köstlin 1. e. p. 680 aä p. 529 has noted.

they conceal this from me. I know that Mr. Hausmann was a righteous man in Christ, and that he fulfilled the word of Psalm 116:15: "Death [of his saints] 6) is precious in the sight of the Lord," and in the Book of Wisdom, 7) Cap. 4, 7. "The righteous, by whatsoever death he is taken, yet is he at rest." For how often have I also been dead in the pulpit, and yet 8) I live. But of this at another time. Fare well in Christ. Monday after the birth of the Savior [Dec. 30] 1538.

I pray thee, tell the senators Losan 9) and Lieskirchen that they should rebuke the messenger, lest he come again in such a hopeful and commanding manner. For yesterday, when he wished it to be considered fair that I should dedicate the feast day 10) to him, and as there was nothing on that day which he could have done, he almost wished to play the Lord. Monday after the birth of the Savior [Dec. 30] 1538.

No. 2491.

(Wittenberg.) No date 1538.

To Sebastian Heller, Ansbach chancellor.

Renewed recommendation of the clergyman recommended in No. 2434; praise of Ansbach's students in Wittenberg.

From the original in the von Imhof collection at Nuremberg in Schütze, vol. III, p. 82 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 140. According to *Corp. Ref.*, vol. III, 576, Melanchthon is the author.

To the highly placed man, Mr. Sebastian Heller, Doctor of Laws and Chancellor of Margrave George.

Although I knew that after your kindness you had long since taken this citizen of yours of your own free will, I gladly gave him a letter to you, since he asked for it. For both the remembrance of your virtue and of our friendship is very pleasant to me, and I am not unwillingly at the will of this Stibarus. For I have perceived that he is a humble man.

6) Added by us.
7) Instead of *sapienter*, read *sapientiae.*
8) Instead of turn we have assumed camouflage.
9) We have adopted Seidemann's conjecture: "Losan" instead of: "Josan". De Wette, vol. VI, p. 634, note 2.
10) It was Sunday, December 29.

He is a man and very fond of the fine arts. When he left, I admonished him that he should teach in the church what is necessary for godliness, and that he should follow your leadership (*autoritatem*) in all things. He has promised both. Therefore, as thou hast done hitherto, thou shalt henceforth take him under thy protection. For you see that our state needs your protection.

You have here some students (*scholasticos*) to whom there is very good hope, and we certainly have no others now who are preferable to yours. If our studies are not disturbed by warlike disturbances, I hope that the youth will be happily encouraged in every kind of teaching, and that the churches will at last have well-instructed leaders. This matter will one day serve for harmony, and I pray with all my heart that our Lord Jesus Christ may restore it. There is complete silence about the Concilium in Italy, although three Cardinals have met in Vicenza, Campegius, Sadoletus and Alexander, but they are still silent larvae (xxxx xxxxxxx). Here, by the grace of God, our relatives are well, together with their children and wives. Be well. Anno 1538.

Your Martin Luther. 1)

No. 2492.

(Schwerin.) End of December 1538.

Magnus, Duke of Mecklenburg, to Luther.

(Regest.)

About the implementation of the Reformation in Mecklenburg. Duke Magnus, since 1532 the episcopal administrator of Schwerin, has appointed godly preachers everywhere in his father's lands and has introduced right doctrine and wholesome ceremonies, but in the monasteries, convents and cities, which Duke Albrecht governs together with his father, there is still much godlessness with corner masses, relic service and pilgrimages. Against this, Magnus, at the Diet held at Parchim on November 10, 1538, lodged a protest, which he sent to Luther, and had his deputy, Henning Marburg, inquire whether he could leave it at that, and have a free, safe conscience. - Luther answered on May 14, 1539.

1) The *Corp. ref.* lacks this signature.

The original is found in the von Wallenrodt library in Königsberg. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 314. - At the first gap instead of: "aus samender ztigen regenten" could be read: "out of hemming of the disputatious regents"; in the second gap instead of: "an ...." perhaps: "alone".

No. 2493.

(Wittenberg.) No date 1538.

To Benedict Pauli, mayor of Wittenberg.

This writing, which Seidemann lists as a letter of consolation in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 218, is a table speech, which is found in a different redaction in the Table Speeches, cap. 26, s 59.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 821.

No. 2494.

(Wittenberg.) (1539?)

Expert opinion on Musa's "hit".

Anton Musa, in his "Anslagk, wie die Schulen yn Steten Widder anzurichten seyen," had expressed the opinion that foreign or poor boys attending school should be allowed to beg in cities, and that the preachers should announce this to the people, and also the officials should spread the word, so that the poor people would send their children to school, where they could not be maintained without support. Luther gave this opinion on this matter.

The original in Luther's hand is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Mm*. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 316.

Such concern pleases me well, for the rich raise their children to wealth, and not to the service of the word.

No. 2495.

Roslau. January 1, 1539.

George, Prince of Anhalt, to Luther.

The prince sends several books and reports the rumor that the pope has asked the emperor for protection for the papal see.

A fair copy is in Dessau. Printed in the Theol. Studien und Kritiken, 1835, II, 351 and in Burkhardt, p. 316. Luther's answer is in the next letter.

...our favorable and obliging will beforehand. Venerable, most learned, most beloved! According to our promise, we are sending you the booklet *Prosperi contra inimicos gratiae Dei*, as well as the *Canones concilii provincialis coloniensis*, together with the same *Enchiridio* or *Catechismo*,

and may not reproach you for the fact that it has been reported to us today, as in Magdeburg, that the pope, through his legates, has petitioned both the emperor and the king for a defension of the Roman see, with a reminder of their duty, so that they may be devoted to it; this the emperor has heard with displeasure, and for this reason should not stand well with the pope. We want to let you, to whom we are especially inclined, know this for the New Year's March, as we have heard, and do not want the afflicted Christian church, also our little person, to have this in your memory in your *pater noster. [Given* at Roslau, on the day of *Circumcisionis Domini* [1 Jan] Anno 1539.

No. 2496.

(Wittenberg.) 2. January 1539.

To George, Prince of Anhalt.

Answer to the previous letter. He acknowledges the receipt of the books, also sends a New Year's Tale, and indicates that he stands by his decision with regard to the Cardinal at Mainz. (Cf. No. 2487.)

From the *Cod. Servestan.* mitgetheilt von Prof. Lindner zu Dessau, in the theol. Studien und Kritiken von 1835, p. 352; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 221 and in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 56, p. XLIV.

Georgio principi ab Anhalt etc.

G. and peace in Christo. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! *Dr. Augustine* has handed over to me E. F. G.'s writing together with the books, and as soon as I overread or overlook them (for Cöllen is a great city and a great thing), they shall be returned to E. F. G. without delay. I have also taken the Reinick vou Vos 1) from *Dr. Jonas.* But because I am sitting here idle and in vain this evening, it occurred to me that E. F. G. had reported to me here from Magister Forcheim, 2) how he had prayed: "The devil will make everything alright; [then] I should send E. F. G. a Concordance at the same hour. F. G. a Concordance for his amusement, but because I got into other thoughts from E. F. G.'s words, I forgot it, and herewith I want to report it to E. F. G. for the new year. It happened, since he was my guest the closest (as I then had been).

1) It would probably like to read: "Reinicken Vos" or "Reinick den Vos".

2) Georg Held von Forchheim.

I would have liked to have him as my guest, if he thought me worthy), when he left me, shook hands and said a friendly *word,* I told him to go out of the parlour door, so he came out of the door in the maid's room. When I was surprised about this, he came out to me again and apologized diligently, saying that he had done it more than that before, and had come to the landlady's chamber early in the morning, and had almost grabbed the soft cheeses, as he would have confessed to E. F. G. further. I had to write this to E. F. G., because I also had a good evening, as a concordance to atone for my forgetfulness.

For the Cardinal's sake I have reported all sorts of things to *Dr. Augustin* all sorts of things, which I cannot write so briefly. Summa, they want it, God has blinded and hardened them, he will help us as he will do. Therefore, for the sake of this decision of mine, it will become neither colder nor warmer. They will do what they have decreed, though we adore them and carry them in our hands. So go one with the other. Hereby commanded to the dear God. *Et oremus in ecclesia pro ecclesia, et cum ecclesia. Christus vivit et regnat* [And let us pray in the Church, for the Church, and with the Church. Christ lives and reigns]. This they do not believe, *quia volunt experiri* [for they want to know]. *Secunda Januarii* 1539.

E. F. G. williger
M. L. D.

No. 2497.

(Wittenberg.) January 10, 1539.

To Hans von Taubenheim.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2042.

No. 2498.

(Wittenberg.) January 11, 1539.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf.

Luther shares some news and sends exegetical writings.

From the collection of the preacher Niemeyer at Hersigen at Schütze, vol. III, p. 84. Comparing the original in Cod. Seidel. at Dresden at De Wette, vol. V, p. 142 f.

3) "geramen," to set one's sights on something; here, to catch

To the man to be highly honored in the Lord, Mr. Nicolaus von Amsdorf, the theologian and right bishop of the church at Magdeburg, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have had nothing to write, my dear Amsdorf, except that I did not want the messenger to go away without a letter to you. Great things are said of the Emperor's coming, and armour. How great will be the boast of the Church of Pope, that afflicted and great martyr, of their Saviour. Aleander, the beggar, not of cheeses (like the monks), but of kings, still runs about everywhere to catch kings. May God destroy all his plots, and reward him according to his works, Amen.

I send the notes on Matthew, 1) a torn and patched interpretation, therefore the printers were justified in printing it on torn and patched paper. But I send them because you are wont to say that nothing is sent or brought to you. Also a copy of the Song of Songs. 2) But thou seest that all things have either been caught by ours in a furtive manner, or have been noted by me without order. But the brethren pick up these things. Fare well in the Lord, and pray for me. January 11, 1539. Mart. Luther.

No. 2499.

(Wittenberg.) January 12, 1539.

To Johann Schreiner, pastor in Grimma.

Recommendation of a young man as schoolmaster.

From the Willische Collection at Freiberg in Schütze, Vol. III, p. 85 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 143.

To the in Christ highly venerable brother, Joh. Schreiner, pastor and bishop at Grimma, fine Waldheim man. 3)

I was happy to hear that M. Memminger 4) has regained consciousness and thus fallen asleep in the Lord. For the widow and the children

1) St. Louis edition, vol. VII, 1.
2) St. Louis edition, vol. V, 1580.
3) The word: *Viro* is marked with a question mark at De Wette.
4) Johannes Schmelz from Memmingen. Cf. No. 1353.

Christ will take care of him, amen. By the way, if your school is unoccupied and you do not yet have a schoolmaster, I ask that you do your duty and promote M. Sebastian Matthesen, 5) the son of our citizen Blasius Matthis, to this office. For although he could live more gloriously here than at the university, it seemed good to his father that he should escape this proverb:

Est puer in patria quasi bos nutritus in aula [It is a young man in his fatherland as it were an ox fed at court]. And I do not believe that he will remain there for many years. Only that he should be active while he is young and strong and can be useful by teaching. Fare well, and pray diligently for me, for I am growing weak. Sunday after Epiphany [12 Jan] 1539.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2500

(Wittenberg.) January 19, 1539.

To Hieronymus Weller.

Recommendation of Christoph Strobel, who was called to Freiberg as a preacher.
Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. 185. 4. printed in *Welleri Opp. omn. at the* end, p. 207 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 144.

Grace and peace in Christ! Christoph Strobel, who is known to you and to us, my dear Jerome, has been called to Freiberg by your Prince Heinrich, and is perhaps to be sent to Marienberg, about which you will hear more detailed information from him. So that he may now also have my testimony, which he has urgently requested, I commend him to you, so that he may become more recommendable to all others through both your and my judgment or testimony, since we know him inside and out (*in cute*), that he is a good, godly, sincere, and far too shy man to say nothing of his (special) scholarship. Whoever does not love such a servant of the Word is clearly worthy of the presidency of the Council of Mantua,

5) In the album he is registered on 21 June 1536 as *Sebastianus Matheus, Wittenbergen*.
6) We have filled in the blank by *singulari.*

that is, the pope, the liar and deceiver of the human race, or rather the mocker of the Christian church. You will therefore do what you can when your help is needed, as I know you will do. Greet all of us and pray for me. I am writing very briefly, because I am busy with other things of length, breadth, depth, and beyond my strength; but of that at another time. Sunday after Antonii [19 Jan] 1539.

No. 2500a.

To Leonhard Beier in Zwickau.

We have inserted the letter which the editions hereunder bring to 27 Jan. 1539 *under* No. 2033a, because it is from 26 Jan. 1534.

No. 2501.

(Wittenberg.) January 31, 1539.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for Georg Niederland from Salzungen.

According to the original in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Mm, fol. 61 b. N. 9*, printed by Burkhardt, p. 317. - Also Melanchthon, the university and the visitators related to him.

G. and Peace in Christ. Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! I have been approached so often by this Georg Nidderland, son of a citizen in Salzungen, that I must write to E. C. F. G. at last. "He is here in the studio, and cannot support himself, because his parents do not have the means. However, he has previously written to E. C. F. G. about a fief he owns, Werner von Reckenrot, on which he should have confidence, as is to be heard from Er Just Menius' writing, enclosed here. Please, therefore, let E. C. F. G. graciously show themselves to do as much as is possible, because E. C. F. G. themselves know all too well that young people have to be raised up, because of the great shortage now and then, for the preaching ministry. Christ, our dear Lord, be with E.C.F.G. forever, Amen. On the last of January, 1539.

E. C. F. G.
subservient
Martin Luther, Dr.

No. 2502.

(Wittenberg.) January 31, 1539.

Concerns of Luther and other theologians of the opposition.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 566.

No. 2503.

(Wittenberg.) January 1539.

To Dr. Caspar Güttel of Eisleben. "Against the Antinomians."

See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1610.

No. 2504.

Freiberg. 1 February 1539.

Caspar Zeuner to the Bishop of Meissen, Johann VIII von Maltitz.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 1777, no. 368. - There is this letter from Lauterbach's diary with the heading: "Mag. Nicolaus Hausmann's letter to the Bishop of Meissen", dated October 28, 1538. But according to the testimony of *Rebenstock*, *tom*. II, lol. 241 b (wrong 141 b), and the Hall manuscript, *Bindseil*, *Colloquia, tom*. III, p. 291, this letter is "written by Luther under the name and title of Caspar Zeuner, appointed pastor at Freiberg." Rebenstock has no date, *Bindseil*: Then follows with both: "A letter of the same content to the bishop of Meissen written by Dr. M. Luther under the name of Nicolaus Hausmann, appointed pastor of Freiberg in the year 1538." No date. German in *Bindseil*; Latin in *Rebenstock*. We consider the Latin to be the original. (Against Bindseil and Seidemann.) Seidemann, "Lutherbriefe," p. 49, has Hausmann's letter written "in August, 1538," and places Hausmann's death on September 1. In contrast, see our note to No. 2490. - In addition to this letter, we have also considered Hausmann's to be superfluous.

No. 2505.

(Wittenberg.) 2. February 1539.

To Melanchthon.

Luther recommends him the legal action of a friend, reports news and sends his writing against the Antinomians.
Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, fol. 266. From the Benzel Collection in Stockholm in Schütze, vol. III, p. 88 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 158.

Grace in Christ! Although I know, my dear Philip, that without any reminders you have freely given yourself to the very good

If you are favorable to the man Wilhelm Rinke in the matter against Count Albrecht, I have nevertheless also wanted to add my spur, so that you have an opportunity to object and to excuse your inclination or your impetuousness in this so just matter. For it is said that the adversary of William plagues heaven and hell with all his might, so that the judges are seduced by evil persuasions before they judge; and we know the nature of this man, that therefore much, if not everything, is at stake in your and Mr. Brück's perspicacity, then also in the observation of the adversary. No one doubts your fidelity and your diligence; only Mr. Brück must keep our prince well instructed, and you must not cease to instruct your pupil perfectly. But this is enough for a man of understanding.

There is no news, except that our cabbage hare (*Oluslepus*) has again plundered a village near writing. So Mr. Benedict Paul told me today. Whether it is true, I do not know. Shall Kohlhase (xxxxx) 1) be ours, or shall we be Kohlhasen? But nevertheless this Kohlhaserei (xxxxxxxxx) is not enough for us.

nor to us to great adornment. Our captain (*Hipparchus*) 2) is very angry with himself, perhaps by beginning to feel something of the prince's great spell or to suffer over it. I have been told that he said to a certain person: "he wants to put a stink behind him". Surely it is not necessary "to leave a stink behind him; he has already left much of it for himself, around him, and everywhere. We send the disputation of Eisleben with my little book against the antinomians, 3) in which I am displeased that I have been so lenient, after having seen in his disputations that he clearly persists in his opinion, especially in the 15th thesis and the following. But Paul is not lacking, who [Tit. 3:10. 11.] so surely condemns men who have condemned themselves. Farewell, and pray for me. We will be authorities

1) Cf. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 305, last line of text.
2) It will be meant the bailiff Hans Metzsch. (Cf. No. 2475.)
3) No. 2503.

and be everything during this carnival. Christ be with us, Amen, and also with you, that you may again proclaim peace and bring it with you, Amen. On the day of the Purification of the Virgin Mary [2 Feb.] Anno 1539. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2506.

(Wittenberg.) February 8, 1539.

To Johann Lübeck, preacher in Cottbus.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 554.

No. 2507.

(Wittenberg.) February 10, 1539.

To Gabriel Zwilling, pastor in Torgau.

Recommendation of Johann Milde (Melde) to a parish office, and an economic order from his housewife.

The original is in the library at Wittenberg. Printed from the Löscher Collection at Wittenberg by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 398, and from the original by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 161 f.

Your in Christ highly venerable husband, M. Gabriel Zwilling, the faithful bishop of the church at Torgau, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace in Christ! My dear Gabriel, Johann Melde has asked me to intercede for him, whether he could perhaps become his successor as pastor in Neiden (Neyden) through your help. He has been held up quite a long time in the life of the country and among the drudgery of the peasants, and it is burdensome for the parish priests to stay in the country with such great wickedness of the ballers. It is said that he had some inclination to drink. But that this could have taken place with him daily, his poverty did not permit, as you know, and I hope that he will mend his ways. Therefore, if it is in your power, and can be done, let him be commanded to you, whether he might have a quiet life, to spend his time in reading and praying.

"My lord Ketha calls me thus to write of the box and sedel [*scedula*? Zeddel]: that she wonders how a box should be so expensive as four fl. For it should be a clean box to put in for linen utensils, since iron is not struck through the linen.

counsel iron-painted 1) made. For we have a treasure chest ready, and it is a thousand times too far for our treasure. Therefore describe unto us the chest of wood, of form, of iron, as it is. For you have given me one, as you know. If it were not made of wood so loose and worm-eaten that it is like worm meal in the box, it would be good enough for linen. If it be so, or a little better, it would be right. Otherwise she may have one made here. Hereby God commanded. I would have had more to do than to write of boxes, where He Johann Milde would not have led me to the paper." Monday after Apollonia [10 Feb.] 1539.

Martin Luther.

No. 2508.

(Königsberg.) February 15, 1539.

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

(Regest.)

The duke testifies to Luthern's sympathy on the news of his sickness (No. 2481).

Regest with J. Voigt, Mittheilung aus der Correspondenz des Herzogs Albrecht mit Luther 2c. Königsberg 1841, p. 3, and in Kolde, p. 338.

No. 2509.

(Wittenberg.) February 21, 1539.

To Jakob Probst in Bremen.

Recommendation from a displaced person. Political news and domestic affairs.
Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 282, printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 92 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 162 f.

Grace and peace in Christ! This young man, Philip Pomelanus from Gandau, expelled for the sake of the Word, my dear Jacob, has come here; his simple nature and his respectability have moved us all. And if his language were not useless among our own 2) we would not have let him go from us. But to feed people who are strong and able to work elsewhere is not fitting, nor is it a duty to bear our burdens, let alone" those that we are weak.

I) "eisenmalicht" == rust stained.
2s Instead of *mutilis* we have assumed *inutilis.* The former does not exist.

People from all over the world are oppressed. Therefore it has seemed good to us to commend him to you, whether he might be of use among your countrymen by the ministry of the tongue, or might be of service to very many neighbors. Fare well in the Lord, and greet all our people.

You not only know more news than we do, but you also have it. For it is said that the Emperor and the Burgundians are undertaking a war against *Guelders,* and that he has already sent twenty thousand Spaniards there by sea. At nns there is now a heavy acrimony between the Landgrave of Hesse and the Duke of Brunswick, 3) for whose sake a meeting is already being held at Frankfort, between hope and fear, only that the consideration of the Church with us hopes for peace. "The clergy truly make too much of it, the sack will have to tear at last." Greetings to you, my Lord Käthe, and to your little path, my daughter Margaretha, who has learned to sing beautifully the words of Matthew 11: "Come to me, all of you," and other things besides. These you have chosen as your pathchen, to you I also command them. Surely I am decreasing in strength, and yet the struggles, heresies, and temptations do not cease, nor diminish, so that if I were a demant, I would yet at last be forced to collapse under the burden, which I hope will soon happen by the grace of Christ. And for this my hour, I pray, wouldst thou also pray. On the day before Peter was raised to the throne (*Cathedrati*), that is, before Peter was made a mockery by the pope [21 Feb.] 1539. Yours, Martin Luther.

But hear, my lord Käthe hath commanded me to jest with thee. We are in doubt here whether your sea is dry. For after the permission to eat meat came through the gospel, there have never been fewer of your fish here, that is, of salted fish, such as herring, haddock, 4) plaice, and salmon, so that we are now in doubt whether your sea is dry.

3) The landgrave had caught the duke's secretary with letters to the Churfürst of Mainz. See Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth. lib*. III, p. 294, § 69 (De Wette).
4) This is our assumption, since *truscopiscium is* not found in our Lexicis. Perhaps it is a word formed by Luther "dry fish" (Stockfische), like the *schollensium that* follows.

no longer by the liberty of the gospel, but by the necessity of hunger, to be forced to eat meat, with so great a scarcity of salt fish, unless perhaps all salt fish, together with the fish, fear the wrath of the pope, the God on earth, and at last even the seas flee his lightning, after he is despised on the land.

No. 2510.

(Wittenberg.) February 21, 1539.

To Dr. Johann Rühel.

About a marriage case.

Handwritten in *Cod. Palat. 689, p. 75* and in *Cod. Jen. B 24, fol. 246*. Printed by De Wette, vol. V, p. 164 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 218.

G. and F. in Christo. Respectable, highly respected, dear doctor and brother-in-law! I have taken your advice that my dear brother-in-law N. should play the short one, and (so that further unpleasantness may degenerate) let the verdict be pronounced at Stolpen. For we too (if the full report had come to us, as the closest friendship agrees) would without doubt have spoken for this marriage and not against it, and where it would be necessary, would still do so. It is true that (where it comes before us theologians), Decree XXVII, *Quaest*. 2: *Sufficiat*, and the like respect nothing. For we have thrown the pope's right under the imperial rights, as they are much better neither the pope's fool's decree, which always: Lamb, here!

Also whether we could defend the Canon of the Pope against you jurists, as you interpret the word *solus* (alone) *quasi exclusivam patriae potestutis* (as if it excluded the paternal power), which however does not suffer the *circumstantiae (*circumstances), but includirt *patriam potestatem* (the paternal power), only *coitum seu copulam* (the cohabitation or the carnal union) excludes.

But it is not necessary to defend the pope, and if we are not willing to do so. In this case the Canon *Sufficiat is* right and not against us. For he speaks *de consensu legitimo* [of lawful consent], as *Gratianus* afterwards, (though unreasonably) rejected by the Glossator; not to speak of it now.

Now, because in this case the virgin, as an orphan, has the nearest friendship for herself, *auctoritas parentum* [paternal authority] is sufficiently obtained with us, and is not called *solus: solius puellae consensus, sed solus, sc. consentiente patria potestate, sine copula tamen* [alone: the girl's consent alone, but alone, namely, with the consent of paternal authority, yet without carnal union].

You lawyers interpret *solus pro solius puellae* [only as: only of the girl], but we theologians, where we want to defend the pope against you, interpret it *solus, pro sola pactione et desponsatione etiam ante copulam* [only, as only by the contract and the betrothal, even without carnal connection], as the texts themselves give it. And thus Pope Nicolaus can use lawyers for us against you, except that we do not need it, but *civilibus juribus* [the secular laws] are commanded to judge such. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. On St. Peter's evening *papeficati* (who is made pope; that is, Peter's chair celebration) (21 Feb.) 1539. *Martinus Luther*.

No. 2511.

(Wittenberg.) February 23, 1539.

To Friedrich Myconius and Justus Menius.

Luther charges them, as visitators of the Thuringian district, with settling the disputes which probably relate to antinomianism. Something from Agricola.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Gud*. From the Schmid collection at Helmstädt in Schütze, Vol. III, p. 94 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 165.

To the highly venerable gentlemen, Friedrich Myconius and Justus Menius, the visitators of Thuringia, his exceedingly dear brothers and friends.

Best brothers in Christ! You see what Satan is up to in Saalfeld. Since the prince is now absent, this is the only remedy, that you two or one of you, since you are called to this by the office which is commanded you, come and extinguish this spark before it starts a conflagration. The Saalfelders have completely concealed the cause in their letter, but I suspect that it is something of the antinomy. I er-

I am reminded that Aquila was such a zealot for the Ten Commandments (*decalogi*) that he was therefore called Moses. And, as you know, the capelians or preachers, even the sacristans (*aeditui*), sometimes presume to be masters of the bishops, as Anus was of Athanasius and Alexander. But nothing can be judged about the unknown matter. Some think that Aquila also became a follower of Agricola (*Agricolanus*), which I do not hope, nor do I yet believe to be true. Therefore, it will behoove you to be vigilant in this matter. Here M. Eisleben is still walking along, having become nothing other than what he has been, just as he has walked along up to now. Neither he addresses me, nor I in turn address him. What counsel God has I do not know; what Satan thinks I see, but I do not avoid him, since Christ lives. Let us pray and watch, lest we fall into temptation. Be at ease in Christ. Sunday Invocavit [23 Feb] 1539.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2512.

(Wittenberg.) February 23, 1539.

To the council of Saalfeld.

Luther advises them to turn with their request to the visitators of Thuringia.

From Schlegel's "Life of Caspar Aquila". Leipzig and Frankfurt 1737. 4th, p.275, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 166 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 220.

To the honorable, prudent gentlemen, mayor and council of Salfeld, my favorable lords and friends.

Grace and peace with Christ 2c. Honorable, prudent, dear sirs! I understand from your writing that Satan also wants to come among the children of God, as happens in more places, where it is evident that God is threatening the devil with our great ingratitude, which we so miserably despise his blessed word. But because the districts of this principality are divided, it is my advice that you request and ask Friedrich Mecum in Gotha; if you also want to ask Just Menius in Eisenach, it is all the better, since they have been ordered to visit the Thuringian lands. This I write so that further discord may be prevented, but rather that the order of the circles may not be mixed up or torn apart. These two will know how to advise the matter (whether God wills it); may you send him my letter along with it. Hereby commanded by God, *Domin. Invocavit* [23 Feb] 1539.

Martinus Luther.

No. 2513.

(Wittenberg.) February 25, I53S.

To Andreas Hügel, pastor in Amberg.

Luther gives him guidance on how to answer an opponent who claims the merit of good works.

The original is at Gotha in *Cod. chart.* 1048. Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 267. Printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 95 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 167.

Grace and peace in Christ! What you write, my dear Andrew, about the Eckscheu disputator, that he wants works to merit eternal life after justification, is too extensive a matter to be settled in one letter. But I answer in brief words thus: First, that thou urge the disputant to the restitution of all things which they possess by this their doctrine, that works shall merit grace before justification. When this restitution has been made, you will answer about the works that are done after justification. For thou must be a little bolder and more contentious against these unrighteous and unlearned sophists, since thou knowest that they are asses in this doctrine. Then to the matter (which these "asses" do not need to indicate): those who are justified in Christ are heirs of the kingdom through faith (as Paul teaches in the Epistle to the Galatians). Therefore it must be admitted that they do not merit the kingdom of heaven by works alone, but also 1) by omission of works, yea, even by sleep. For what should the children of GOD not merit? What should not an heir, the son, earn with the father, since he is heir without merit by birth alone? The Father entices the Son, who is an heir by nature, to become an heir through obedience.

1) The preceding words, which are missing from Dr Wette, are inserted "ach Burkhardt, p. 3i8.

that is, that he may not become degenerate. But I believe that you can learn this more than enough from the books of ours. Fare well in the Lord. Tuesday after Invocavit [February 25, Anno 1539. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2514.

(Wittenberg.) February, 1539.

Umlaaf letter to all parish priests.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV.II, 302, no. 128S.

No. 2515.

(Wittenberg.) 2. March 1539.

To Melanchthon in Frankfurt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X VII, SOS, no. 1290.

No. 2516.

(Frankfurt a. M.) 3. March 1539.

Friedrich Myconius to Luther.

He tells a" dream of Melanchthon, and adds a partial interpretation. Full of Bucer's orthodox preaching and your devout, diligent listening to the word of God on the part of the Frankfurters.

From a copy in *Cod. Goth.* 190, p. 198, printed in *Corp. fol.*, Vol. III, 640. - This is only a part of the letter, which in the codex has the heading: *Sornnium Philippi a Myconio scripturn*; through the same, Luther's letter to Melanchthon of March 14 becomes understandable. The entire letter is taken from a letter codex in Wernigerode and reported by C. Krafft in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, III, 327. It also contains information about the convention in Frankfurt.

Philip dreamed yesterday that he saw a magnificent painting in which the image of Christ hanging on the cross was painted first, around which were painted, as it were, little souls (*animulae*) dressed in white clothes. To these were added the princes of the realm, clothed in their ornaments, going there in beautiful order, as it is wont to be done. After them came a certain ass, dressed in a linen coverlet, 1) as it is called,

1) This is conjecture. In the text: *super pellica*, which cannot be proven lexically.

"a surplice," which on a rope drew the Emperor and the Pope behind him, as it were 2) as if he wanted to lead them to this ceremony of the blessed.

I interpret that donkey as the German donkey, which both have ridden and miserably plagued at their discretion. But whether this dream means anything, we shall see.

After this [Philip] gave praise to John Storm of Strasbourg, whom he greatly commended for his modesty, sincerity, godliness, and learning.

Bucer preached a very learned sermon here yesterday 3) before an exceedingly numerous congregation in St. Bartholomew's Church about the Canaanite woman, which was indeed full of spiritual sentiment, not without great favor and careful attention from the entire congregation. At the end he also presented his opinion and that of the congregation concerning the true presentation of the body of Christ, that this body is also received with the mouth in the Holy Communion under the bread and wine. Then I saw with how great earnestness, with how great devotion and respectability a part of the people received the Holy Communion. And although, as far as the ceremonies are concerned, they differ somewhat from ours and from the usual manner, yet nothing is done here lightly, nothing without propriety and Christian seriousness, and if we want something to be conformed to our customs here, we hope to be able to obtain it without difficulty. I do not know that I have seen or heard any congregation which so diligently hears the word of Christ, and with so great unanimity, as it were with one voice, sings his songs and hymns. But this virgin and bride, who is to be adorned for Christ, has now been praised enough, so that if she should become an adulteress, which is far off, I could not reprove and rebuke her again without shame.

Our princes bravely and steadfastly do the work of Christian heroes, and we miss nothing in them, except that I would they were kinder to their bodies. For they are very hard on them, dousing and almost burying them in the best Rhine wine, and they say that they seek and strengthen friendships by these practices.

2) In the text: *quasi in ad hunc beatorum ritum perduceret*. Instead of in we have assumed *enim,* which in a case such as this remains untranslated.

3) From this comes the timing of this letter. "Yesterday" was the Sunday ReminiScere, March 2, because Bucer preached on the Gospel of the Cananaean Woman.

No. 2517.

Frankfurt. 3 March 1539.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Melanchthon reports on the negotiations of the Frankfurt Convention up to March 3. Of the peaceful attitudes of the Protestants and the opposing ones of the opposing party.

Handwritten in *Cod Bav. I*, p. 995; in Cod. Goth. 190, p. 196; in *Cod. Goth*. 401, p. 95b; in Cod. *Mehn*. III, p. 186 b; in *Cod. Lips.* ep. 117; and in *Cod. Basill*. 39, p. 29. printed in *Manlii Farrago*, p. 406; in Mel. Epp., tom. II, p. 15 (ed. Lond., lib. II, 6p. 4.) and in *Corp. Ref.* vol. III, 641.

To the highly famous and valuable man, Mr. Martin Luther, Doctor of Theology, restorer of the evangelical doctrine 2c., his highly venerable father in Christo.

Hail! At this hour Franz, 1) the teacher of your sons, has given me your highly desired letter, on the third of March. About the beginning of the Convention I wrote to you a few days ago. Afterwards the imperial orator arrived and brought with him a mandate which was more liberal than all hoped and expected, namely that the peacemakers should not only make a truce but also peace by their judgment. This mandate was publicly proclaimed to our people, and two Electors, the Palatine and the Margrave, ordered that a peace formula be drawn up, so that they might know what had been omitted in the Nuremberg peace treaty. Our people have already submitted a formula in which they request that security be granted not only to the allies, but also to other estates which might accept the doctrine of the Gospel. They also request that the tyranny of Speier's judgment be resisted. Now the peacemakers deliberate, and say that the will of the imperial orator is not at all in accord with the liberalism of the mandate.

xxx xxxxxxxxxx[publicly he speaks good, and yet has evil in mind, as Homer says. And this alone is thought to be courtly wisdom. These are the proceedings up to the third of March. Although our people are eager for peace and have some hope that the matter can be brought to rest, they seem to be in a state of mind for all eventualities. You will pray for the sake of our poor youth that Christ may grant and obtain peace for us. When I

1) Franz Groß von Oschatz. Seidemann at De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 226.

I would not fear arms if I were not moved by compassion toward the young, who need the discipline and instruction that war hinders. There is so much godlessness, so much rage, and so much nonsense among the adversaries that I have no doubt that they will perish by some fatal noise. The Mainzer asked a *magistrate*, a soothsayer (*magum*), "of Walthausen," not far from Worms, for advice as to whether a war should be undertaken. He promised him, as they say, good things. With such mockery of the devil he comforts himself, and yet he stands in the greatest fear, and not only in fear, but he is also detested. All, high and low, judge that by his artifices these dangers have been brought about. Therefore, let us pray that God will protect our people and sanctify a church among us and free us from Doeg's helpers (*satellitio*). The Convention has not yet given me a longer communication, therefore you may interpret this letter for the best, Dr. Brück and M. Franciscus 2) send you their greetings. May God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ keep you and your family. I commend my family to you and your prayers. At Frankfort, the third of March. Greetings in my name to your most honored spouse. Farewell. 1539.

Philip Melanthon.

No. 2518.

(Wittenberg.) 414 March 1539.

To Melanchthon in Frankfurt.

About the Frankfurt Convention, from which Luther expects nothing good. About the dream of Melanchthon (No. 2516).

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 272, printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 96 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 172.

Grace and peace in Christ! When I write to you, my dear Philip, I consider that I have written to all. I cannot answer every one. Therefore you will excuse my indolence or hopefulness, if they suffer it, to Myconius and Bucer, and greet them kindly and every time (*semper*). Although I am reasonably healthy, I am not able to do as much as I would like. I was very glad to receive your letters, which were so cheerful, and I give thanks to the Lord. But I wonder very much,

2) The Vice Chancellor Burkhard,

how the terms of peace can be determined, since you demand an open door for the gospel, but they want it closed. Though they may be outwardly compelled to open the streets to you, yet they do not do so from the heart. The matter has come to a crisis, that Christ and Belial should be reconciled, or that one should give way to the other, which is both impossible, unless it be done by force, which we try to avert by pleading, but it would be in vain, since their minds are leprous and thereby only rage more. Your dream has pleased me exceedingly; whether perhaps Christ will act in a fine and wonderful way, and put the Egyptians to shame either by terror or by the power of Israel, just as he also frightened the Cananites, since Jacob in Sichern feared their power and was already close to destruction. And this it may be, that the emperor and the pope shall be drawn away by the rope of the ass against your will. But we fight with prayer, and by the same we shall prevail, not knowing in the meantime the hidden way of God in many waters, and His footsteps that are not known.

Here, praise God, all is well and quiet, even in your house. But may you paint your dream clearly for us. For we, too, have painted the thing itself here, but we do not understand the situation, the clothing, the image of the persons, except that of the princes, the princes, and your crucified one. The ass they have pictured standing on two feet, and the souls as the pupils and students 2c. I have finished my writing of the Church^), but it distresses me exceedingly this writing, because it is so scanty and rich in words. But to treat of the particulars, and to fortify it with testimonies and examples, might not have been wholly beyond my powers, but the time and labor were beyond my strength. Farewell, and pray for me. March 14, 1539.

Your Martin Luther.

1) De Wette assumes *juvenes* instead of *anirnas,* because he did not know the letter of Myconius.
2) "Of the Conciliis and Churches." St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 2144.

No. 2519

(Frankfort.) March 14, 1539.

Melanchthon to Luther.

More news about the Frankfurt negotiations and some news.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 190, p. 201; in *Cod. Goth.* 401, p. 96; in Cod. Luv. II, p. 459; in *Cod. Mehn.* III, p. 190 d; and in *Cod. Basil.* 39, p. 49b. Printed in *Manlii Farrag.* p. 444 and in *Corp. Ref.* vol. III, 648. - Misled by Bucer's postscript, *Manlius* and Burkhardt, p. 318 (in a regest), have attributed this letter to Bucer.

To the highly famous and valuable man, Mr. Martin Luther, Doctor of Theology, the restorer of the evangelical doctrine, his father who is to be highly honored in Christ.

Hail! After ours had delivered the articles of peace, the consultation of the imperial envoy and the peacemakers was delayed until the 12th of March. One of these, that of the envoy, was written in an opprobrious manner, the other in a more gentle manner, which indicated that the peacemakers would work to bring about a standstill of several years, so that in the meantime meetings might be held in which the harmony of the churches and doctrine might be discussed. For now the emperor does not mention the council, nor does he hope that one will take place, and for this reason, if the envoy speaks the truth, he is angry with the ranting pope. Our people will send an answer. Perhaps they will say exactly what terms they can accept. For haste is necessary, lest ours be oppressed unprepared, if there is no standstill, though we hope for peace as yet.

At the beginning there were frightful speeches here of the Turks; now there is a sudden silence with them, and it is said that an armistice is made by the French. There are great armaments in the Dutch; they threaten the King of England not indistinctly, but many suspect other things. Yes, I cannot write anything certain about the commonwealth. Therefore, you will ask GOD to govern and sustain us. The Macedonian 3) does not go out because of the smallpox. But it is believed that there is no danger from the disease. He asks for you as often as I come to him, and tells me to be friendly to you.

3) The Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

greetings. For he told me the other day that he had asked God to prolong his life if it would benefit the Church of Christ. Be well and prosper. God keep you and all your family. Greetings to you Dr. Brück, Sturm and your old host, the preacher of the Count of Neuenaar, respectfully. March 14, 1539.

[Bucer's postscript.]

I also wish you, venerable father, well-being and a long, healthy life, so that you may still be able to assist the afflicted churches. Venerable father, your most devoted M. Bucer.

No. 2520.

(Wittenberg.) March 25, 1539.

All the visitators in Thuringia.

Luther advises them to put an end to the disputes between the preachers in Saatfeld by removing Diaconus Jakob. (Cf. No. 2511 and No. 2512.) From the original at Wolfenbüttel in De Wette, vol. V, p. 173 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 223.

To the worthy, strict, honorable ordained visitators of the Elector, our Lord of Saxony in Thuringia. Lord of Saxony, in Thuringia, my strict lords and friends.

G. and Fried in Christ. Worthy, strict and dear gentlemen! I have read your report between the priest M. Aquila and the deacon Er Jakob, that you also desire my *judicium,* because Er Jakob does not want to let himself be rejected 2c. - But there is no need for my *judicium* here, therefore I ask you to interfere with your commanded office, and to depose Jacob as unfit to be a preacher, because he is so rudely invented in hatred, envy, ambition, and pride, and also despises your admonition and command. For if with such unwillingness our most gracious lord, who without this is our only emergency bishop, because no other bishop wants to help us, should be troubled without need, it might be considered as if you, as those who have been commanded to do so, wanted to do nothing about it, and blame everything on E. C. F. G. Hals, who without this, especially now, is too much burdened. Away with this jacket. For I worry that such hard-held grudges will not soon be assuaged, and would become worse if they were to stay together now.

In part, I have become unhappy with the report about the measurements of Jäckel, that he deals with lazy jokes, and still stiffly insists on it, and wants to be the master of all the world, to do everything according to his head. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. *Die incarnationis filii Dei* [25 March] 1539.

No. 2521.

(Wittenberg.) March 26, 1539.

To Melanchthon in Frankfurt.

Of the Frankfurt Convention and the Wittenberg Theurung.

The original is in the library at Wolfenbüttel. From the Benzel Collection at Stockholm at Schütze, Vol. III, p. 98, and after the original at De Wette, Vol. V, p. 174.

Grace and peace in Christ! Although I suspected, my dear Philip, that this letter would not find you in Frankfurt, since I understood from your last letter that you are in a hurry, but not only this, rather I have almost begun to give up hope that peace will be granted to us, this will in any case happen, as we hope that our prayers will be heard, so that, if there should be any unrest at all, Christ will fulfill the interpretation of the vision at Schmalkalden and of your dream 1), although in the meantime we too are irritating God everywhere, especially through ingratitude and contempt for the Word. Yes, our peasants intend to kill us without need through hunger; very many students are forced to leave because of the wickedness of those who hide the grain. And here in such great trouble is no tax. You know our lack of all rule (*anarchiam*), which causes an unlimited licentiousness, which perhaps at last also becomes untamable. This one thing I am sorry for, that I see this exceedingly beautiful school must be dispersed. Christ tread Satan down, amen. It is well in thy house. Dr. Jonas suffers anew at the stone. Farewell in Christ. Wednesday after the Day of the Incarnate Word [March 26] Anno 1539.

Your Martin Luther.

1) Cf. no. 2518.

No. 2522.

Wittenberg. 3 t. March 1539.

All Johann Kymäus, pastor in Homburg.

Request for travel money for a pastor appointed by Cymaeus.
Printed in "Vergnügte Abendstunden". Erfurt 1748. 23rd leaf, p. 182 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 175. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1289 f.

To the in Christ highly venerable brother, John Kymaeus, 1) the exceedingly faithful and upright bishop of the church at Homburg.

Grace and peace in the Lord! My dear Kymaeus, U. Valentin Schreiber tells us that you have called him to a parish. And you are certainly doing a great and good work by helping such a poor man, who is also godly and learned, as you know. And he is ready and willing, even eager to come, but he has oppressive circumstances and extreme poverty at home. He has no travel money, so you would do very well if you could obtain the costs of the journey for him, but I do not see how he could undertake the journey. Air would gladly give, because we ourselves would not be oppressed by the multitude of the poor, who flow together from everywhere as into a famous place, except our poor, especially with so great a theurung of grain, the like of which the inhabitants of this country do not remember. Send therefore the cost, or, if thou canst not so suddenly, say well whether we may be able to borrow so much somewhere. For I also desire very much that the man may be advised and helped. Fare well in the Lord and greet all of us. Wittenberg, Monday after Palmarum (31 March) 1539.

Your Mart. Luther.

No. 2523.

(Wittenberg.) March 1539.

To the council of Wittenberg (?). Note.

Intercession for travel money for a poor student.

1) Johann Kymäus, pastor of Homburg in Hesse, published in 1537 a book, "Ein alt christlich Concilium zu Gangra," 2c. to which Luther wrote a preface. St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 2082, no. 1242.

From an old postilion of Luther, where this note was pasted, in the "Fortgesetzten Sammlung von alten und neuen theologischen Sachen 1721," p. 362, and in De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 226.

Gentlemen! This poor fellow must also go hungry. Now he has no food (like the others) and must travel far away; but because he is a piously learned man, he must be helped. Know ye, therefore, that my giving is so much and so daily, that I cannot spare it all. Therefore ask that you give him XXX gl.; if there is not so much, then give XX, and I will give X. If not, give half, XV, and I will give the other half. God will give it back. Martin Luther.

(Frankfurt.) **No. 2524.** 4. April 2) 1539.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Melanchthon thanks for letters received and gives further news about the negotiations in Frankfurt.

From the original in the Pauline Library at Leipzig in *Corp. Ref.* vol. III, 670.

To the highly famous and valuable man, Mr. Martin Luther, Doctor of Theology, the restorer of the pure doctrine of the Gospel, his father to be highly honored in Christ.

Hail! I am heartily grateful that you have written to me so often and so lovingly. Whatever the outcome of these negotiations that are being conducted here, I hope that the community will be calm; Christ grant that. Our people are ready to defend themselves with steadfast and brave courage, if it will be necessary, even though another peace formula is still being discussed. For the former one, which had been proposed, has been rejected. A respite (*induciae*) of 18 months has been granted only to those who have now accepted the doctrine. And a cruel and ungodly condition is added, that we should not add anyone to us, nor even defend us. Therefore this formula

2) Bretschneider, in *Corp. Ref.* vol. III, 670, has the date: *Die passionis Christi*, resolved by March 25, that is, Mariä Verkündigung, wherein Burkhardt has followed him in his Regest, p. 318. We do not consider this to be correct, but rather take "the day of the passion of Christ" as Char Friday, April 4, k539. Melanchthon's letter to Jonas of April 5, *Corp. Ref.,* Vol. III, 688, which not only agrees with our letter in content, but also in words, is an excellent match for this.

has not been accepted. We have many suspicions that the one from Lund 1) is doing far different things than he is ordered to do by the Emperor. He sees that the commander, the Macedonian, is ill. That is why this intriguer is now playing his game. He has sought to frighten the cities with wonderful tricks, and to disunite ours. But by the inconsistency of the conditions he has managed both to make himself more hated and to make all our people united without any discord. We have hitherto borne the slowness and procrastination of the consultations all the more patiently because the Macedonian took care of his cure, and the physicians assure us that the disease could have been expelled here if he had devoted himself to this matter with greater care, which the Convention can hardly suffer. Now, therefore, he hastens home to another cure, that he may be anointed; for he has lichen, that is, Celtic scabies, although he admittedly concealed this. But it is said that this kind of disease is not very malignant. There is good hope that he will soon regain his former health. He says that he feels no weakness in his limbs. He is excited, as he is wont to be, and shows almost his usual activity in business. Yet you will command him GOtte in your prayers. Greetings to you Dr. Brück, Jakob Sturm and very many others. Many honorable men of all ranks have asked for you here very kindly, and among them the aldermen of Basel and others. We see in Germany quite a consensus of good people. I notice that one kind of people is very averse to us, namely the centaurs [noblemen], to whom the churches have increased their wealth and dignities. These robbers now complain that they are being pushed out of the property. But of this verbally. It is assured that the Emperor will be restrained this year in the Spanish lands. There, too, they say, grain is very scarce. Farewell. On the day of the Passion of Christ ^4 April 1539. Philippus Melanthon.

No. 2525.

(Wittenberg.) April 5, 1539.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for the Hiltener Castle at Seyd" ("zur Syde", "zu Zeida", "zu Zeyda").

1) The emperor's envoy, an exiled bishop ^on^Lund and Röskilde. (Köstlin, M. Luther, Vol. II,

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 16; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 154; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 557; by Walch, vol. XXI, 304; by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 206 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 207. In all these editions as addressed to the "Duke" Johann Friedrich, without date, and placed in the year 1530. Burkhardt (p. 188) found the date of the letter from *Bibl. Wolf*. (Hamburg City Library) 107 O. 14: "1539 on Easter Eve," April 5. That the letter belongs to this year is also shown by the two letters of June 3, 1539, in the same matter.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, 2) highborn prince, gracious lord! E. F. G. graciously wished to grant me this letter, because I could not refuse it through so many requests; E. F. G. will nevertheless know what is right. The Hildener zur Syde has received a short farewell from E. F. G., that must have its cause; but because there, weeping and wailing wife and child, do not know where they are going so suddenly, they ask in all humility that E. F. G. should give them room and time to go elsewhere, also so that he would not, as if he had been to blame for it, have to leave so suddenly, yes, let his things also do word or report, as he thinks he could do. But I know not what to ask, E. F. G. will have cause enough. Again, methinks, and almost fears, that the right cabbages are with us in part. It will be Duke William's time again, when the nobility will teach the princes that one cannot rule the world without them. Therefore we must pray all the more fervently for you princes, and especially for E. F. G. and his relatives. The devil is sorry for the Confession and Apologia, and must also repay her with ours. May God help us continue as before; E. F. G. will know how to graciously respond to this request of mine. 1539, Easter Eve [Apr. 5].

E. F. G. subservient Martinus Luther.

(Wittenberg.) **No. 2526**. g April 1539.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther asks the Elector for advice and help with the sudden theurge in Wittenberg.

2) Although the salutations and titles in this letter are addressed to the "Duke" and not to the "Elector", we have not wished to change them.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VII, p. 717; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 568; in Walch, vol. XXI, 414; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 175, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 224.

Grace and peace in Christ, and my poor Father-Our. Most illustrious, highborn F., G. Lord! Here in the country a sudden famine and unforeseen hunger has occurred, so that it is a wonder that I am forced to call upon E. C. F. G. as lord and father of the country for hills and advice. What supplies there are here in Wittenberg, E. C. F. G. knows without a doubt. Now Wittenberg must feed the towns of Kemberg and Schmiedeberg with baked bread, so that the town council only says that more bread goes out into the country than is eaten here in the town. Some still think that such a famine comes not so much from lack as from avarice and malice on the part of the rich nobles, and there is a great deal of strange talk about it, in which I can say nothing. It is true that Mau says that N. N. has let himself be heard to say that he will not sell a grain until a bushel is worth 1 old shock or 1 guilder, and that the grain is to be taken out of the country and seduced. However, the Elbe is doing so much that one cannot grind or bake, because the castle mill has to stand still because of the water. It is a small challenge, but it will become great if E. C. F. G. does not provide help and counsel in this matter. Therefore we all ask that E. C. F. G. will graciously show itself, not only with present help for the need, but also with regiment, that those of the nobility do not henceforth buy the grain for themselves alone, and lead it away, and with it proliferate so impudently, to the ruin of E. C. F. G. country and people. They are rich enough without that, that it is not necessary to take the lives of poor people through hunger, for the sake of their avarice. E. C. F. G. will know how to advise further and princely on this. Hereby commanded to the dear Lord Christ, Amen. Wednesday in Easter [April 9] Anno 1539.

Martin Luther, D.

(Wittenberg.) **No. 2527.** 17 April 1539.

To Gabriel Zwilling, pastor at Torgau.

On a matter of the will.

In Gräters Jduua 1812, p. 168; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 176 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 225.

Grace and peace in Christ. Dear Magister Gabriel, your pastor! Tell the good friends of mine (who I mean well) that they do not burn themselves in the matter of the priestess of Nida, and let the council and the great people who do such things run well. For over the great ones there is still a greater one in these lands, who is called Duke John Frederick; what he will judge, both council, friendship and great people will have to suffer. For if the Court Court here has found it to be a right testament (as you write), the Elector, who is such a Court Court, has done so; they then wanted to contest it elsewhere than in the Court of Appeal; they may well wish to do so, and if it is not advisable, they must not provide for mockery and damage. Summa, if the will here in Wittenberg is recognized as right, then the widow has it. Hereby commanded by God, Amen. Thursday after *Quasimodogeniti* [17 April] 1539.

M. Luther.

No. 2528.

Wittenberg. 18 April 1539.

To Bernhard Besserer in Ulm.

Luther recommends Moritz Kern to him for employment at a parish.

In Veesenmeyer's Beiträge zur Gesch. der Litt, und Reform. p. 157; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 177, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 226.

To the honorable, prudent Mr. Bernhard Besserer of Ulm, my favorable master and good friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, prudent, dear Lord and friend! There is a pastor ... 1) in your area, Mr. Moriz Kern, who has given us the news that he may well get a parish, of which there are to be several, where he would bring testimony that he is known to us all here. Accordingly, it is my friendly and amicable request that you let this Mr. Moriz Kern be faithfully commanded and promote him where it can be. For he is a very pious, moral, learned man, not only known to us all, but also practiced with us, that he is to be trusted in all ways. With which I know E. Ehrb.

1) The name is illegible.

...to serve again, I am willing. Hiemit dem lieben HErrn Christo befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, Friday after *Quasimosogeniti* [April 18] 1539. Martin Luther

manu propria ss.

No. 2529.

(Wittenberg.) April 18, 1539.

To Gustav I, King of Sweden.

Luther recommends a teacher for his son and another Swedish scholar. He encourages him to care for the sciences.

The original is in the Stockholm Archives. A vidimirte copy in the archives at Weimar. From *Crenii Animadverss. philol.-histor., P.* VIII, p. 144, at De Wette, vol. V, p. 178. German at Walch, vol. XXI, 1290 f.

To the most illustrious and most illustrious Lord, Lord Gustav, the Swedish and Gothic King, his most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most noble Lord and most gracious King! Magister Nicolaus of Sweden, your Majesty's faithful and diligent envoy, has reported to me that he has orders to seek out a good teacher for the instruction of your Majesty's royal son. This I have heard with great pleasure, seeing that your Majesty's zeal for godliness and the sciences is bestowed by GOD, namely, upon others to be a splendid example. For what is a greater adornment for kings, even more necessary for them, than that they either be more gifted by nature than the rest, or that they be instructed by the cultivation of the sciences, so that they do not always have to see with foreign eyes and believe the judgment of others. May Christ, who began the work in your royal majesty, complete it through great growth, so that schools may also be established and equipped throughout the kingdom, especially in the cathedral churches, to train young people for service in parishes. For this is the greatest and highest duty of kings, who are above the temporal administration of Christian godliness; this glory your majesty has in high degree above others, most illustrious king, and we beseech the Lord that he may rule your majesty's heart with his spirit. To these and other things, thanks be to God, your Majesty has

Your Majesty has found among the foreigners some very skilful instruments, precisely this already appointed teacher of the royal son, Georg Normann, who, finally found by M. Nicolaus and also requested by me, comes to serve your Majesty. He is a man of holy life, modest, noisy and learned, a skilful and thoroughly worthy teacher of the royal son, whom I especially commend to your Majesty. Yes, he also brings with him a travelling companion, Michael Agricola, a son and country child of your Sweden, who is admittedly still a young man, but distinguished by learning, great gifts, and good manners, who can create a great deal of benefit in your Majesty's realm; I also commend him to your Majesty as a proven man, and pray Christ that Christ himself may create much fruit through them, who calls and ordains them through your Majesty. Now may the Father of mercies himself richly bless all the counsels and works of your Majesty by his Holy Spirit, Amen. On Friday after Quasimodogeniti [8 April] 1539.

Your Royal Majesty's devoted Martin Luther.

No. 2530.

Frankfurt. 19 April 1539.

Bucer to Luther.

(Regest.)

A very detailed report on the negotiations of the Convention at Frankfurt.

From a copy in *Cod. Goth*. 190, p. 204, printed in *Corp. Ref.* vol. III, 692.

No. 2531.

(Wittenberg.) April 20, 1539.

To Clemens Ursinus, pastor in Bruck.

Luther declares a marriage engagement to be dissolved, and authorizes Ursinus to marry the former bride to another.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 273, in Schütze, vol. III, p. 101 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 179.

Grace and peace in Christ. Reverend Father! After that Simon Hesse has recited the marriage contract to Margaretha Tiels, and confesses that he wants to keep his former whore (as she is called), as his letters, seal and handwriting testify, of the

Half proceed to marry Margaret, who has been declared free by us, with her other suitor, Adam, according to our custom. Fare well in the Lord. On Sunday Misericordias [Domini] [20 April] Anno 1539.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2532.

(Wittenberg.) April 26, 1539.

To Dr. Ambrosius Moiban in Breslau.

About a Jewish marriage matter.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. 185. 4. which, however, has gaps. From the collection of Caspar Sagittarius at Jena at Schütze, vol. III, p. 101 and at De Wette, vol.v, p. 180.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Ambrosius Moiban, Doctor of Theology, the faithful servant of the Church at Breslau, his exceedingly dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Mr. Winkler will inform you, my dear Ambrosius, of my opinion in this Jewish matter. For since the Jews, as Isaias says, are exceedingly hostile to their King and God, and are the noblest and sharpest teeth of the serpent himself, they are not to be trusted in anything, but to consider all theirs as suspect. Wherefore thou shalt tell the baptized Jews to give the bill of divorcement (*libellum repudii*), not in the form prescribed by the Jews (lest they should invent rights against us), but in a form approved by the Christian authorities. "If the unbeliever divorce himself, let him divorce himself" [1 Cor. 7:15.]; they as baptized have become believers, and may tell the unbelievers that they may divorce themselves because they will. If they are not satisfied with this form, let them be despised, and 1) hear no more, and these may marry or be married in the Lord, if they can. Only see that they do not become fictitious Christians. Fare well in the Lord. On the Saturday after Misericordias Domini [April 26] 1539.

Yours, Martin Luther.

1) Instead of *contenti, ut,* at De Wette, we have read *contempti et,* according to an old manuscript (Köstlin, M. Luther "3Z, p. 673 uä p. 442).

No. 2533.

Wittenberg. 28 April 1539.

Catharina Luther to Hans von Taubenheim, Landrentmeister.

(Regest.)

She asks for the lease of the Booß estate with its appurtenances, for her daily housekeeping and better care of her livestock, because everything in Wittenberg has to be bought most expensively, and the place is close by.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Aa pag. 412.* VIII. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 319. - The resolution is unknown.

No. 2533a.

(Wittenberg.) I, May 1539.

To the mayor and council of Bernburg.

Luther testifies his participation in the fate of their pastor Dr. Cyriacus Gerich 2) from Zerbst, who, as it seems, had become insane.

From the *Cod. Dessav. B* mitgetheilt von Prof. Lindner zu Dessau in the theol. Studien und Kritiken von 1835, p. 350; in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 56, p. XLVI and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 227.

To the honourable and wise, mayor and councilmen of the old city of Bernburg, my favourable good friends.

Honourable, wise, dear gentlemen and friends! I am sorry that Doctor Cyriacus is so miserable. But it is not so terrible for his person, because God's judgment must always begin (as St. Peter says) at God's house, for the punishment and terror of the evil world, which is now ripening beyond measure for punishment with avarice and all kinds of courage, so that they may see what they deserve and must soon suffer, because God is punishing His own so severely as a sign. We read that an old man asked to control his pride in spiritual gifts, that he might be possessed for some weeks 2c. But we also shall do our part, as you then offer yourselves, and consider it good, if you would demand of Master Andre, then I will enable him (I hope) that he will do his best.

2) This name is also spelled: Gerüchen, Gericke, Jarchen and Jerken. Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 227.

3) "Master Andres" is the Wittenberg "balbier" or wound physician Andreas Engelhart. (Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 68 "wrong 86)1, note 3.)

Hiemit GOtt befohlen; wollen auch Dr. Cyriacus in unserm Gebet nicht vergessen, der Hoffnung, es soll schier besser werden, Amen. On St. Philip's 2c. Day [1 May] 1539.

Martinus Luther.

No. 2534.

(Wittenberg.) May 14, 1539.

To Magnus, Duke of Mecklenburg.

Answer to No. 2492. Luther reassures the Duke that according to his position he has done enough for the implementation of the Reformation in Mecklenburg.

The original is in the Grand Ducal Archives at Schwerin. Printed in J. B. Verpoortens Historischer Nachricht von der Verfassung des Fürstenthums Schwerin. 1741. 4th supplement 5, p. 35; in Frank, Altes und neues Mecklenburg, IX, p. 200; in Dr. J. B. Krey, Beiträge zur mecklenburgischen Kirchen- und Gelehrtengeschichte, vol. I, p. 27. Rostock 1818, and (after the latter) in De Wette, vol. V, p. 181.

To the most illustrious and worthy Prince and Lord, Lord Magnus, Duke of Mecklenburg, [Prince] of Wenden 2c., Administrator of the Schwerin Parish, his most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have read the letter in which E. F. G. inquires whether she has done enough for the conscience, that she demanded the restoration of the church in the public meeting, and protests that it is not E. F. G.'s fault, since it has been stated by others that this restoration is not proceeding properly. I now consider this to be true: since the sovereigns in the Schwerin parish are divided, and E. F. G. does not have the power to restore the church, it is not E. F. G.'s fault. F. G. does not have the power to force the other part, but only to exhort it, especially in a matter that has not yet taken root: so my opinion is that E. F. G. has done enough, especially since E. F. G. testifies that in the part where she can diligently exercise supervision, the churches are supplied with the word of God. Therefore it only remains that E. F. G. presses for the authority and the promise. When this is given, the spirit of the council will give further counsel. In him E. F. G. is quite at ease. In haste and under much business. On the day before the Ascension of the Lord (May 14) 1539.

E. F. G. devoted

Martin Luther.

No. 2535.

(Wittenberg.) In May 1539.

Concerns of the Wittenberg theologians about the Reformation of the University of Leipzig.

(Regest.)

This concern is made for Duke Henry the Pious and probably written by Melanchthon, but has no signatures. Whether it was written between May 23 and 29, during which time Luther, Jonas and Melanchthon were in Leipzig, or before, cannot be determined.

From the Acts in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. JJ, fol.* 141, printed in *Corp. Ref.,* Vol. III, 712. On the back, this document has the inscription (presumably in Brück's hand): "Concerns of the scholars as to how the University of Leipzig should be reformed by Duke Henrichen have been sent to H. Henrichen. Wayda 1539."

No. 2536.

(Wittenberg.) May 20, 1539.

To Spalatin.

Luther asks him to reassure the people of Werdau and to persuade them that they are satisfied with their pastor.

A simultaneous bad copy is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji, fol. 138 b. C. 9. 27.* Printed by Burkhardt, p. 320. - Burkhardt remarks on the matter: The interrogation of the tradesmen and citizens on 30 December 1538 had the result that Riemann was completely incomprehensible and kept no order of thought in the sermon. (Cf. the Electoral Rescript of June 3, 1539.) Incidentally, the Elector promised the congregation that he would provide for another pastor, but they would have to be patient. (June 26, 1539.) Luther's attitude toward the matter is seen in his letter to Riemann of Aug. 2, 1539. Spalatin admitted that Riemann was hard in the pulpit because the people were hard and rough, as they had already taken away two pastors (namely, Andres Hautzhaufen, presently at Cöthen, and Wolfgang Agricola, presently at Briesnitz). But Riemann remained in Werdau, although there is a decree of the Elector from Oct. 9, 1539, that Riemann should be transferred to Ronneburg.

Grace and peace! I see, my dear Spalatin, that you 1) are rich in kindness, not to say in complaisance and indulgence. For apart from Zwickau, 2) there is no town in the territory of our prince against which I am more unwilling (if it may be) than Werdau (Werde); so much do I dislike its Voigtland heads, which think that this task has been set for them, that they always worry their pastors.

1) Instead of *tua* in Burkhardt we have assumed to.

2) Here is a completely illegible word in the original, which Burkhardt added like this.

so that I am tired of hearing their infamous insolence. Therefore I beseech thee, 1) that thou be a man, and, having laid aside thy sweet nature, treat these troublesome people in due manner, and command them to be quiet and contented with their pastor, who is a learned and good man, or that they may accuse and convict him in the way of right. If now they will not desist, thou mayest tell them, even in my name, if thou wilt, that I will work with all my might against them with the prince, that their heads may be broken. If you were not in the means, I would have written a letter to them worthy of them exceedingly; therefore I ask you again that you protect the priest iu Werdau and curb his rebellious parishioners. If Orlamünde were free, I would gladly urge that the prince transfer the Werdau pastor there, but in such a way that afterwards they should have no other pastor forever. 2) At the same time, you are to tell them that you will protect the pastor in Werdau and keep his rebellious parishioners in check. At the same time, you are to tell them that they should not finally provoke the prince himself, and that they should remember that they are Werdauers who know the entire duchy, that they are not princes of Saxony nor margraves of Meissen, so that what they do not fear or expect does not come upon them. I have not written to the priest, since I am sure that you will report this to him. Fare well in the Lord. On Tuesday after Exaudi [20 May] 1539. Martin Luther.

No. 2537.

(Wittenberg.) May 20, 1539.

To George, Prince of Anhalt.

Luther recommends M. Georg Aemilius (Oraler), best biblical histories, *imagines mortis* and other poetic writings around this time and in the following years became praiseworthy known. He wanted, as it seems, to dedicate poems of praise to the prince.

From Beckmann's History of Anhalt, V, 158 with De Wette, vol. V, p. 182. With both as to "Johann IV of Anhalt". The original is in Dessau. (Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 458, note 2.)

1) Instead of de, we assumed ts.

2) Instead of *me ternum* we have assumed *in eternum.*

To the most illustrious Prince and Lord, Lord George, Prince of Anhalt, Provost of the Church of Magdeburg, Count of Ascanien, Lord of Bernburg, his most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene Prince! M. Georg Aemilius, a very good young man who is excellently gifted with a poetic vein, has asked me to recommend him, who is unknown to E. F. G.. For he is seized with an extraordinary affection for your name and deeds, since he has heard, also through our praise, that you are a prince who sets such a rare example, not only in our time, but also in all times past, since you, in addition to other virtues and gifts bestowed upon you by God, have been a great leader in the world, which are bestowed upon you by God, and which put other princes in the shade, you not only cultivate and favor the sciences and all studies of the liberal arts (*humanitatis*) and of scholarship, but you also practice them most excellently in deed and in your own person. Therefore, may E. F. G. allow the virtues and gifts of God to be praised and extolled from her, whether perhaps other princes, especially the ecclesiastical ones, will be stimulated by the example of E. F. G., namely, those who are good, or will be put to shame those who are evil. For it is unseemly that so much light and adornment should be hidden under a bushel, and who should not wish that nowadays in the ecclesiastical regiment such people, even if only a few, should be found? Yea, who should not have confidence that if we had even three noble rulers in the church, like E. F. G., that very church would shortly be reformed in the most prosperous manner by good morals, to say nothing of the highest and first gift, namely, the pure doctrine of the gospel, which would completely prevail under your influence? For, as I have often testified to E. F. G., I do not desire the downfall of the bishoprics, but their reformation, and we pray daily that the Lord will condescend to use such an instrument as E. F. G. is, and to awaken to due government with such gifts. Therefore it has pleased me that Aemilius has wished to glorify your name. Who knows?

What opportunity does the Lord seek? For we are certain that E. F. G. will be more humbled than puffed up by these exaltations of praise, since she alone has the glory of God most ardently and everywhere in mind, and yet (even during E. F. G.'s lifetime) her light must not be hidden under a bushel. E. F. G. was quite at ease in Christ. On Tuesday after Exaudi [May 20] 1539.

E. F. G.
devoted

Martin Luther.

No. 2538.

Wittenberg. 29 May 1539.

To Justus Menius.

About the dispute settled between the preachers at Saalfeld.
Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Gud*. From the Börner collection at Leipzig in Schütze, Vol. III, p. 102 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 183.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Justus Menius, Bishop of the Churches in Thuringia, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! It would not have been necessary, my dear Justus, to write to me about the harmony that has been established between Aquila and Jacob. For what you do according to your office, you do without me. For I have more and enough to do elsewhere, and like to pause with writing letters) since I am old and indolent and busy. Therefore I am glad that they have made up. Christ keep the peace for ever and ever, amen. In Him be well. On Thursday after Pentecost [29 May] 1539, at Wittenberg.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2539.

Wittenberg. 1 June 1539.

Luther and Jonas to the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for Caspar Falk to let him have his leasehold.

In the archives at Weimar 407. The signatures are original; the writing has both seals. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 321.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord! To Your Lordly Grace we are always ready with diligence and obedient service. Most gracious lord! Caspar Falck zu Bledyn, our especially good friend and brother-in-law, has now requested and reported to us how he recently, as your churfl. Your Lordship was here in Wittenberg, he sent a supplement to the same Your Lordship, in which he reports that forty years ago, his dear father, the late, had the right to give up two hectares of land there in Bledyn to Your Lordship. for an annual interest, to build and to use; Among these two farms he has at present let fall one, but the other one his father blessed and he has driven, enjoyed and used until now quietly and unhindered by men, and has paid the annual interest to the office of Schweinitz, as to be found without doubt in all annual registers, the confidence, because such farms are held in dignity, and no retardate of the interest is in arrears, that such farms would be left to him for further use. The Schösser zur Schweinitz, however, is said to have given him notice of the same, whom he requested and amicably questioned as to the reasons for such a thing: he is said to have received this answer, that E. churf. G. Rentmeister had this concern, that by lapse of time it might be pretended that such a farm belonged to his estates, and was not chattel, as is then further shown in the said Supplication. And even though he was graciously promised that he would be provided with a gracious answer to his supplications, this still remained, perhaps because of many coincidental and especially the Leipzig business.1) Has therefore asked us quite diligently that we want to ask him humbly at E. churf. G. that the same E. churf. G. want to let him remain there again and further for the annual interest graciously, of which he wants to pay the interest, as happened so far, annually into the office undiminished and willingly. And if perhaps the same wants to be increased, that he will be

1) Namely, the Reformation of the University of Leipzig (cf. No. 2535).

But if he does not use them, he will willingly give them to other farmers who use the other three plots. For if such hooves were stolen and taken from him, he would hardly know how to maintain himself, since he would otherwise have a small and narrow estate. So there would be some of his brothers out of the country, who would ever want a subsidy, and also Jörg Falck, one of his brothers at Segeren, would keep a good part of meadow wax for himself for his need. In addition, he would still be a young landlord, married this year, and still provided with a small supply. Considering all this and other things, we could not refuse his request to us. In humility and submission, E. chf. G. will graciously resolve such distress, and allow the said falcon to follow and remain in the farm for the annual interest, and, to this end, graciously command the Schweinitz castle, so that the young landlord can pay his dues,2) and E. chf. G.'s knightly service, to which he then humbly offers himself. This we wanted for E. ch. G. we are willing to plead against God for their blessed regiment and welfare, 3) and in all submissiveness to earn obedience at all times. Date Wittenberg, on Sunday Trinitatis [June 1] Anno 1539.

E. ch. G.

subservient, obedient Martinus Luther, Dr. Justus Jonas, D.

No. 2540.

Mitten berg. 1 June 1539.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Melanchthon.

Inquiry about the preacher Johann Cellarius sn Frankfurt, who was to be employed in Meissen, and then became pastor in Dresden.

The original is in the Weimar archives, *Reg. Ji, fol. 144 a. Dr. 2. 11.* Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 85, no. 152; in Walch, vol. XXI, 415; in the 6orp. kek., vol. III, 715; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 183 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 227.

I) "brother" put by us instead of: "baider".

2) We put "to set up" instead of "to arrange". We assume in the original: "äinrichten".

3) "to forbid" shredded by us instead of: "to ask before".

God's grace through our Lord Jesus Christ beforehand. Most Sublime, Highborn, Most Gracious Prince and Lord! We humbly inform E. C. F. G. that Joh. Cellarius, preacher at Frankfurt, is now and here; after we have talked with him about whether he would like to be used in Meissen, he has offered to do so, provided he would like to obtain permission from the Council of Frankfurt: as we do not doubt, the Council of Frankfurt will gladly serve E. C. F. G. especially in this case, which is also convenient for them. We also do not want to reproach E. C. F. G. that he now takes his wife and servants with him from Bautzen, who are still waiting for him in Leipzig. Now he cannot lie with his servants for long; therefore, if he should be used, his opportunity demands that a certain place be indicated to him, where he would also have provisions; for waiting with wife and child would be difficult for him. For this reason, we respectfully request that E. C. F. G. graciously grant us, if Joh. Cellarius should remain, where he should dispose of himself and who would provide him with entertainment; and in the event that he should remain, then it is necessary to write immediately to the Council of Frankfurt. God keep E. C. F. G. always. Date Wittenberg, Sunday Trinitatis [June 1] 1539. M. L.

4) And E. C. F. G. may also graciously consider in such cases that the Dukes of Georgia (if still raw) may send E. C. F. G. a register to pay what they have meanwhile consumed because they did not want to know of any appeal. So E. C. F. G. would have to pay the banquet high enough; unless E. C. F. G. knows other ways beforehand. My concern is that E. C. F. G. is not burdened with expenses.

Martin Lutherus. Philippus Melanchthon.

No. 2541.

(Wittenberg.) 3. June 1539.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Repeated Intercession for the Castle Hiltener at Seyd" (see No. 2525).

4) This paragraph is written by Luther himself under the letter.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N 108. 41. Ex Copial. Archiv. Vinar*. in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 85, No. 153; in Walch, vol. XXI, 416; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 185, and in the Erlauger edition, vol. 55, p. 228.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

G. and Peace in Christ and my poor *Pr. nr.* Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Since I have not yet received an answer from Hiltener, the Schösser of Zeida, that I am thinking of E. C. F. G.'s word in Wittenberg that I have an evil matter, I must finally ask one more thing, for I am sorry for the good, poor man who perhaps, out of confidence that he has served so lukewarmly, and has been brought in and put off by Duke Frederick the Blessed, has provided himself with a gracious answer. Now, because I do not know the matter, I make this blind, humble request, that E. C. F. G. should grant him a gracious respite and payment for the grain, so that he does not have to perish with his wife and child. For if he perishes (as he complains), E. C. F. G. will help to feed him out of Christian love. E. C. F. G. will graciously know how to show themselves. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Tuesday after Trinity. [3 June] 1539.

E. C. F. G. undersigned Mart. Luther.

No. 2542.

(Wittenberg.) 3. June 1539.

To Hans von Taubenheim, Landrentmeister.

Luther asks him to take care of the Schösser Hiltener.

The original is in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 86, no. 154; in Walch, vol. XXI, 417; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 185 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 229.

To the strict and firm Hans von Taubenheim, Land-Rentmeister zu Sachsen, my favourable lord and good friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Dear Lord and Godfather! Although I

I know that you will blame this intercession on my gracious lord, but I cannot avoid it. Hiltener, the Zeida castle owner, is in great distress, as you know, and I would gladly help him with intercession, also for the sake of his sister in Coburg, who has shown me all good at the time. So it is also to be lamented that he served so long, brought in by Duke Frederick, with the promise to provide for him, and at last is to go to ruin. Therefore I ask you kindly, will you also help to advise the best, and do a good work. I cannot know the matter of such great disgrace, for he will get to pay for the grain by day, and the departure will also help him. Please do what you can, so that the good man does not perish. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Tuesday after Trinity [June 3] 1539.

Martinus Luther.

No. 2543.

Torgau. 3 June 1539.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector commissions Luthern with the arbitration of the disputes in Werdau. Compare to the situation No. 2536.
Transcript in the Weimar archives, *Reg. Ii, fol. 138b. C. 9. 27.* printed by Burkhardt, p. 323.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee and faithful! What our also dear faithful, the council of Werdau, now again write to us on account of their pastor, and with the sending of interrogated testimonies thereupon humbly request (untherdeniglich biethen), such you will find enclosed to hear. Now we find out such disagreement, which happens there in Werdau between the same their pastor and most of his parishioners, quite unwillingly.

We also fear that more trouble than good would result from this. If, however, we would ever prefer to have such disputes resolved, and to see and know unity between the pastor and the parishioners, we graciously request that you read such a transaction and diligently consider what we should do about it after the occasion arises, and if perhaps, according to your concerns, a change should be made with the pastor, and another should be appointed to his position.

Instead of being ordered there, be suspicious of who is to be used for this purpose, and how the present pastor might again be accommodated, and report all of this to us, along with sending the enclosed writings, so that we may also have to show ourselves in this regard in the future. In this you do our pleasing opinion, and we are graciously inclined to you. Date Torgau, Tuesday after Trinity [June 3] Anno 1539.

No. 2544.

(Wittenberg.) 4. June 1539..

To Mrs Ursula Schneidewein in Stollberg.

Luther exhorts her to give her consent to the marriage of her son, Johann Schneidewein, to a Wittenberg virgin (Anna Goldschmidt).

From the original at the public library at Basel in De Wette, vol. V, p. 186 and in the Erlauger Ausg. vol. 55, p. 230.

To the honorable, virtuous woman Ursula Schneidewin, widow, citizen of Stollberg, my favorable good friend.

G. and Peace in Christ. Honorable, virtuous, dear wife! I have written to you about your son John, how he is arrested here with an honest virgin in great love, and as you have heard my good opinion, I would have hoped for a good answer; but because this delay of your son's is also too much for me, I have written to you.

...I am caused to incite further. For I, also not unfavorable to him, would not like that he should reach into the ashes. But because the coin is so nearly pleasing to him, and not unequal to his station, and because he is a fine, pious child of honest birth, methinks you may be well pleased, because he has humbled himself childishly, and asked for this coin, as Samson has done; wherefore it shall henceforth be your duty, as to a dear mother, to give her will therein. For though we have written that children shall not betroth themselves without the will of their parents, yet we have also written that parents shall not, nor with God can they, compel or hinder the children according to their pleasure. A son shall not bring a daughter to his parents without their consent, but a father shall not force a wife on his son. They shall do it on both sides. Otherwise the son's wife will become the father's daughter without his thanks. And

who knows what happiness God may bestow on him with this mead, which he might otherwise miss? especially because the good mead is put off, is not of unequal standing, and its sadness may become an evil prayer. Summa, I pray you delay your word no longer, that the good fellow may come from his troubled state. For I can hold no longer, but must of my own accord add to it. But I pray thee, let not this writing pass out of the sight of thy son John: for he shall not know it, till it come to an end, lest he forsake himself, and be bold. For I love him, as he is well worthy, because of his virtue, that I will not willingly counsel him to do evil. Therefore do ye also as a mother, and save him from the torture, lest he should do it. Hiemit GOOD commanded, Amen. Wednesday after *Trinity* (June 4) 1539.

Martinus Luther, Dr.

No. 2545.

Lichtenberg. 11 June 1539.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther reports to him from Lichtenberg, where he is visiting the sick Margravine, that he cannot come to Torgau as soon as Jonas expects.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 263. From the Gözische Sammlung at Osnabrück in Schütze, vol. III, p. 124 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 188.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Justus Jonas, Doctor of Holy Theology, Provost at Wittenberg, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace! Why do you write so confidently, my dear Jonas, indeed, promise Mr. Brück confidently, that I am at Lichtenberg, although I had only arrived at Lichtenberg at the hour (namely, at three o'clock) when you wrote the letter, so that you could not know it at all? Then Brück is easily at hand with the hope or opinion with respect to the execution of the business of others, as if you did not know that I am in such a sea, in which there are many sucking fish 1) and sea urchins, which are the course of the sea.

1) *echini* and *remorae* are such animals that attach themselves to the bottom of a vehicle and retard its running.

of the ship. Therefore I cannot come tomorrow at six or seven o'clock (as you prophesy about things unknown to you and impossible to me). I certainly wish to be released from this body and to be in Torgau, and I will certainly invent that your letter is more urgent than it is, if perhaps I would like to be released on the morrow. It grieves me greatly for the exceedingly good woman, and who is of such high birth. May the Lord make her well and give me healing counsel and speech against the arrows of Satan. I will do as much as I can, you may tell Brück, as much as God gives me grace. We must pray one for another. He who roars attacks us everywhere. Today me, tomorrow you. Farewell in the Lord. In haste, at nine o'clock in the evening, 1539. You will tell Mr. Brück that I have not yet spoken to the mistress; I found her resting after the early meal, and since I was called to supper about seven o'clock, I could do nothing. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2546.

(Wittenberg.) June 17, 1539.

To the mayor and council of Coburg.

Luther punishes them because of an injustice done to the pastor of Coburg, M. Johann Fesel.

The original is at the fortress Coburg. According to a communication received by him which, as he says, seems to be in need of collation, at Burkhardt, p. 324.

G. and F. in Christo. Honorable, wise, dear gentlemen! You know well what you have written to Hans Schotten, and what you have done to your pious pastor of the Holy Cross, and you have thereby brought disrepute to many pious people, that you have so carelessly sought the good man's disgrace in such a backward manner, and you should know that I, as soon as I can, do not want to forget this with our Lord and work so that you and Schotten must make things true. I do not want to forget this with our Lord and work towards it, so that you and the Scot must make things true. Perhaps the Scotsman is oppressed by his old sins, so that he must struggle for shame, and also receive his reward from God, who knows his heart well. Do you, as Christians, want to

1) Reconcile with M. Feselius and beg, is good, if not, then let Scotsmen please you about God; because where one wants to act so with preachers, the country will become desolate, if there are too few ready in the country. But no further this time, until I report to my most gracious lord. I am sorry for you that you have led yourselves into disgrace, and [have] had to make Master Feselius pious with your scorn. God grant you henceforth better understanding, and beware of evil counselors another time. Take this from me as a good brotherly warning in Christ, and be hereby commanded to the same, Amen. Tuesday after Viti [17 June] 1539.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2547.

22 June 1539.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther, Jonas, Cruciger and Melanchthon.

The Elector asks them to raise a concern about the book of the Bishop of Meissen.

The original concept with Brück's corrections is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N, p. 102. 38 A. 4* Printed by Burkhardt, p. 324.

(To our G(russ) before. Venerable and reverend, dear devotees and faithful! The highborn prince, Lord Heinrich, Duke of Saxony 2c., reported to us next to Würzen, when we were both there together, how the Bishop of Meissen had shortly before sent some of his chapter there to S. L., who had advertised to S. L., and had also sent an instruction on religion, with the request that S. L. would have them and the monastery in gracious protection, and leave them with their old liberties and rights, as would be customary. Thereupon S. L. gave an answer to the sent ones, because the delivered letter would be a little long, that (it) his beloved would not want to see or move in the hurry, so S. L. wants to do it after her opportunity and answer her then. For this reason, his beloved has now sent us a copy of the aforementioned request, together with the document sent to him, and has asked us to order you to see and move it, and to hear your objections to it, for which you may send the same to us.

1) This "you" we have added, and the words "as Christians are due," which stand after "ask," we have placed here.

We also want to know what is to be answered and reported to the bishop for this reason. Therefore our gracious request is to you, that you take the touched scripture in a beneficial way and see and move it diligently with each other, also to give us your discretion and opinion at first, as it is possible, with the resending of the scripture, and especially what you consider, which is to be given to the bishop by our cousin (vnsern vedtern) for answer, so that the bishop and the chapter will not be misled on their fraudulent pretence. We would like to see this happen in the most beneficial way, so that the people will not be misled by such scribblers who, in our opinion, seek and mean something different than they pretend. So we also think that if the day at Nuremberg on the first of August were to have its progress, as if it were not yet completely and certain, then the other part's actions would also run in that direction, so our cousin in particular has kindly asked us to give S. L. the answer first. We did not want to save this for you; do us, as those 1) to whom we are graciously inclined, a special gracious favor. Date Sunday the 8th [after] Viti [June 22] Anno 1539.

No. 2548.

(Wittenberg.) June 23, 1539.

To Wenceslaus Link to Nuremberg.

Jest about gifts made and to be made. A short remark about Duke George and the Archbishop of Mainz.

From the Kraftscken Collection at Husum in Schütze, Vol. III, p. 103 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 189.

To Wenceslaus Link, Doctor of Theology, Bishop and Pastor of the Church at Nuremberg, his superior.

Grace and peace! Although I knew beforehand that there was an immense amount of gold florins with you, and even wished myself luck that the small gift I had sent to your wife through Mr. Stromer was so small, there was nothing else by which I could hope that your anger and your threats (as you have so beautifully invented them) would be appeased.

1) Burkhardt: "dem".

...could. Although you have accomplished nothing by this eloquent sermon of yours, we can still excuse you as if you had been justifiably angry at my silence. For such oratorical performances are daily with us in no little greater quantity and usefulness than with you those gold pieces, and yet we consider them a game and jest. But that you threaten anew that we shall again desire what you may send uus, either to me or to Käthe, I wonder how this Crulchian or Colditzian murmur (*Crulchius seu Colditius fremitus*) at Nuremberg has become so strong, fat and thick, since I know that you Nurembergers are not wont to devour even fat morsels, unless perhaps a Kopfperlinger has become a Werverlinger 2). But that is enough the skin gekraut, 3) so that St. Paul is not annoyed.

If thou wilt send anything, send any light-bearer, who is commonly called *taceatis* 4) but not of ordinary make or art, such as we have had in former times as monks, viz. one who can bear two or three lights, but much more: One that can suffer the violence and impetuosity of him that purifieth it, if peradventure he drop it on the stairs, or cast it down; or if thou canst find one that purifieth himself (thou knowest the customs and manner of the servants at that time), so that it may be safe from being broken, and used in the violence of an angry or even drowsy servant.

There is no news here that you do not know. I would have sworn that Duke George was other than such a wicked and lost man, even though he has not yet reached the wickedness of the Mainz monster. But God will accomplish what He has begun, only we must continue to pray. Surely the end is at hand, surely

2) The expressions *Kopfperlingus* and *Werverlingrus are* not understandable to us. The explanation, which Burkhardt, p. 325, compiles: "*Werverlingus*: dice, dice carrier (cf. St. Louiser Ausg., Vol. XII, 1522, ? 17)", does not satisfy us.

3) In the text': "*cutiapelisatum* (?)", where again we have to guess.

4) A *tacea argentea* [silver candlestick] was given to the University of Leipzig in 1446. Zarncke, the Urk. sources, p. 607.

the end is at hand. Christ take away our souls in peace, Amen, as it is written [Isa. 57:1.], "The righteous shall be taken away from evil." Farewell, and pray for me. Greet thine own, and olle ours. June 23, 1539, the day before John the Baptist.

Your Mart. Luther.

No. 2549.

(Wittenberg.) June 23, 1539.

To Albrecht, Duke of Prussia.

Luther thanks the duke for his gracious memory and reports German affairs. Death had put an end to the evil attempts of Duke George. 1) On the other hand, he complains that the Archbishop of Mainz and other bishops do not turn to it and that King Ferdinand and the Bavarians persecute the Gospel.

From Faber's collection of letters, p. 21, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 190, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 231.

G. and Fr. in Christo. Sublime, highborn Prince, gracious Lord! Although I did not know how to write anything special to E. F. G., but because E. F. G. so graciously sent me greetings through their envoy and asked about my health, and also requested several times before, where I could, to write to E. F. G., I have written this letter of thanks, so that I will not be so rude. I hereby wish to write this letter of thanks, so that I may not be so rudely scolded as a despiser of E. F. G.'s gracious favour, and thank E. F. G. most humbly for such gracious will. We know nothing of the new newspaper, except that God has done a special work with Duke George's death; for he had it in mind that God would have had to defend, or Germany would have come to all misery. Now, however, God has given peace and has put an end to the evil man's diabolical intentions, even though the bishop of Mainz and other bishops do not turn their backs on such a horrible, terrible example.

1) On March 30, Duke George of Saxony offered his brother that he would cede the government to him during his lifetime if he renounced the Lutheran doctrine. Henry rejected this. The latter then made a will in which he appointed Henry his heir, but on condition that the religion in the country remain unchanged, otherwise the country should fall to King Ferdinand. This too Henry did not accept. Before the councillors could report this to Duke George, he died on April 17, 1539.

and want to perish, no pleading nor suffering helps. Ferdinand and the Bavarians are only now beginning to persecute the Gospel. Otherwise things are peaceful in Germany, and have become expensive; but all grain and fruit is well and rich, praise God, who also helps and gives us to become pious and grateful. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befehlt, Amen. On St. John's Eve of the Baptist [23 June] 1539.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther, Dr. .

No. 2550.

(Nuremberg.) June 24, 1539.

Wenceslaus Link to Luther.

(Regest.)

He has been asked to accept a preaching post in Leipzig, and now sets forth his reasons for and against it, and asks for a decision which he will follow.

Printed by Hummel, *Epistol. Historico-Ecclesiasticarurn etc., Halae* l778, p. 31 and in Bindseil, p. 126. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 342.

No. 2551.

(Wittenberg.) June 30, 1539.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther predicts that he will have to endure many challenges during the visitation in the Duchy of Saxony. In Leipzig a particularly sharp visitation was necessary.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 274. Printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 121 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 206, with the incorrect time: "In October." The original in Dessau has the date we have given.

Grace and peace in Christ! This Jacob Rothe has desired to be recommended to you, my dear Jonas. He hopes for a better position there, just as many others do, and again the people hope for better pastors. God knows whether both of them will be lucky 2c. I believe that you have learned that a letter has been written to Prince Heinrich and Heinrichin 2) (*Henricae) in order* to complete the visitation. If Satan did not oppose Christ, he would not be Satan. If we have done our duty

2) This is, Duke. Henry's wife, Catharina.

we shall rejoice with a clear conscience for the sake of the elect who, like Lot, have been snatched out of Sodom; the others, who think that Lot's voice is a game, may look on; they will be lost through no fault of our own. But if we are certain that we have the word of God, we must suffer still greater struggles, and at least the more certain we are, the greater will be the grievous visitations. Therefore, see that you strengthen your heart in faith and joyful confidence in Christ, for he has always wanted his power to be in weakness, and so he crushes the serpent's head, but he also lets his heel be stung by it, and that with innumerable and persistent persecutions; because it is written in this way, therefore it must happen in this way. Doctor Caspars writes from Leipzig that the printing of Wicel's books is continuing, especially his Postille,2) and that an abusive and poisonous book has been published against your visitation; therefore it is necessary that you exercise a sharp visitation there. Perhaps you will find Amsdorf in Leipzig. For he has been appointed to do so by the advice of our Elector. I will, as you wish, travel to Torgau. For from there the Prince has left for Weimar with the whole court, and will not return for some time. We pray here with cries and inexpressible sighs, since we know how great things we have to administer, for such a great Lord, against such a great enemy. Fare well on the last of June, for tomorrow it will be convenient for you to make a small council at Nuremberg on the first of July.3) 1539.

Your Martin Luther, D.

1) Dr. Caspar Cruciger. Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth. lib. III, p. 220*.

2) The printer was Wolrab in Leipzig. Since he did not comply with the prohibition of the visitators, he was thrown into prison, but the copies were destroyed. Seckendorf 1. e. writes: "Wallrab", but see No. 2556.

3) De Wette notes: "The probably corrupted passage refers, according to Veesenmeyer's assumption, to Ruprecht von Mosham's conferences with the preachers in Nuremberg, of which Schwarz gives news in Strobel's Miscellaneen, Samml. V, p. 17-19 gives news." - The passage completed by Burkhardt, p..331, according to the original: *Vale, ultima Junii, nam cras vobis expedit Nurnbergae pro conciliolo adprimam Julii concipiendo,* seems to us to be a joke of Luther's.

No. 2552.

(Wittenberg.) I. July 1539.

Luther's, Jonas' and Melanchthon's concerns to the Elector Johann Friedrich.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1300. - This letter, which is found in full in *Corp. Ref.* vol. III, 728, is the reply to No. 2547.

No. 2552a.

(Wittenberg.) (July 1, 1539.)

Postscript to a Concern of the Wittenberg Theologians.

The concern is printed in its entirety in *Corp. Ref.* , vol. III, 738 ff, signed by Luther, Jonas, and Bugenhagen. This postscript by Luther's own hand ibid. col. 740 f.; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 251 without date, and likewise in the Erlanger Ausg. vol. 55, p. 269.

One would also like to say to the lords of Meissen: *Medice, cura te ipsum*. If they now atone for their covenants (which have been and still are vile, bloodthirsty ruthlessness), then we want to know how to prove our necessary and defensible covenant against their murderous rampage, that it is quite just and right, regardless of the fact that they think themselves so wise that they can well direct all splinters, forgetting their beam, just as if the Holy Spirit could not hit their wise head even in the mortar. Summa: if they should write against me, Luther, they must need less of such high wisdom, or hear: Brother, are you painted? you are well known.

No. 2553

(Wittenberg.) 3. July 1539.

To Mrs. Catharina Metzler in Breslau.

Consolation over the death of her son, who had died as a student in Wittenberg. - Her husband, the Doctor Juris and mayor of Breslau, Johann Metzler, had died on 2 October 1538.

A copy is at the Rathsschulbibliothek in Zwickau. Printed by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 446.

The honourable, virtuous woman Katharinen Metzlerin, citizen of Bresla, my favourable good friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, virtuous, dear wife! I have not been able to refuse to write to you and, as much as God gives, to comfort you in writing, after I have well thought

that this cross, which God has now laid upon you through the departure of your dear son Kilian, will press you hard and hurt you; as a man should naturally and justly grieve, especially in such close blood and flesh. For God did not create us to feel nothing, or to be stone and wood, but wants us to weep and mourn for the dead, otherwise it would be a sign that we have no love, especially for our own, but that it has a measure. For by this the dear Father tries us, whether we also can love and fear him, both in love and sorrow, and whether we can give him back what he has given us, that he may have cause to give more and better. Therefore I ask you to recognize the gracious, good will of God and to bear such a cross patiently to please Him, and to think with heartfelt faith what a cross He Himself has borne for you and all of us, compared to which our crosses are nothing or ever small. Let this also comfort you, that your son has become a pious, quiet man, that he has departed from this shameful world in a very Christian and blessed way, that God may very well have wanted to secure and protect him from greater evil. For the times are so evil and dangerous that we should all say with Elijah and Jonah, "I would rather be dead than live." Let them mourn whom their children so shamefully perish, and go to the devil. This is heartache, as David suffered for his son Absalon. Your son is with our Lord Christ, in whom he has fallen asleep, and you thank God of grace that he has so graciously taken your child to himself, which is better for him than that he should be highest in the court of emperors and kings. May God, the Father of all comfort, abundantly strengthen your faith with His Spirit, Amen. Thursday after the Visitation of the Virgin Mary [July 3] 1539. Martin Luther.

Wittenberg. **2554.** 5 July 1539.

To Spalatin, Eberhard Brisger and Eberhard N. (Steinbach).

(Regest.)

Luther writes that he will accommodate the former abbot of Chorin, who was recommended by them, as soon as opportunity arises. Luther is not able to find the name of the church, perhaps in Pomerania, where after the death of Duke George five expelled preachers from Lübeck had been recalled. Luther apologizes for not having written himself because of indisposition.

This regest ex *Schlegelii* l. c., p. 246, printed by Burkhardt, p. 326.

No. 2555.

Wittenberg. July 6, 1539.

Ordination certificate for Johann Nandelstat.

The original is at the University Library of Erlangen. Printed in J. C. Irmischers Handschriftensammlung der Universitätsbibl. zu Erlangen. 1852, p. 358 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 227 f.

Johann Nandelstat brought letters to us which showed that he was called to be a minister of the Gospel in Schmolln (SmoIlen), and testified that he led an honorable and godly life. But since he desired public ordination from our church, we found, after investigating his learning, that he holds the pure and catholic doctrine of the gospel, which our church also teaches and confesses, and that he has an abhorrence of all fanatical opinions, which are condemned by the judgment of the catholic church of Christ. He has also promised that he will faithfully present to your people the pure doctrine which we profess. Since, therefore, our ministry must not be wanting to the neighboring churches, and the Council of Nicaea has decided in a godly manner that ordination should be desired by the neighboring churches, we have commanded this John, by public ordination in the church, to the office of teaching the gospel and administering the sacraments, according to his profession. Therefore we commend him to the Church in Schmolln and pray that the Holy Spirit may govern the ministry of this John to the glory of God and of our Lord JEsu Christ and to the salvation of the Church. Given at Wittenberg, on the 6th of July, Anno 1539.

The pastor of the church at Wittenberg and the ministers of the Gospel of Christ in the same church.

Martin Luther. Johann Bugenhagen Pommer.

(L. S.) **(L. S.)**

No. 2556.

(Wittenberg.) July 8, 1539.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther asks that the Leipzig printer Wolrab be forbidden to reprint his German Bible.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, N, 109. 42. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 86, No. 156; in Walch, vol. XXI, 418; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 193, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 234.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

G. u. F. in Christo and my poor *Pater Noster*. Most noble, highborn prince, most gracious lord! The wicked villain Wolrab of Leipzig, who until now has printed all the disgraceful books against us, 1) and distributed them with all his diligence, has undertaken to reprint our German Biblia, and to take the bread out of our mouths. Now E. C. F. G. know how unreasonable this is, that the knave should use our work and food for his benefit and our harm, so that it would happen that he would earn with his wickedness, that our work would still have to serve him for his unpunished evil, dishonor and blasphemy. It is therefore my humble request that E. C. F. G. want to help that such great evil of Wolraben does not have to enjoy his malice so much, and E. C. F. G. want to help that such great evil of Wolraben does not have to enjoy his malice so much. C. F. G. subjects of their food and fare not so heavily recompensed. No matter what else disturbs me, that the blasphemer and disgraceful printer should so abuse my sour work, perhaps also mock at it; for what he has earned with his pressure against God and us, I will command God. So it would also not be unreasonable if the printers in Leipzig, who have so far enriched themselves long enough with their abusive books, would also have to refrain for a while from enriching themselves even more with our books and corrupting ours; for it is good to reckon, because the markets in Leipzig can all sell a thousand copies before ours.

1) Cf. no. 2551.

hundred. E. C. F. G. will know well to find princely counsel in this. Herewith ordered to the dear God. On the day of *Kiliani* [July 8] 1539.

E. C. F. G. subservient

M. Luther.

No. 2557.

(Wittenberg.) July 10, 1539.

To Mrs. Ursula Schneidewein at Stollberg.

Same contents as No. 2544.

From an old copy in the library at Basel in De Wette, vol. V, p. 194 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 235.

G. & Peace 2c. Honorable, virtuous woman! I have now (it is right for me) written to you twice on account of your son John, who has asked you through me as a pious child, to show yourself motherly (as you owe), and to give your will that he may take the maiden in marriage, so that he may do his filial duty enough, as Samson did towards his parents. I have also indicated, as I could no longer hold, but consider it good, because I also mean him faithfully, that he come out of the journey; for I see that his study is hindered, and may nothing good come of it, where you would be so hard. For I do it in your honour, what I do; and is here his equal, a legitimate child, of good people. Moreover, consider also that it is not to be suffered to move other people's children with love, and then to leave them without cause, which would be hard for you to suffer from your children: so is it with others, especially where it is marital. I have also written further and advised that you should not refuse in this, lest we should be forced to continue nevertheless. For I have written that children should not be free without their parents' will, but again I have also written that parents should not hinder children. And summa, I cannot now repeat all that I wrote to you before, and I am quite surprised that I get no answer at all. And it is hard for me that my table companion should ape our citizen-daughter, that I still ask,

You must give a good answer quickly, or we must do as much as we can to prevent trouble. You are sufficiently requested; if parents do not want, then the priest must want. If you are worried about where he will support himself, you should think that one must trust in God, who alone supports the married state, so I will not leave Johannem, if I live, even though he himself, God willing, can get along well without my help. Please, therefore, let yourself be found, for I am also tired of writing so often, in which you have no reason to refuse; otherwise I should think that you would hold me against your son in this way: that would be unwelcome to me, because I am always cordial with yours. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. And your correct short answer! The thorn day after *Kiliani* [July 10] 1539.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2558.

Wittenberg. 13 July 1539.

Ordination certificate for Wenceslaus Kilmann.

From "Neue Beiträge von Alten und Neuen Theologischen Sachen, 1761," p. 285, in Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 55.

Wenceslaus Kilmann came to us and presented a credible testimony, which testified that he led a godly and honorable life, which had been known to the witnesses for a long time. Since he had been called to the office of teaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments in a church neighboring ours in Baserin,1) he requested ordination from us. Having therefore examined his learning, we found him to be well versed in the summa of Christian doctrine, to be diligently occupied with the prophetic and apostolic writings, and to hold the opinion of the Catholic Church of Christ. We also saw that his gifts were suitable for teaching. And he promised that he would prove diligent and constant in teaching, and faithfully present the unadulterated doctrine which our Church professes. We have there

1) Passerin near Luckau in Lower Lusatia.

He confirmed the calling of this Wenceslaus and commanded him by ecclesiastical ordination to teach the gospel and administer the sacraments according to his calling. For it is commanded of God fl Tim. 3:10.] that the churches should examine and ordain ministers of the Gospel, and set before other churches suitable regents, and the Synod of Nicaea has godly and thoughtfully determined that the churches should desire ordination from neighboring churches. But ordination is not to be sought from any who persecute the gospel of Christ; they are to be shunned as accursed men (*anathemata*), as Paul says [Gal. 1:9.], "If any man preach you gospel otherwise, let him be accursed." Therefore, it is certain by divine decree and the testimony of the Council of Nicaea that our ordination is valid. Therefore we commend this Wenceslaus to godly churches, and beseech that the Holy Spirit may govern his ministry for the spreading of the glory of God and of our Lord JEsu Christ, and for the salvation of the church. Given at Wittenberg, this 13th day of July in the year of Christ 1539.

(L. S.) (L. S.) (L. S.)

The pastor of the church at Wittenberg and the other ministers of the gospel in the same church.

Martin Luther.

Johann Bugenhagen Pomeranus.

No. 2559.

(Wittenberg.) July 14, 1539.

To Hans Schott, keeper at Coburg.

Luther informs him that he must now postpone the answer to Schott's letter, but that he will answer. (Compare No. 2546.)

From an at least bad copy in the Coburg House and State Archives printed by Burkhardt, p. 327.

G.u. F. Gestrenger, Ehrenfester, dear Lord and friend! I must now spare the answer to your letter, for we are overloaded here, also with church matters in H[erzog] Henrich's principality, to whom I also have to write. Because I have always heard about your letter

1) and which will not end for a short time: but be patient, I will answer. Now commanded by God and forever. Monday after Margaretha [14 July] 1539.

Martinus Luther.

No. 2560.

(Wittenberg.) Perhaps in July 1539.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther asks au how Jonas is doing.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 276, printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 124 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 195.

Grace and peace! To come to you every day, my best Jonas, is prevented both by the present heat and by this body's (that is, the old, *antiqui*, as he says) sluggishness. And I ask how it stands with your health; no one answers, and also you do not indicate it either by letters or by a vote, which I am forced to attribute to pain, but I would rather to health and cheerfulness. Therefore you, who are in my so near neighbourhood, seem to be somewhere in Ethiopia or India. Therefore let us both see to it that, as often as you can, either in the middle of the day, or at night, either early, or in the evening, you send people to me, who may report how you are. For this I would know every single hour. Fare thee well, and that thy tormentor, even the stone, perish for ever, amen. 1539. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

No. 2561.

(Wittenberg.) July 24, 1539.

To Justus Jonas.

Recommendation of a preacher for better care. News from Wittenberg.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 277. Printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 105 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 196.

Grace and peace! This Aegidius, pastor in Kröbeln (*Krobel*), I commend to you my

1) The meaning will be: Because I have always thought of your letter, which cannot be dispatched with a short answer, so be patient 2c. The text offers: "because only then one of your letters will be answered and the rurtz will not end. However" 2c. Instead of "only" we have assumed "to me", and instead of "one": "always".

I pray thee, dear Jonas, that thou mayest either now or at any time, if it be possible, help him to a somewhat better parish, for in this he cannot even feed himself. I am not surprised that you have heard that Satan is Satan, but I rejoice because I am sure that your work is the work of Christ, who will crush his head. And Christ's weakness is a sign of grace, as he saith [2 Cor. 12:9], "My power is mighty in the weak." Therefore hear him that saith unto you [John 14:27], "Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid." And the Psalm [Ps. 31:25.], "Be of good cheer and undaunted," for the LORD is with you, who will bring it to pass, Amen.

Everything is well here, only what you may have heard, Mrs. Bleikard 2) has fallen asleep in childbed, blessed and holy, as befits a Christian. Next Sunday, God willing, we will confirm the engagement between Johann Schneidewein and Anna Goldschmidt. Quite hopefully they have already disregarded three letters 3) from me (now I have sent the fourth to his relatives). You assist them with godly wishes and prayers that their marriage may be a happy one. The Lord be with you. Thursday after Magdalene [24 July] 1539.

Your Mart. Luther.

No. 2562.

Holland. 4) July 24, 1539.

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

(Regest.)

The duke sends a copy of a printed note posted under Luther's name to the church in Wittenberg, in which Luther responds to a mocking poem against him, with the request to avoid the harsh words in it against the Elector of Mainz in the future, since the gospel might suffer.

Printed in Faber's Prussian Archives, p. 100. Above regest with Burkhardt, p. 327.

2) *Blicardina*, the wife of Doctor Juris Bleikard Sindringer.

3) No. 2544 and No. 2557. The first letter shows that Luther had already written to Mrs. Schneidewein before. The now following fourth letter will have indicated to the relatives that one has taken the matter in Wittenberg into one's own hands.

4) This name will be understood here to mean the town of "Prussian Holland", near Elbing, located in the administrative district of Königsberg.

No. 2563.

Wittenberg. 25 July 1539.

To Duke Henry of Saxony.

Luther asks the duke to let the visitation go on and be carried out.

In Herings Geschichte der i. J. 1539 im Markgrafthume Meißen und dem dazu gehörigen thüringischen Kreise erfolgten Einführung der Reformation. Großenhain 1839. pp. 75-77 from the original in the Dresden Main State Archives. Then given completely corresponding to the original by J. K. Seidemann in Niedners Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie 1846, Heft III, p. 419 to 421; from it in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 56, p. XLVI f. and with De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 229. (Only inscription, signature and sealing are by Luther.).

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Henry, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my gracious Lord.

God's grace through our Lord Jesus Christ beforehand. Most illustrious, high-born, gracious Prince and Lord! Although I do not doubt that E. F. G. are themselves highly inclined to order and provide for the churches according to need in praise of God, as God has especially commanded the potentates and rulers to do, I can nevertheless well assume that such a great work will have much hindrance, for which reason I have caused E. F. G. to express my faithful and Christian opinion with this submissive writing. faithful and Christian opinion with this humble letter, and to request that E. F. G. may graciously allow the visitation to proceed and be carried out in all points according to the instruction, which, as I am informed, has been set with good measure and somewhat less than the instruction of the visitation, which was issued before this time in M. G. H., the Elector's 2c. churches; and in this we want to consider E. F. G. as a praiseworthy Christian prince, as high and noticeable at the beginning of this church order, on which there is now only a great stir, and will be a great consolation to the countryside and all the pious, if they will notice that good consistent order is being made, and such seriousness will make the adversaries less defiant.

So the matter demands of itself that the churches must now and in the beginning be diligently ordered, for I know that many parishes stand unoccupied, much loaded with unfit persons.

If the visitators should not follow the instruction in these common and necessary points, it would follow that many parishes would not be appointed at all, that there would also be inequality of doctrine for lack of competent persons, from which there would be much confusion among the poor people and rejoicing among the opponents. And that some think that it is enough to abolish abuses in the beginning alone, and that it is not necessary to investigate further which persons are there, and how to provide for them: that is much different; for in the beginning it is most necessary to work with great earnestness, as much as possible, that one may have competent persons, to lay good foundations of doctrine, and to plant right faith and unity.

So also no consistent order can be made, so the persons do not have supply.

Since the Holy Father knows that this is the highest service of God, which is especially commanded to princes and potentates, to promote the Gospel and to order the churches, the Holy Father wants to let the visitators follow the instructions and graciously keep them. No one can justly complain if the parish priests receive help or allowance from other foundations, for all divine and human rights teach and command that help should be given primarily to parishes and schools, as St. Paul says: *qui servit altari, vivat de altari,* and the poor church is not obliged to feed its persecutors in monasteries and convents.

Our Lord Christ promises rich rewards to all who help and promote the servants of Christian doctrine, saying, "He who gives a drink of water to the least for the sake of doctrine will truly receive a reward," so E. F. G. know how Ezechias is adorned with glorious victory, who in his time established right doctrine again, and provided entertainment for the people so that they could walk in the doctrine, as the text says, 2nd Paralip. 31: *Ut possent vacare legi Domini.* So there is no doubt that God will preserve, protect and graciously bless E. F. G., and therefore all pious Christians will ask and call upon Him for E. F. G., and those who are in need of Him will be able to do so.

Because God has commanded such a prayer, it is undoubtedly powerful and will be heard, therefore I also ask our Lord Christ to strengthen and preserve E. F. G. in body and soul. Dat. Wittenberg, on the day of Jacobi [25 July] 1539.

E. F. G.

subservient Martinus Luther.

No. 2564.

Oettingen (Oting). 27 July 1539.

Ludwig, Count of Oettingen, to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Count informs Luther that he intends to reform his country and to employ M. Georg Karg, whom he asks to ordain in the apostolic manner. Mitgetheilt von Karrer in the Journal for Lutheran Theology and Church, 1833, p. 679. Above regest with Kolde,

Analecta, p. 342.

No. 2565.

(Wittenberg.) July 28, 1539.

To the Duchess Catharina of Saxony.

Luther asks her, the wife of Duke Henry of Saxony, to conduct the church visitation, which was to take place after Duke George's death.

Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 86, no. 155; in Walch, vol. XXI, 419; after the original in *Cod. Seidel. in* Dresden in De Wette, vol. V, p. 197 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 237.

To the illustrious, highborn princess and lady, Katherin, née Duchess of Mekelnburg 2c., Duchess of Saxony, Countess of Thuringia and Margravine of Meissen, my gracious wives.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn princess, gracious lady! Since my gracious Duke Henry is old and weak, and the regiment so new to His Grace is heavier and more numerous, that of course He Anthony alone and those beside him are not able to do everything; but I hope that His Grace will have less trouble. F.G. will at times request and ask for help so that the *visitation may* continue in good order; for there are some wicked people in Leipzig who always hope that it will go away, and in the end fall into ashes. A booklet against the *Visitatores* is also said to have gone out.

[If this were so, we should have to answer against it. Here the F.F.G. wanted to help, so that a little fire would not start up; perhaps they know how to restrain themselves, and may be obedient to something they have learned in earnest; otherwise it looks as if they let them command what they want, and they do what they desire. E. F. G. wanted to turn to the word of God in honor, and to ward off the devil, gracious diligence, that will be the most pleasant sacrifice and prayer to God the Father. In the grace of E. F. G. be commanded, Amen. Monday after *Jacobi* [July 28] 1539.

E. F. G.

willing Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2566.

(Wittenberg.) 2. August 1539.

To Johann Riemann, pastor in Werdau.

About Riemann's transfer from Werdau. Compare the letters No. 2536 and 2541.

From the original in Schütze, vol. I, p. 293 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 578. Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 408 and in *Cod. Jen. B. 24. n, fol. 181*. Placed by all in the year 1543. But two copies in the Weimar archives, *Reg. Ji, 138 b. C. 9. 27,* one of which is by Riemann's hand, have the year 1539, to which the letter undoubtedly belongs.

To Johann Riemann, faithful and loud pastor in Werdau.

Grace and peace! After reading your letter, my dear John, I was not able to answer immediately, as I was overwhelmed with a great deal of business. But you shall think that I am not at all well-disposed towards the Werdans (which they will easily despise in view of their security), after I have read their accusations, and as much as is in me, I will not see to it that they have either you or another as pastor, but will let them go in their desires, as I did with the Zwickauers after Hausmann was expelled. Quite true shall be this saying (*esto*): "Voigtländische Köpf, grobe Ochsen." I did not raise this, but I wonder where it may have originated, for it is frequently in the mouths of all, except that the Zwickauers formerly taught me to believe it. Of course, your Werdauer will do the same. Christ

will nevertheless be the Lord, and He who could lose Jerusalem will no doubt consider Werdau and Zwickau significantly inferior. I have not yet been ordered by the court. I have heard that if you must be transferred, you must first be provided with another parish. In the meantime, you may remain at Werdau until they have found another, and you another, unless something else comes from the court. Nor wilt thou cease to punish morals, because that is the office of the pastor, as thou knowest from Paul [2 Tim. 4:2], "Punish, threaten, admonish." And Christ cries Matt. 23, "Woe, woe, woe!" With these few words, I pray thee, be content. The second of August Anno 1539.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2567.

(Wittenberg.) August 6, 1539.

To Justus Jonas.

Recommendation of a clergyman for employment. About the beneficial effectiveness of Cruciger in Leipzig and the orientation of the visitation in the Duchy of Saxony.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 277, printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 106, and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 198.

Grace and peace! I recommend to you, my dear Jonas, this Magister, the Magister Mörlin's brother, Maximilian, whether you can perhaps provide him with a position. I believe that he is suitable, and I think that you know him, since he has preached with us several times. And he pleases me in all things. We have chosen his brother to take the place of M. Anton 1) as the Aelteste (*presbyterum*) of our church. God give his blessing, amen.

We believe what you write, that Satan (as I have written before) 2) is not a Satan in an imaginary way, and that he rules in Leipzig in the head of Behemoth; we hear that he is an Epicurer, although Dr. Caspar Kreuziger (*Crucifixor*) tells us to have good hope with regard to the people. Would that God would crucify the head and body of Behemoth, since he has hitherto destroyed their proud spirits.

1) Lauterbach.

2) No. 2561.

3) even by the sight alone, or, if I say it more correctly, they themselves crucify and torture themselves through envy and hatred. For the male crucifier, by laughing at them, does them the burnt harm (urit), at which I rejoice. But if it were given us to believe against hope upon hope, He is mighty, and the Triumphator and Victor of Israel, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, will (as Job [Cap. 40, 26.] says) make the head of Behemoth enclosed in a fish trap a triumph. Only do not give way to the ills, but confidently go out to meet them, 4) yet in such a way that you send us back the crucifier (*crucifixorum*) soon after you have appointed preachers. If the Leipzigers do not want to provide for themselves, we cannot do without ours forever. 5) Fare well in the Lord and continue bravely, certain that you will administer the mission of Christ, 6) and one day also bear witness in the

3) On June 21, Myconius wrote to the Elector: "When I returned from Wurzen to Leipzig the next day from E. churfl. Grace from Wurzen to Leipzig, after the next disputation on baptism, the papists, doctors and preacher-monks, most sharply prepared to dispute against our doctrine of the Sacrament, supposed that the pope and devil were lying and abusing the Sacrament, transubstantiation and the long presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament, of the prolonged presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament, where it is kept and enclosed out of custom, and also transferred, of the Adoration, and of all the monks' and Popes' gifts, and would have sworn to it, because they were so well armed, and because one, Dr. Matthew, of Hall in Hesse, had given them the name of the devil. Matthew, come to their aid from Hall, they wanted to become knights at God's word, or ever make a scare that the poor people would be misled, and hold our doctrine and things suspicious and uncertain. But our dear Lord God strengthened me against them in body and soul, and yesterday Friday [June 20], before and after noon, in the presence of the *Rector,* all faculties, all students, and the entire university, I fought with a large crowd of people and scholars in the *Collegio majori, in the* largest *auditorium,* for the preservation of the pure teachings of Christ, and God gave me grace, as E. churfl. Gn. will learn from others that the devil with all his attachments, lies and blasphemies with all shame, but Christ with His Word and Sacrament, drawn like gold through the fire, passed in all glory and retained the victory." (Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth., lib. III, p. 220*a.)

4) *Virg. Aen. lib. VI, v. 95*.

5) The Leipzigers went about keeping Dr. Cruciger forever. Cf. the letter to the Elector of November 4.

6) Jonas belonged to the visitators together with Spalatin, Dr. Melchior von Kreizen and Johann von Pack. Seckendorf l. c.

For you will find it in your life, namely, when they, having become full, fat, and fattened, begin to need us in nothing, and will repay us for this supreme good deed with the greatest ingratitude. For this is the seal of every good work. For if the world were grateful, it is certain that our work would not please God, since it would lack the seal of the world's ingratitude. On Wednesday after the first of August [6 Aug.] Anno 1539.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2568.

Wittenberg. August 4 or 7, 1539.

To Francis of Rewa (Rheva), Count of Thurocz in Hungary.

Luther warns him not to surrender to the Zwinglian error.

In Innocent News, 1716, p. 570; at.
Strobel-Ranner, p. 280 and at De Wette, vol. V, p. 199. German at Walch, vol. XXI, 1293. In all these editions datirt vom 7. August. Seidemann at De Wette, vol.VI, p.574, note 9, says: "Abgedrucktauch in: *Memorabilia Augustanae Confessionis in Regno Hungariae a Ferdinando I. usque ad III. Recensuit Joannes Bibini* (Pastor in Preßburg). 1787. *p. I. 8. (Tom. I.) pag. 43*, as of August 4. The pastor Andreas *Institoris* at St. Helena in the county of Thurocz took a copy of the letter in the archives of the Newa family, and his son Johann shared this copy in 1687 with the pastor Johann *Burius* at Karpfen, who incorporated it into his handwritten *Micae historico-chronologicae* under the year 1539." Then Seidemann gives the variants of the latter manuscript, which seem to us almost without exception to deserve the preference over the readings of the other texts.

To the noble and highly famous man, Mr. Franz of Neva, Count of Thurocz, his lord to be revered in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ.' Although I see, most illustrious man, that thou hast written among much business, yet I have also wondered how in the Sacramental matter of Zwingli so great a quantity of grounds of proof attaches to thee, and I am very sorry that thou art so moved by these grounds. But since I too am now too busy to write at greater length, I beg you in the meantime, for Christ's sake and your own blessedness, not to fall into this error, that you believe that there is only bread and wine in the sacrament and not the body and blood.

Christ. For your reasons are those of Zwingli, against whom we have written many things, but in the German language, and by the grace of God have converted many. 1) For what inconsistency is there in believing that the body of Christ is both in heaven and in the sacraments? Is it difficult for the Almighty God to do what seems incredible to us? John 3:13 says: "No man leadeth unto heaven, but he that came down from heaven, the Son of man which is in heaven." If he was then in heaven, when he walked on earth: how? was he not at the same time in divers places? To whom this is incredible, how will he believe that God is man? how, that in the body of the Virgin the true God is at the same time essential? how, that One Person of the very simple (*simplicissimae*) Godhead became flesh, to the exclusion of the other two? The mysteries of faith are delivered and accepted by the Word, not apprehended or indicated by reason. It is very much, yea, altogether, reason, which admits that the same body cannot be in different places. But reason is blind, and what is impossible before it is exceedingly easy for GOtte. For me there is not the same body in heaven and on earth; but who am I? For me there is not a great body in a little piece of bread; but who am I? "With GOD no thing is impossible" [Luc. 1:37.]. Not he that understandeth, but he that believeth, shall be saved. And again, If ye believe not, saith Isaias Cap. 7, 9. ye shall not know, neither abide. That would be a very miserable God, who does not say or do what is unbelievable to us. Thus only at last there would be no article of faith, if it were to be estimated according to the judgment of our reason. But since I am busy, I am compelled to break off here. Again and again I ask you to hold fast to the old faith of the Church, until in time I shall more abundantly refute your reasons. The words of God: "This is my body" 2c., will not be false. Your reason and the reason of men

1) Here the manuscript offers: *et Iatine Deo gratia, quaedam convertimus* [and, thanks be to God, some things have been translated into Latin.
2) Walch: "believable" instead of: "unbelievable".

Wisdom is deceitful and deceptive. May the Lord Christ sustain and guide you by his Holy Spirit, Amen. Given at Wittenberg, on the 4th [7th?] of August, Anno 1539.

Your Excellency's devoted Martin Luther.

No. 2569.

Wittenberg. 12 August 1539.

To Ludwig, Count of Oettingen.

Luther reports that M. Georg Karg has been ordained, and recommends him. This is the answer to No. 2564.

The original is in the princely Oettingisch-Wallerstein archives. Printed by De Wette, vol. V, p. 200 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 238 and (after the original) vol. 56, p. 221.

To the well-born, noble Lord Ludewig the Elder, Count of Oettingen 2c., my gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most gracious, noble, merciful Lord! As E. G. desires, Magister Georgen Kark has ordained me according to Christian apostolic wisdom, as he will report to E. G., also Magister Philippus has written everything without doubt, I quite humbly command the same Magister Georgen to E. G., for he is a finely learned man, and even though he is still young, I hope that God will create much fruit through him; for he has seen and well heard our doctrine and manner (which, praise God, is indeed Christian), and has diligently kept to it. May our dear Lord Jesus Christ grant E. G., together with his country and people, his abundant grace to serve God here and to live there eternally. Amen. At Wittenberg, Tuesday after St. Laurentii [12 Aug.] 1539.

E. G. willing

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2570.

(Wittenberg.) August 13, 1539.

To Johann, Georg and Joachim, Princes of Anhalt.

Luther urges them to reform the monastery of Mönchen- Nienburg.

In Lindner, Mittheilungen, II, p. 58; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 221 f. and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 231.

1) We made this addition because De Wette put a question mark after "the".

To the noble, highborn princes and lords, Johanns, Georgen, provost of Magdeburg, and Joachim, brothers, princes of Anhalt, counts of Ascanien and lords of Bernburg, my gracious lords.

G. and Peace in Christ. Sublime, high-born princes and lords! I recently visited my lord, Prince Wolfgang, E. F. G. dear cousins. Among other things: Among other things, there have been reports of the monastery of Münche-Neunburg, where the mass and all other idolatries are still in use, and where the abbot treats the goods as his own, stealing cash and selling inherited goods. 2c, that I was surprised that the abbot with his own under E. F. G. is allowed to be so modest (thar), since the saying of St. Jacob [4, 17.] also applies to them: *Scienti donum et non facienti peccatum est illi*. Because such a monastery is under the rule of E. F. G. and E. F. G. GOtte is responsible for it. Since such a monastery is under E. F. G.'s rule, and E. F. G.'s debt is to prevent the blasphemy of his name and to promote his honor, I humbly ask E. F. G. not to watch Satan any longer, nor to allow his courageous will (for he cannot excuse himself because of his ignorance) under E. F. G.'s rule, so that they do not make themselves partially responsible for someone else's guilt. That they pretend that it is an imperial foundation is true, as far as it concerns the freedom of persons and goods, or perhaps of goods in part. But the idolatry was neither founded nor could be founded by any emperor, but the emperors were deceived by the monks, that such idolatry, previously invented by monks, was afterwards liberated and granted. 2) On the other hand, our Lord God's foundation is established from above, that is, *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*; to which all the foundations that are called *Assumere nomen Dei in vanum* must give way, and no imperial liberty nor confirmation can defend them, for the emperor himself must also be under the foundation of God and destroy the devil's foundation, as he would do if he knew it. Now they want to mend themselves with the emperor's protection and mix the spiritual with the secular, if they have previously trampled the emperor and all secular things underfoot,

2) Here we have deleted "are", which should be in the original.

and have sat down with the 1) clergy against the Emperor himself. E. F. G. continue. It grows neither colder nor warmer for the sake of the monastery. Christ the LORD, made known by the Father to E. F. G., grant E. F. G. his Holy Spirit to sanctify his name cheerfully, and to profane Satan's name, Amen. Wednesday after Laurentii [Aug. 13] 1539.

E. F. G. williger
Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2571.

(Wittenberg.) August 14, 1539.

To Justus Jonas.

He recommends his brother-in-law, Hans von Bora, to intercede with Duke Heinrich, and reports news.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 278, printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 107 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 201.

Grace and peace! I too, my dear Jonas, cannot see from your so many letters that my letters have been handed over to you, with the exception of one. But that may be either coincidence or Satan's fault. By the way, I recommend my brother-in-law, Haus von Bora. You can say well for him that he is a pure, sincere and reliable man, as you also know him. I, too, am writing for him to the most illustrious Prince Heinrich, certainly not for a charlatan and braggart who accomplishes everything in words, but in deed brings about the opposite in an absurd way, as you know this race of noblemen (*centaurorum*), who nowadays, through God's curse, are growing and multiplying in such a way that in a short time they are filling the earth with iniquity, that in a short time they will fill the earth with iniquity and make everything corrupt, so that it is necessary that the world be cleansed, not by a flood of sin, but either by some great conflagration, or (what I would prefer) by the fire of the last day.

There is no news, except that the good man Claus Bildenhain 2) (as your Sophie likes to say) has finally gone to the Lord. It has been written to the Lord Philippus, 3) that in Spain, while the Empress

1) It should perhaps read "dem".
2) Bildenhauer.
3) There is a dotum here in the issues by mistake.

was about to give birth, they beat thirty men with scourges to the point of blood (*ad multum sanguinem* == to the point of much blood), so that the birth would be a happy one. Two of them collapsed under the blows of their scourges and died, and yet they could not save the mother and the fruit. What more pagan thing could have happened, or can still happen, even among the pagans? namely, with these sacrifices GOD is reconciled from those who kill Christ. Perhaps also the pope will raise them among the saints (*canonisabit*) in the place of Benno, whom you have expelled from the number of the saints (*decanonisastis)*, 4) without fearing Cochleaeus, Schmid, and people like Nausea 5), but also not Sadoletus and his like (*Sadoletos*), who teach contradiction, and will be indignant against you, indignant, also making indignant, 6) and all that can only ever be said either wickedly grammatically or exceedingly badly theologically. Be at ease in thy house, by the grace of God. Fare well in the Lord. Thursday after Laurentii [Aug. 14] 1539. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2572.

(Wittenberg.) August 15, 1539.

To Spalatin.

Luther recommends a former monk.

The original is in Dessau. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 265 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 202. Manuscript in *Cod. Jen. a, fol. 229* and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 275.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, the faithful and fair archbishop of the churches of Meissen, his exceedingly dear friend in your Lord.

Grace and peace! I know, my dear Spalatin, that this very good man has given you through

4) In the second half of July the tomb of Benno was destroyed, who had been canonized fifteen years earlier, because, as the visitators said, it was used for the service of Baal. Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth. lib. III, p. 221*.
5) *Blancieampianus*, Frederick Grey. (De Wette, vol. VI, p. 520.)
6) *indignaturis, indignatis, indignantibus, indignificaturis*. De Wette remarks: "It should probably be *docentes*, *indignaturos,* and so on." We think that the given reading is to be held fast on account of the *male grammatice, etc.*

...that he is already sufficiently recommended to himself. But since he wanted it very much that he should come to you with a testimony from my hand, I have been forced to write to you, who are very busy, while I myself am overwhelmed with business. Therefore, if thou canst, thou shalt see that he be suitably provided for. For he is fully worthy of it because of his excellent godliness and righteousness. And would God that he were not prevented from learning the sciences in the monastery; he is clearly a man who could be of great use in a large and populous community. May Christ, as He has begun, destroy these caves, which have been a hindrance to excellent persons. Fare thee well. In haste. Greet Dr. Jonas and the other brother bishops. Friday after Laurentii [Aug. 15] 1539. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2573.

Wittenberg. 17 August 1539.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

Intercession for the pastor Calixtus at Pollerstorf for an increase in salary.

The original (by Schreiber's hand, with the three seals of the signers) is at Hamburg in the Wolff Collection, Vol. IV. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p.399; by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 301 and by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 343. Only in the latter with correct time determination; in the others dated from "Aug. 22, 1540".

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Herr Johans Friederichen, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, our most gracious, dear Lord.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord! E. C. F. G. are ready to God our prayer with submissive, obedient service always with diligence before. Most gracious Lord! With the enclosed letter he has sought out Calixtus, pastor at Pollerstorf in Wittenberg, and reported his distress to us, humbly requesting that we take his poverty and distress to heart and ask E. C. F. G. to grant him a gracious

The parishioners of the village are not well off, and the land is not so profitable. Now we know, as was found in both visitations, that such a parish has a small village and no branch, the people of the village are not wealthy, and the field is also not so pleasant that a parish priest could drive it himself and keep servants and horses on it, we also could not put some allowance on the people for that reason. Because we have now looked over the registration itself and considered the income, and find that all together it does not amount to much more than twenty guilders a year, we ask in humility and submission that E. C. F.. G. will graciously provide the poor man with one florin or fifteen a year from the sequestration, considering that such parish is otherwise not near to any other parish in E. C. F. G. Chur in Saxony, and that this pastor is now 1) an old man who should remain unchanged. E. C. F. G. will therefore graciously show himself in this. For the same E. C. F. G. we want to ask God for a blessed regiment and welfare and to earn it in submissive obedience at all times. Dat. Wittenberg, Sunday after Assumption of Mary [Aug. 17] Anno 1539.

E. C. F. G.

submissive obedient Visitatores Martinas Luther, Joannes Bugenhagen, Doctores, and Philippus Melanchthon.

No. 2574.

Wittenberg. 21 August 1539.

To the council of Oschatz.

Concerning the vocation of the first superintendent, Johann Büchner.

From an Actenstücke des Oschatzer Rathsarchivs (only the signatures are handwritten) in *Corp. Ref., Vol. IV, 1056*; from Ludwig Siegel's "Oschatz zur Zeit der Einführung der Kirchenreformation im J. 1539". Oschatz (1839). 8. p. 47 f.; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. XLIX, and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 233.

To the honorable and wise gentlemen, mayors and council of Oschatz, our good friends.

God's grace through our Lord Jesus Christ beforehand. Honorable, wise, good friends!

1) Kolde: "only" instead of: "now".

In response to your letter, we would like you to know that we are of the good opinion that it would not be useful to apply further to your worthy Magister Antonio Musa, and that you are also well advised to do so. We have therefore considered it good that to your church and the superintendency he be appointed Johann, deacon of Torgau, who is a pious, quiet, sensible, and well-learned man; and have no doubt that your church is very well ordered with him. For this reason he has also written to you, that you may hear him and conclude accordingly. What your mind will be because of him, you will ascribe to the Lord Visitatoribus. And if we can serve you further in this, we are willing to promote your churches, to the praise of God. We also want to admonish you, because we know that before this time you also gladly promoted God's honor, you should let yourselves be commanded to the churches and the holy Gospel, as our Lord Christ commanded, and for this he promised such high graces and rewards, as he said: "You have fed me. God keep you. Date Wittenberg, August 21, 1539.

Mart. Luther. Philippus Melanthon.

No. 2575.

(Wittenberg.) August 29, 1539.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther makes various suggestions for the filling of "pastorates" in Meissen and other places.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 279, printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 108 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 202.

Grace and peace! It is not necessary, my dear Jonas, that it be written unto me what ye suffer of Satan, or wherein he hinders you. For this I foretold thee before. But I am glad that you do not lack my participation (*studium*). But to the matter at hand. We have offered Mr. Johann Büchner to you for Oschatz with godly intentions and without prejudice to the commandments of your office. For he could not be persuaded to go to Döbeln; he prefers to remain in Torgau, and so he has also written to me from Oschatz. But since you desire others, so you wish

1) Not *Bruckner*, what De Wette offers. Cf. deu previous letter and that of 22 September.

we certainly see that advice is given and your efforts are supported. And we name to you for our Oschatz the pastor in Belgern, Jakob Pfeffinger, a man who, in addition to other gifts worthy of a bishop, is also exceedingly suitable for this church building by his vocal means (*vocalitate*). Call him there. For there is no hope that he will remain in Leipzig; in anger he has hurried home to Belgern, but with the announcement that he would rather be called somewhere in the world than remain in Leipzig. Or call Caspar Löner, for Pfeffinger likes to stay in Belgern very much, unless he is called and compelled [to leave it]. How? if you call Mr. Michael, the deacon in Kemberg, to Döbeln, if you do not like Gostorf? For he will not unwillingly accept the calling, as I learned when I searched him out. And he is, at least in my judgment, a man of rare spirit. I write this so that you may know that I am not moved by the peevish nature of your colleagues, if only the people and the church can be benefited. For I can easily imagine that they have reason why they do not want to accept any of the persons we propose, since they are unknown to them. And perhaps also the flesh gives them to think that we seek dominion with them. How false this fiction of the flesh is, they will shortly perceive, to their great shame and repentance. In the meantime we will suffer and do all things in secret for the glory of God and the salvation of the church. 2) Be well with all, and continue to be a strong man in the Lord, knowing that your labor in the Lord is not in vain. Friday after Bartholomew [Aug. 29] Anno 1539. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2576.

Weimar. 30 August 1539.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

Invitation to submit a reflection on the admissibility of a theological book for printing.

In the Weimar Archives, Reg. O, p. W W. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 327 f.

2) In De Wette wrong: Matth. 5, 6.

Our greetings first. Venerable, learned, dear devotee! The worthy, our also dear devotee, Christoph Hofman, pastor at Jene, has now sent us a Latin Commentary on the Epistle of St. Paul to Titus, so that it may be examined and put into print. Since we do not doubt that such a booklet will be in accordance with the holy divine Scriptures and useful for the instruction of common Christians, as he has also handed over a German interpretation of the same epistle, somewhat shorter, our gracious request is that you want the present preacher in our collegiate church there, Ern Jörgen Meyer, 1) go through such commentaries with diligence, and let him give you a report on them, especially on the points that might cause concern to others, 2) and then send the booklet back to us with your concerns about it, and whether or not it should be printed, in the most conducive manner. You will do us the favor of our opinion. Given at Weimar, Saturday after Bartholomew [Aug. 30] Anno 1539.

No. 2577.

Zurich. August 30, 1539.

The clergy of Zurich to Luther.

(Regest.)

They complain about Luther's writing on the Conciliar and Churches, in which he unjustly accused Zwingli of Nestorianism. Zwingli had confessed at Marburg, in the articles signed by both sides, that Christ's person was undivided; likewise in the confession addressed to Emperor Carl at the Imperial Diet of Augsburg, which was written in the last period of his life. He had nothing in common with Nestorius, but was a godly man and orthodox and a very special lover of Catholic truth. Finally, they recall the letter addressed to Luther on May 4, 1538 (No. 2428), in which they had promised to indicate if they missed anything in Luther, so that a firm peace could exist among them, and ask that Luther would accept a better opinion of Zwingli. Signed by: Leo Judae, Caspar Megander, Conrad Pellican, Theodor Bibliander, and Heinr. Bullinger.

In the church archives at Zurich, *Casten C, Epist. Tom. I, pag. 179* and there Casten *B, Epist. Tom. I, pag. 318*, from Bullinger's manuscript in the Simler Collection at Zurich. Printed in *Hospinian, Historia Sacr., II, 172* (without the signatures) and in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 345.

1) M. George Major.

2) Burkhardt: "mocht".

No. 2578.

(Wittenberg.) (Perhaps in September 1539.)

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Postscript to a missing letter. About the feud of Kohlhase.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ss.* Printed by Burkhardt, p. 328.

Also, most gracious sir, E. C. F. G. subjects here in the Electorate are crying out for advice and help against the feud of the cabbage hare. I would almost have said: of the Elector of Brandenburg, if the glorious name did not hover over the person. It is only the most fearful thing that one is misled and the people are in doubt whether friend and foe are fighting over them. 3) Therefore all their comfort is next to God. C. F. G., who is the lord of the land and the father of the people set by God; this I have had to indicate to E. C. F. G. for the sake of the many dangerous speeches. Some make it small, some make it great, and so it goes through one another that no one knows what or how to believe. This is the way the devil lives, and the world is full of deceit and unfaithfulness.

No. 2579.

(Wittenberg.) September 7, 1539.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther asks for the granting of a prebend for M. Georg Major, to increase his salary.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Mm, fol. 56b. N. 11*. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 329.

G. u. F. and my poor *pater noster*. Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! E. C. F. G. know how Magister Georg Major had to miss the prebend which Doctor Creitz, bailiff at Colditz, has offered on his life to E. C. F. G. father blessed, and nevertheless put off with the next prebend of E. C. F. G. which has been settled. Therefore he wants to anticipate that not again a cross (creitz) 4) will fall three times, and asks E. C. F. G. for the prebend.

3) "mumschanzen" == to go mumbling, to put on carnival games.

4) Luther always wrote "creuz" or "creutz" for cross. Therefore, here is a play on the name "Creitz".

The sum of 80 fl. which has been lent to Joseph at Torga, called Michel, 1) by E. C. F. G., who is now appointed Chaplain at Torgau, and will take his leave, as E. C. F. G. will further hear from M. Georg's writing. Now, however, M. Georg has finally decided to remain at the Theology, and has also set himself to it, and still cannot have enough with the 80 fl. 2) I have also previously written to E. C. F. G. that he is almost skilled, and will make very good students at the Theology. For although he may be of small voice, he is nevertheless a delicious reader and teacher, who can give the matter very well, and it is good to learn from him. Therefore, since the E. C. F. G. has been graced by God to promote the Holy Scriptures, I hope that no request is necessary. E. C. F. G. will know how to do it to the honor of God. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Sunday after Egidii (Sept. 7) 1539.

E. C. F. G. subservient Martin Luther.

No. 2580.

(Wittenberg.) September 19, 1539:

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther asks the Elector that he helps to promote a second visitation in Meissen.

The original is in Weimar, *Reg. Ji, fol. 143 b. Dr. 2. 3*. manuscript in *Cod. chart. Goth. 462. f.* Printed in De Wette, vol. V, p. 203 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 238.

G. and F. and my poor Pater-Noster. ...dearly departed... F., gn. Sir! Dr. Jonas has ever wanted me to write to E. C. F. G. in addition to him; for he is interested in the visitation at Meissen, because he is called to it, for the sake of his conscience he must take care of the souls, and would rather, if E. C. F. G. did not give the order, be rid of everything, as we all are,

1) This Michael was a school teacher at Torgau. (Burkhardt.)

2) Major seems to have had a very strong family, since he speaks of 11 persons whom he had to maintain from the 80 fl. - As a result of the answer given on October 11, Major received the Canonicate in St. George's Collegiate Church at Altenburg, which Magister *Colditius* (Alexius Chrosner of Colditz) had held. (Burkhardt.)

because one stands so coldly to it, 3) and knows neither helper nor hitchhiker, for E. C. F. G. Well, it is true, it has been done much too lazily with the first visitation; and whether the cities with their own help are also quite well ordered, there are still over 500 pastors who are poisonous papists (as he reports), who have all remained unexamined, and confidently put on their horns and defy, because they are left like that; and if one had abolished them on Michaelmas, they would have been easier to dispose of with the parish income, since one must now have more than 4000 (florins) excess to dispose of them, as they should also have calculated from the nobility. If now the other and right visitation should be delayed and remain, in which one must supply the church with the doctrine: then with this visitation nothing is applied to such poisonous pastors, but is made worse. Therefore, for the sake of the poor souls, of whom many thousands are unaccounted for among such pastors, we ask that E.C.F.G. help as much as it can. If they want to take their own visitators from their own, then so be it; if not, the sooner the better we can get rid of them and wait for ours. There are too few in such a large regiment, which they also have, but they are neglected and hinder us with it, because it is snowing with letters here to us, and no place nor person is appointed, where one can direct the people in such church matters. It is very tedious at the moment. E. C. F. G. will know well how to advise in this matter. So we also hope that there will be more leisure in Dresden after the stag rut. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befehlt, Amen. Friday after *Crucis* (Sept. 19) 1539.

No. 2581.

(Wittenberg.) 19 September 1539.

To Chancellor Brück.

Luther also asks him to press the Elector for a second visitation in Meissen. He should prevent that Dr. Jakob [Schenk?] should not be employed there again. Of a splendid copy of the Bible for the Elector.

3) The Elector wrote to Duke Heinrich according to Luther's wish (Thursday after Francisci, October 9), from which it follows that, according to the report of the councillors who were negotiating in Dresden and Naumburg, there was already a decision by the Duke to order a second visitation. (Burkhardt.)

The original is in the archives at Weimar, . Ii, fol. 143d. Dr. 2. 3. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 87, no. 157; in Walch, vol. XXI, 420; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 205, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 240,

Grace and peace. Respectable, Reverend, dear Lord and Godfather! Dr. Jonas asks, so I also ask, that you help to urge M. G. H. to insist on the *secunda visitatio* in Meissen; for if it were not God's business, and so many thousands of souls call, we would much rather be content with our churches and schools, since we have enough to do otherwise, than that we also have to serve in foreign lands; you will do it well. Nor do I have to conceal this from you, lest I should regret it afterwards: I am so well reported that I must believe how Dr. Jacob is again seeking to return to that principality; if this should now reach M. G. H., then for God's sake help to prevent him from remaining here; for I am almost very suspicious of such a request, if it were as the very best of our people write to me. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Friday after [Sept. 19].
1539. M. Luther.

Hans Luft has shown me how the Bible would now be printed on large median paper here, which we want to run over again, not to make it better, but to correct the printer's mistakes: the Princes of Anhalt have learned this, and want to have three copies of parchment printed underneath; one copy (for there will be 340 sheets and so many calfskins) will cost 60 fl. Whether now M. G. H. also wanted to have such copies of vellum one or several, so it would have to be ordered and commanded in time; for when the work is begun, it comes too late; you S. C. F. G. will well know how to indicate this, so that we would not have to be punished afterwards for not having indicated it. 1539.

No. 2582.

September 19, 1539.

Spalatin to Luther and Jonas.

About the filling of the pastorate in Oschatz.

From Neudecker's collection after *Cod. Chart. Meiningensis, p. 21*, with Burkhardt, p. 330.

God's grace and peace through Christ! In what a wonderful way it has pleased the Lord M. Caspar Löner torments and almost consumes, venerable and highly learned men, that he has suffered rejection everywhere in such an unseemly manner, since he was called to Leipzig, I cannot explain to you in words. And I do not doubt that he will seriously confront those whom he considers suspicious. And indeed, it would have been much 1) better if he had not been called to Leipzig than if he had been so very carelessly, so very thoughtlessly, so very hopefully rejected. Moreover, I see that they would like to disparage Oschatz in the highest degree, as a place that is neither suitable for him nor for his own, even though he, even by a single sermon, has so won the hearts of the people of Oschatz, - which I clearly recognized from their letter addressed to me, which I received yesterday, - that they still very much want him to be their pastor before many others. But M. Caspar Löner rejects it completely, perhaps either because he wants to stay with the people of Oelsnitz, or because he has completely abandoned the service of the word, which he would do if he did not fear the wrath of God. So much is he hurt by the impropriety of the Leipzig rejection. And to what purpose did it serve that the one who was called was rejected so lightly? Therefore, only this remains, that either M. Wolfgang Baumheckel or M. Johann Büchner be sent to the Oschatzers, until the confirmation of the most illustrious Duke Heinrich, although I very much fear that M. Johann will be very contemptuous of Strobel, perhaps also M. Wolfgang, if Wolfgang's title and name do not serve to save him. Therefore, for the sake of Christ, I ask that you write immediately to me as well as to the people of Oschatz, so that they will no longer be without the shepherds of the churches. For however the matter may turn out, the parish of Grötschen near Pegau will be suitable neither for M. Wolfgang Baumhekel nor for his wife, because they are quite ignorant of agriculture. Be well and happy in the Lord with all yours, and write again soon for the sake of Christ. In haste, in the hours before daybreak. September 19, 1539. G. Spalatin.

No. 2583.

(Wittenberg.) September 22, 1539.

To Spalatin.

Answer to the previous letter. Luther asks him to see to it that Johann Büchner comes to Oschatz as soon as possible.

1) The text seems to us to be out of order here. Instead of *nullus* we have assumed *multum.*

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a, fol. 355*. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 266 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 206. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1296.

To the man highly esteemed in the Lord, M. Georg Spalatin, Archbishop of the Churches [in Meissen], 1) Pastor at Altenburg, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace! I beseech thee, my dear Spalatin, that the people of Oschatz, who trust in thy office, may at last receive Mr. Johann Buchner, since M. Caspar Löner writes that he does not desire this position, at the same time so that so many letters that have been sent from there to me and by me there will not be thwarted and made a mockery of, so that it indeed causes me shame and annoyance that the matter has been delayed and prevented for so long, so that I will not suffer easily from being called or rather plagued with consultations about the provision of the churches of Meissen, since I am more than sufficiently overwhelmed by our worries, burdens and work. If it should not please you that Johann Buchner is sent to Oschatz, then you may answer very soon, so that I do not torture the man completely to death by delay and postponement, and I will see to it that he is provided for elsewhere. For he is too valuable to me than that he should be so martyred on account of Oschatz, and be strolled now and then, since he would gladly have remained both at Torgau and at Wittenberg, if he had not, urged on by my counsel, consented to change the place. Fare well in the Lord. Monday after Lamberti [22 Sept.] 1539.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2584.

Wittenberg. 6 October 1539.

To Dr. Franz Herzenberger zu Sagan.

Luther jokingly apologizes for his infrequent answering and recommends a young clergyman to him.

From the Innocent News in Walch, vol. XXI, 1297; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 208, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 241.

1) Added by us.

To the honorable, highly learned gentleman, Francisco Herzenberger, the medicine Doctor zum Sagan, my favorable gentleman and good friend.

G. and Fr. in Christo. Respectable, highly respected, dear Doctor! That I do not answer you all the time, I ask you not to take it amiss, nor to take note of it, because you know how short a life I have to lead, and so short that I would need three hours (I would like to say more) where I have one. And count who will, if I have to write three letters, - since I may well have an hour for each one, and yet all three must be written in one hour, - whether I must not have short hours. Since another has one hour or two, I must make three or two in one hour. Is not that a short life? So do many other affairs. These things I jest with you, because now I am idle with food. But I faithfully command you this Johann Halsbrot, ordained by us; I hope he will produce much fruit, as he has seen our ways and experienced everything. Salute me your dear house honor, also the worthy Lord, He *Paulum*. Hereby commanded to God, Amen. At Wittenberg, Monday after *S. Francisci* [Oct. 6] 1539.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2585.

Weimar. 12 October 1539.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther, Bugenhagen, Jonas and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

The Elector sends copies of the correspondence between the Landgrave and Bucer in the English matter, then also his own answer to the Landgrave, and asks for Luther's and his comrades' concern about it. Then he asks Melanchthon to write a letter to the King of England, but not to let it come into print at this time, and orders that the booklet be copied from the spiritual goods.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, fol. 260. 111.* Printed by Burkhardt, p. 331. - The letter written by Melanchthon on the order of the Elector, dated Nov. 1, 1539, is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 270.

No. 2586.

(Wittenberg.) 13 October 1539.

To Duke Albrecht of Prussia.

Luther recommends Albrecht Hack from Königsberg, who had studied in Wittenberg at the Duke's expense. News from Duke Henry of Brunswick, from the Turkish War, and from the danger to the Protestants.

From Faber's collection of letters, p. 25, reprinted in De Wette, vol. V, p. 209 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 242.

G. u. F. in Christo! Sublime, highborn Prince, gracious Lord! Because Albrecht, the letter-writer, is returning to E. F. G., I did not want to let him come without a letter (as he also desires), and hereby humbly command the same Albrecht to E. F. G. that E. F. G. graciously help him with the time).

I am sending a part of the new newspaper, as it is printed here against H. Heinrich of Brunswick, whose unprincely dealings have come to light, and especially the murder of Doctor Embeg or Diligshausen, which is mentioned here.2) It is also true that the Turk has won the castle of Castell novo on the Adriatic Sea and has slain four thousand Hispanics, who were the emperor's best warriors. It is said that it was the strongest castle of the whole Christendom. So the pope and the emperor had an embassy with the Turks, but both peace is cut off, and the Turk is preparing to attack the pope and the emperor by sea. If it goes to him, he shall take Sicily, Neapolis, and Rome for the summer. Still our emperor, king and princes are the longer the more senseless on us, want to attack us with the power in the summer (shall be certain), let them talk that all their misfortune comes from the Turk, that they let us live, and that God has not long since made such sacrifices and services. So France with the emperor looks in evil confidence, England makes its own, takes the pope's name and property, but strengthens his doctrine and abominations; summa, the devil lets himself be seen everywhere in the world.

1) Albrecht Hack was employed as a Latin chancery clerk after his return.

2) The printed newspaper Wider Herzog Heinrich von Braunschweig, which contains the news of the murder of Dr. Embeg, is neither to be found with the letter, nor otherwise in the secret archive (De Wette).

His great majesty, that he is God and Lord of the world. Therefore we may well pray, and E. F. G. let us also pray for ourselves in the churches, that the devil's counsel may be turned back, amen. Otherwise it is truly terrible enough everywhere, except that our Christ lives and reigns forever, although sin and ingratitude, very great and ripe, well deserves everything that is inflicted upon us. These six weeks we have also had such unusual winds and waters in these lands, that many people have been drowned, and many things have suddenly been carried away, that it must be said that it means something, and no doubt not much good. For the word of God is too much despised, and no man heareth. So may a rod be tied over our skin, God grant with grace, amen. E. F. G. forgive me so long a gossip, and be commanded to the dear God, amen. Monday after Dionysius [Oct. 13] 1539.

E. F. G.

willing

Martinus LutheR.

No. 2587.

(Wittenberg.) October 14, 1539.

To Martin Bucer in Strasbourg.

Luther assures Bucern of his friendly attitude despite his silence. He refuses to write a preface to his Latin Postil. On the enemies of the Gospel, the King of England and the Emperor. Of the utter unbelief of the Italians.

The original is at Strasbourg in the archives of the church convent. Printed by Schütze, Vol. III, p. 99 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 210. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1465.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Martin Bucer, Bishop of the Church at Strasbourg, the true servant of the Lord, his exceedingly dear brother in Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I think, my dear Bucer, that you know how it is not necessary to write to you more often. For you have more leisure and fewer years to keep quiet about the affairs and things with which I am overwhelmed at every hour. Therefore suppose that as often as thou writest to me, thou hast been answered at the same time. For I do hope that between us there may be a sincere understanding...

...the true union of hearts. I think the same of all your colleagues, whom I ask to greet you respectfully in my name. But it is very pleasant that you do not leave us in ignorance of what is going on among you, especially in the matter of the cross, that is, the word of the Crucified. The word of St. Peter begins to be fulfilled, which says [2 Pet. 2:1.], "They shall bring upon themselves swift condemnation." "They will be lost." They again spread great threatenings, and (as they boast) effectual ones. Let God bring their plots to nought, as he has done hitherto, though our sins, our ingratitude and contempt, announce to us some great calamity. And with us, mau recognizes it as a terrible punishment that the winds and waters rage in a quite unusual manner, now already into the sixth week, so that our old people do not remember their like.

Our Crato has asked me for a preface to the Postillas. But I am not versed in Latin, and even if I had been versed in it, it cannot be otherwise than that I have become unversed in it, due to the withdrawal from it, and the long habituation to use the German language. 1) I have asked him to ask you for it, and this I still desire. I have asked him that he should ask you for it, and this I still desire.

As to the King of England, I fear your hope is vain. We have heard that the English themselves, while they were here, complained of their king, and admired our liberty. He had in these days an envoy with our prince, but he brought nor reported anything that could have indicated any hope. May the Lord guide his heart and that of all other kings to his glory.

The prophecies about the emperor are certain that after he has united himself with the pope, who hates God, he will lose all happiness and all blessings from God. But all this they lay upon us. Farewell, and greet Mr. Johann Sturm and Johann Calvin respectfully, whose books I have read.

1) Here we have added *et consuetudine.*

with particular pleasure. I would like to wish Sadoletus that he believed that God is the creator of men even outside of Italy; but this conviction does not penetrate the hearts of the Italians, since they alone, out of hope, have completely abandoned the human mind before all other men. Again, bear well. On the day of Calixtus [Oct. 14] 2) Anno 1539.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2588.

(Wittenberg.) October 14, 1539.

To Martin Bucer and the other Strasbourg theologians.

This obscure letter may refer to the English negotiations.

From the Lorenz collection in Strasbourg in Schütze, vol. III, p. 110 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 212.

Grace and peace in Christ! Our prince does not want this project of his to be published under his name by the printers, and I do not consider it expedient that it should come into many hands. So it seems to me advisable that my advice be published without mentioning the Prince's name; do as you please. I would at least like it to be printed by us and the copies to be sent to you. We do not want to provoke those of whom we hope that they can be brought up through prudence, nor is it advisable that those surrender (*tradant*) of whom it is to be hoped that they will be able to advise the peace of the church. Meanwhile the Lord must be prayed to strengthen the minds of those who seek his honor. It is indeed a human fear, but, if my heart does not deceive me, one that fears that the glory of God and the salvation of souls may be lost. I await your answer. You have my opinion; do you conclude from the past what will happen in the future. I would have written to my Gerbel, but, if it can be done through you, I desire that both the letter

2) Here in the original we find the wrong day of the month: "*April 16.* ", which, as De Wette has already remarked, is hardly due to Luther's hand. *Calixtus* is the 14th of October. Therefore we have omitted the wrong date

...and all our purposes made known. For I like to use the advice of old friends. I have no assistants, nor leisure, nor hands, to write again. Give me credit, good men, for my foolishness, and look on my heart, not on my shapeless characters (*typos*). Farewell. On the 14th of October, 1539.

Mart. Luther.

No. 2589.

Wittenberg. 23 October 1539.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Melanchthon, Bugenhagen and Jonas.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 265, no. 1276^.

No. 2590.

(Wittenberg.) 23 October 1539.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 269, no. 1277.

No. 2591.

(Wittenberg.) October 26, 1539.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Thanks for a gift. Warning from the call received to Leipzig. News of the plague in Wittenberg.

From Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 286 with Schütze, vol. III, p. 111 and with De Wette, vol. V, p. 218.

Grace and peace! I have received the candlesticks, my dear Wenceslaus, and give thanks. You have rightly understood my silence; but I would not have kept silent if a messenger had shown himself or demanded letters.

In no way would I want you to exchange your present position with the one in Leipzig, where there is still debate about who or with what one should feed the servants of the Word. Although the common people are very good, the great ones despise Wittenberg out of old hatred. Nor is Duke George dead there yet; indeed, it is uncertain whether he will die, or rather whether he will one day rise again. Indeed, I hate this Sodom, the dung puddle of usury and many evils, except as far as it must serve to tear out the plumb line. The rest

1) Cf. no. 2543.

The cities are well supplied, and have happy beginnings of the gospel. With us a small plague has begun, but not a 3) bad one. The whole city is alive, but one house and a second 4) house are devastated. Now it is in the third house (although there has been no burial within eight days), this is that of Doctor Sebald, 5) whose wife died this night. He himself is in great danger from almost seven ulcers. This plague has been left behind by your murderers 6) against whom they wanted to rage. But there is another, worse plague, namely 7) fear, for they flee so one from the other that 8) neither a phlebotomist nor a guard can be found. "I hold, the devil hath possessed the people with the right pestilence, that they are so shamefully frightened," that one brother leaves another, the son leaves the parents. And this, no doubt, is the reward of despising the gospel, and the raging of covetousness (furor *avaritialis*). I have taken the four children of Sebald to myself. Dear God, how great a cry is raised against me. Pray for us with your Church. Fare well in Christ. October 26, 1539.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2592.

Eisenberg. 31 October 1539.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther and Bernhard von Mila, bailiff of Saxony.

The Elector asks them to give their opinion on whether the university should be moved temporarily because of the plague.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, p. 175. A A A.* Printed by Burkhardt, p. 333. - The answer given to this letter is missing.

2) Instead of *reliquiae civitatis* we have assumed *reliquae civitates.*

3) Here we have inserted *non.*

4) Here we have adopted Schütze's reading: *una domus et altera* instead of: *una domus, si inventa fuerit*.

5) Münsterer, a jurist. Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 685.

6) Namely Johann and Christoph Geuder from Nuremberg, inscribirt 1538. (*Album,* p. 171.) So Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 542, while De Wette offers: "*Creuderis* (?)".

7) Instead of *sive* we have adopted *scil*,.

8) Instead of *et,* we have adopted *ut as* suggested by De Wette.

Our greetings first. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee, councillor and faithful! We graciously inform you that the Rector, Magistri and Doctores of our University in Wittenberg have now come to us with a letter in which they state that, although the deaths there have been at a standstill for several months, for which reason they had partly hoped that it would not have continued this winter, But the other day five of Doctor Sebalden's staff fell ill, and many more who died, so many young students are leaving, with a humble request that we arrange for some doctors and magistrates to go to a certain place with a group of students. And although we hope to God Almighty that there will be no further dangerous upheaval there, we are nevertheless concerned that the university will be dispersed as a result and will not soon be able to be brought together again. But since we know to remember that you, Doctor Martinus, since the university went mad in previous such death runs from Wittenberg, wrote before that such madness is not caused by the dangerousness of dying, but by some special persons, we graciously request that you diligently and actually inquire into the situation of dying, and if you find that it is continuing and dangerous, and if you find that the situation is further and dangerous, that you consider that the university should be moved, that you report it to us without delay, and even though we intend to move the university to Altenburg, where it would also be able to maintain itself, 1) you should also inform us of your concerns as to how, in what form, and where it should be placed most effectively and kept in these runs. Then we will let ourselves be heard and know how to show it. In this you do us a gracious favor, and we would not hold you to this, to whom we are graciously inclined. Date at Eisenberg, Friday after Simonis and Judä [Oct. 31] Anno 1539.

No. 2593.

(Wittenberg.) 4. November 1539.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther asks not to let the Dr. Cruciger, whom they wanted to keep in Leipzig, leave Wittenberg.

Ex Copial. Archiv. Vinar. in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 89, no. 160; in Walch, vol. XXI, 426; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 219 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 249.

1) Added by us.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most noble, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! The Council of Leipzig has written to us and requested that we agree to keep Dr. Caspar Creuzigern with them completely and forever, because he has appealed to our permission, and has also indicated to them that they should seek this from E. C. F. G., in the good hope that E. C. F. G. will let it happen. To which we replied that it was not up to us to either hinder or promote it; for this reason we are also pushing it home to E. C. F. G. to be done. But because Dr. Caspar has no other way of defending himself against the vehement persistence in Leipzig, than to let himself be heard without any trouble, and to groan at our permission; 2) besides, he writes to us that he would much rather be here, and we also know well that he can be much more useful here, since there is a crowd that will not be in Leipzig for a long time yet, and this school is now done by God's grace, and educates people and still educates them in all countries, which Leipzig cannot follow so soon: so we take it for granted that Dr. Caspar could not do so much good in Leipzig as here in Wittenberg, and it would be a pity that he should miss much here and do little there; it may well do in Leipzig a small piece of wood, but such a pole, so that this school is not completely exposed, especially because Dr. Caspar reads in theology. Caspar in theology is a covenant on which I have placed it after my death: so my humble request, because it is only up to E. C. F. G.'s approval, is that E. C. F. G. will not let Dr. Caspar travel from Wittenberg; who knows what God will do in a short time. Such my concern E. C. F. G. graciously wished to hear from me. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befohlen, Amen. Tuesday after All Saints [Nov. 4] 1539. Mart. Luther.

No. 2594.

Wittenberg. 7 November 1539.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Melanchthon.

The Elector has requested a teacher for his princes. The citizens of Meissen have declared that if their schoolmaster is requested for this office, it is to be provided,

2) "to groan" to support oneself.

that the newly established school would fall apart. Therefore, Luther and Melanchthon recommend Wolfgang Schiefer and Nicolaus von Coburg for this position. Melanchthon sends a letter to the council of Leipzig concerning Dr. Cruciger's dismissal and asks him to consider the need of the Wittenberg university, which needs him.

The original, written in someone else's hand, but with Luther's and Melanchthon's own remarks and signatures, is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, fol. 156, Litt. JJJ, No. 18.* printed in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. III, 820 (with the forged date in the heading: *Nov.* 1). The inserted note is also found in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 234.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Mr. Johann Friedrich, Elector, Duke of Saxony 2c.

God's grace through our Lord Jesus Christ beforehand. Most noble, highborn, most gracious Elector and Lord! E. C. F. G. I humbly inform you that the schoolmaster of Meissen recently wrote to you that the citizens of Meissen fear that, if he were to be called away, the newly established school would soon fall and disintegrate. Further I know nothing of him at this time. He has spoken to me here about the free school, and namely 1) asked whether he would be permitted to do so at court, for he would like to become a free schoolmaster, and has also gladly accepted the school in Meissen for this reason.

Where E. C. F. G. wanted to infer another person, I have hereby listed two unmarried journeymen who are very well known here, and although I have not indicated anything of this matter to anyone, I nevertheless believe that each is quite willing to serve E. C. F. G. in servitude. Thus they are both of honest morals, of good sense, God-fearing, well-taught, and of considerable age, so that I have no doubt which of them E. C. F. G. will choose, that he is capable and well to be used. God (may) bestow his grace on this useful and necessary work, and E. C. F. G. at all times. Date Wittenberg, November 7, 1539.

E. C. F. G.

servant Philippus Melanchthon.

E. C. F. G. I also send herewith a letter of a respectable council of Leipzig, concerning Doctor Caspar Cruciger, to whom the university

1) by name, in particular.

I have answered that it is not up to us to make a change with Doctor Caspar, that this school also needs his help, as I truly believe. I have reported this to E. C. F. G., so that they may graciously consider this university's need, if those from Leipzig apply to E. C. F. G. again.

(Inserted note.)

Recently Wolfgang Schiefer arrived again, who studied here for two years 15 years ago, and then became preceptor to Hans Hoffmann's 2) sons, of whom he came to King Ferdinand's young lords and became preceptor to them. 3) He is more personal and more learned than the schoolmaster of Meissen, and is an honest, godly man, who has also been persecuted on account of the Gospel, and has finally come from the court for this reason, and he is to be trusted. 4) So I also heard some days ago that he wanted to be used for such a service, and he is moral and reasonable.

5) He is my boarder, a very fine man, still unproven, as he will perhaps remain. Eighth, he should please E. C. F. G. almost well. M. Luther.

The other is Nicolaus von Coburg, son of the old centgrave, who is quite a person, serious, sedate, and has a good mind, is also well skilled in musica and arithmetica, and, as far as I can tell, has a

2) Baron zum Grunenbuel and Strechau, Privy Councillor of Ferdinand, brother-in-law of Count Christoph zu Gundersdorf and Baron zu Rogendorf. (Seidemann.)

3) more handsome of person. (Bretschneider.)

4) The Elector, as Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth. lib. III, p. 231 b*, reports, in his letter of reply to Melanchthon, Nov. 12. 1539, some suspicion of *apostasy* (*apostasiae*), by which he had come to the court of Ferdinand, but still continues: "Since Doctor Martinus and you consider it that one, Wolfgang Schiefer, should be suitable for a schoolmaster's office for our sons, we also put up with him for this purpose, and graciously request that you inform him and Doctor Martinus of this, and speak to him so that he disposes of himself at our expense here in Weimar, then we will act with him and set up an appointment, and then have him assigned to the schoolmaster's office." " This passage is from the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, fol. 156, Litt. 444, No. 15,* reprinted in *Corp. Ref*, vol. III, 822, note).

5) The following words together with the signature are from Luther's own hand.

especially ingenuity, and is well versed in speech.

I have also thought of others, but they are smaller than these two, but they could be used.

1) This Nicolaus is now at Coburg, where he went before Michaelmas, thinking to come here again soon, but he has not yet come.

No. 2595.

(Wittenberg.) November 10, 1539.

To Spalatin.

Luther reports that Jonas is not in Wittenberg, but in Schweinitz, therefore he does not answer Spalatin's letters. About a marriage deal.

The original is in Dessau. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a, fol. 263*. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 267 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 220. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1298.

To the man highly esteemed in the Lord, Magister Georg Spalatin, Archbishop of Meissen 2c., his lovable superior and brother.

Grace and peace! Your fellow bishop Dr. Jonas is not here, my dear Spalatin. For he has gone away to Schweinitz with his children, as some think, for fear of the plague, others because he wants to take care of his *calculus* [stone]. 2) For I hear that in Schweinitz he is suffering his Turk and Satan, that is, the stone. Therefore he answers nothing to your letters. By the way, with regard to the matter of the virgin Anna and Medler, I have nothing certain as yet; I thought for sure that it had been finished long ago, since the adversary was so quiet. 3) And I had ordered the same to Dr. Caspar Creuziger, that he should bring it to an end with them at Leipzig. I must urge Dell, which I will do shortly. I am very surprised about the letter

1) The following is from Melanchthon's hand.

2) *culculatum* == to calculate. In ancient times, arithmetic was performed with small stones.

3) According to Luther's letter to Nicolaus Medler, pastor in Naumburg, of Dec. 4, 1539, it seems to be a matter of marriage between M. Corbianus and Hanna Moniana.

Medlers, but I hope for a good end. Farewell and pray for me. Monday after Leonhard [10 Nov.] 1539.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2596.

Weimar. 10 November 1539.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector demands an expert opinion as to whether Georg Major should be granted leave of absence for one year to Duke Frederick of Liegnitz to promote the Reformation. - Luther's answer to this has not yet been found, but the content of it can be seen in the letter from the Elector to Luther of November 24.

From *Reg. O, fol. 132, N. 5,* printed in the Weimar Archives by Burkhardt, p. 335.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We graciously inform you that the highborn prince, our friendly dear uncle and brother-in-law, Duke Frederick of Liegnitz, has now arrived, after his love has considered to have the holy divine word preached with the bestowal of the reverend sacrament in conformity with our Confession and Apologia in S. L.'s country and principality. L.'s country and principality, in need of especially learned, experienced, and brave people, that we wanted to have Magister Georg Major of Wittenberg follow us from there as a friendly favor. Although we did not know any other way, because our uncle had it ready in his country and had it held until here according to our confession of religion, but because we note that there should be a lack of people for this, we did not want that such a Christian work should be prevented on our part, and have given an answer to his love, as you will find from the enclosed copy. Thereupon we graciously request that you speak to Dr. Jonah, Pomerano and Creutziger about it. If you then consider that the said Major may be deprived of his office for a year, it is not contrary to us, but let it happen, when the preacher's chair in our castle church at Wittenberg has been ordered to leave, that he go to the Dukes of Liegnitz, and be used for a year for the establishment of Christian doctrine and religion. We did not want to restrain you in your gracious opinion, and we are graciously inclined to you. Date Weimar, on the evening of Martinmas [10 Nov] 1539.

No. 2597.

(Wittenberg.) 10 November 1539.

To Hieronymus Weller.

Of the baptism of children not yet fully born.

Handwritten in Gotha. From *Collect. Loc. Comm. Luth. fol. 43 b,* in *Buddeus*, p. 267; in *Welleri Opp. omnia* at end, p. 206; from an old copy in a *codex Bindseils, Corp. Ref. vol. 24, XXII and XXVI, fol. 334a,* with variations, and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 221. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1299.

Grace and peace through Christ! Concerning the baptism of children in the womb, my dear Jerome, you yourself are right, as you write: they should not be baptized if they have not been born before. Otherwise this inconsistency would follow, that the fruit, which scarcely begins to live and move in the womb, should be baptized by pouring water on the mother's womb, for the same reason, or because of the danger of the sick mother. But yet the women who assist in childbirth may do this: they may kneel in prayer, and by the spirit of their faith, in a godly manner, command the child in danger to God, who is mighty to do more than we ask, without doubt also to give life to the child, upon the prayer of faith. But in regard to others who in the past have baptized infants [not yet fully born], I do not wish questions to be raised and consciences to be troubled. Let them be left as they are, and meanwhile believe that they are baptized, lest we bring up old things again. We may also command the dead [children] to GOtte. 1) What we have not done, God may do hereafter, namely, by the word of faith those who are grown up, believing that they are baptized, endowed with the Spirit, and so baptized in the Spirit, setting aside the negligence of others in time past. But we give counsel for the future, excusing that which is past, and taking care of that which is quite safe for consciences on both sides. Fare well and pray for me. On the day before Martinmas [10 Nov.] 1539.

1) Instead of *commendantes* we have assumed *commendemus with Welleri opp.* and the manuscript.

No. 2598.

(Wittenberg.) November 10, 1539. .

To Eberhard Brisger, pastor in Altenburg, currently in Zeitz.

Luther excuses his silence. He encourages Brisgern to serve the church in Zeitz confidently, since he has received the necessary gifts from God.2)

Handwritten in *Cod. chart. Goth. 402. f.; in Cod. Closs*, and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 282. From the collection of Caspar Sagittarius at Jena in Schütze, vol. III, p. 114 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 222.

I do not believe, my dear Eberhard, that you need letters from me, although you anxiously ask for them, for I know that you are strong enough in body and spirit, by God's grace. Again, you know very well that I am too busy to write idle and only greeting letters to each one and to all friends, since I lack both time and strength for questions as well as for actions in the matters to be settled. Therefore you must interpret my silence kindly, more as a service than as a contempt, namely since you are sure that dll celebrate with us in one soul and in one spirit. I am glad that you have been called out to the administration of the church in Zeitz. Continue and be strong, knowing this: "The power of Christ is made strong in our humiliation." "If we could do it ourselves, we should not need his help. And if he would do it without us, he could not do it with us." But so it is the will of God, about which one must neither dispute nor doubt. In the Lord, be well with all of yours, and let us pray for one another. On Monday after St. Leonard's [Nov. 10] 1539,

your Mart. Luther.

2) Brisger was lent to Zeitz, because, after he had taken up his office there on November 9, 1539, we see in the letter of the Electoral Councils to the Wittenberg theologians of May 21, 1540, and the same answer to it of May 22, that, at that time, the Council of Zeitz asked that Brisger be left there and be ordained and confirmed to them as pastor. On 7 June Brisger was again in Altenburg.

No. 2599.

(Wittenberg.) 10 November 1539.

To Johann Mantel, formerly (weiland) [1]church servant in Wittenberg.

Comfort in the challenge of the fear of death.

This letter is found in German in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 169; in the Jena (1568), vol. VII, p. 371; in the Altenburg, vol. VII, p. 400; in the Leipzig, vol. XII, p. 533; in Walch, vol. X, 2318; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 222 f.; in the Erlanger, vol. 55, p. 250 and in the St. Louiser edition, vol. X, 2006 - Latin in Schütze, vol. III, p. 113 (no source given)and in De Wette, vol. V, p.224.De Wette has supplied both texts, as he was uncertain which was the original. We do not doubt that the Latin text is the original text, well rendered on the whole in the old translation, but with various additions. For this reason, we leave the translation of the Latin to follow here.

To the man to be highly honored in the Lord, Johann Mantel, your servant of Christ and his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace in Christ! You have, my dear John, through your intermediaries, on several occasions requested a letter through which, as you write, you might receive comfort and refreshment. But I have thought that I rather need your letters, which refresh my spirit, since I am already too much tormented with Lot and with you in this satanic and unworthy ingratitude and the frightful contempt of the word of the Saviour, seeing that Satan so powerfully possesses the hearts of those who think that they will be the successors in the kingdom of Christ and God. But also for my own person (privately) I have my troubles with various plagues and troubles. For this reason I have so far abstained from writing, or rather I have been prevented from writing to you. I ask, however, that you continue to write to me.

1) The word weiland (instead of "ehemals") is found in the title of this letter in the Wittenberg and Jena editions. In all editions after the Leipzig edition, it was simply omitted, because it was taken in the here not permissible meaning: "deceased", but the other meaning: "formerly, before, before then" was not known. Duke Georg writes on Dec. 23, 1524, in a letter to Siegmund von Arras (Seidemann, Erläuterungen, p. 98): "Johann Mantel, der sich weiland Prior vffm Kunigstein nennet." According to *Rebenstock, tom. II, fol. 39a*, we shall have to look for Mantel in Mulhouse at that time. In 1542 (in April) Luther asked the Elector that the "weak old man" be left with his fief.

be mindful in your faithful prayers, as we also are mindful of you. For when thou writest of death, thou knowest the creed of the apostles, that the Son of God died, that by his death he might make nothing of the death of all his own. What great thing is it, I pray thee, that we should die? But we are to remember that He dies, and dies for us. This is death alone, which must so fill our hearts, minds, and thoughts, that we think nothing lives, not even the sun, but all things died with the Lord himself, and all things shall rise with him in that day. Therefore we are to be swallowed up in this life and death with our death and life, and then we shall live with Him. He hath from the foundation of the world gone before us with a subtle death, that he might receive us when we pass out of this life, wherein even the wicked abide not. But thou understandest this better and more perfectly than I, who am also overwhelmed with so many other kinds of death (*mortibus*) in these evil and ungodly times. Greet your relatives with unfeigned love, and be strong in the Lord, be confident and undaunted, and wait for the Lord who is near. On the day before St. Martin's Day [Nov. 10] 1539, your Martin Luther.

No. 2600.

Weimar. 13 November 1539.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther and Melanchthon.

The Elector sends a letter from the King of France concerning religion and a copy of some articles that Luther and Melanchthon should have admitted (see St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVII, 262, No. 1275), which should have been sent from France to England and were spread out there. Now the Elector demands an objection to the former, but with respect to the articles, that a rebuttal be issued against it.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, p. 149, Litt. FFF. 6* Printed by Burkhardt, p. 336.

[Our greetings beforehand. Venerable and reverend, dear devotees and faithful! We have now received a copy of a letter that the King of France is supposed to have sent out for the sake of our Christian religion. But because we

not know for certain, after the persecution has stopped here in France for a while, whether this has been ordered to go out by the king, or otherwise practiced by the clergy, to the detriment of the true Christian religion and gospel, and to the disgust of the people, we have nevertheless, in our gracious opinion, not wanted to refrain from informing you of this, so that you may also have knowledge of how it actually is, and whether this has reached you, to let us know. Thus, through our councillors and skilful men, whom we now had in England, several articles have been brought to us, which are also said to have been sent from France to England quite deceitfully and dangerously, 1) of which we are also sending you copies. Since such articles seem to us to be intended to obscure our Christian confession in some articles and to make people's noses wet with them, we graciously request that you, Magister Philip, consider such articles with your Doctor Martin on your own occasion, overlook such articles, and consider how the things meant and sought to be done with them may be countered and averted by a suitable writing in Latin, so that the adversary's list and evil practices for the preservation of divine truth may be prevented with God's grace. We did not want to restrain you in your gracious opinion and are inclined to you with grace. Date Weimar, Thursday after Martinmas [13 Nov] 1539.

No. 2601

(Wittenberg.) November 22, 1539.

To Conrad Cordatus.

Luther comforts him in his tribulations. Of the fear of the people during the alleged plague in Wittenberg.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 285. Printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 115 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 225.

Grace and peace in Christ! The Lord comfort thee, my dear Cordatus, who is the Comforter of all in all tribulation, as it is written [Ps. 34:20], "The righteous suffereth much, but the Lord helpeth him out of all:" and [Ps. 50:15.] "Call upon me in trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me."

1) This passage proves that "the articles" were not sent to the Elector from England, as Seckendorf assumes, but that the envoys had brought them with them, as we have already noted in our edition, Vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 32 d, Note 3.

But our suffering is nothing compared to that of which we daily say, though with little attention, "Suffered under Pontius Pilate, crucified, died, and buried, descended into hell. "2c. Our tribulation, death, hell, is that of men, that is, of sinners; that is that of the Son of God, whose death and suffering, by their greatness (if we believed it), should justly so fill and overwhelm our hearts, ears, eyes, yea, heaven and earth, that we should scarcely feel our death (Word), if there were many thousands of deaths, from afar, or rather we should feel nothing. But the weakness of faith is too great, for what else is it that a man should die who is subject to sin and death, in view of the Son of the living God, the righteous and innocent, who is worthy of eternal life, and worthy alone. Rightly, therefore, does St. Peter [1 Ep. 4:1.] command us to arm ourselves with the same mind in our temptations, that though we have suffered all things, we may know that we have suffered nothing in comparison with that sufferer. But Christ in these things is richer in thee with his Spirit; in Him prosper thee.

The plague has not been here, but a pestilence. Since this is over, everything is safe as long as God wills. Admittedly, there was also a not insignificant lack of mercy on the part of the relatives towards their relatives, so that I was tormented extraordinarily and almost took more than I had to. It is at this time a strange and new pestilence, since Satan, when he wounds a few with the pestilence, casts down all with incredible fear and flight, something quite monstrous and a new kind [of pestilence] under the gospel so mightily shining. But you pray for us also. On Saturday after Elizabeth [22 Nov.] 1539. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2602.

Gotha. 24 November 1539.

The Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Elector agrees that Thesander be sent to the Duke of Liegnitz in Major's place. Cf. No. 2596.

From the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, fol. 132. n. 5*, reprinted in Burkhardt, p. 337.

No. 2603.

(Wittenberg.) 25 November 1539.

To an unnamed person.

(A fake letter.)

From Cod. Palat., No. 689, p. 266, printed by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 226 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 55, p. 252. - This letter is nothing other than a truncated German translation of the next letter.

No. 2604.

(Wittenberg.) November 26, 1539.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

Of the Communion of the Sick.

Handwritten in *Cod. chart. 451, fol. 402. f. Bibl. Goth.* and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 275. printed in de Unuschuldigen Nachrichten 1722, p. 187; in *Strobel- Ranner*, p. 282 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 227. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1193 (as from the year 1529) and again ibid. col. 1300 according to Elias Frick's German translation of Seckendorf's *Hist. Luth.* , p. 1800. In De Wette, vol. V, p. 226 (see no. 2603).

To the highly venerable man, Magister Antonius Lauterbach, your faithful bishop of the church at Pirna, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace! With regard to what you ask, my dear Anton, about the communicating of the sick, I thought you were sufficiently instructed by the custom of our church, in which you have stayed so long. But I think of it and would like to see private communion abolished everywhere, namely, that the people be taught in the sermon that they communicate three or four times a year, and then, fortified by the Word, [confidently] fall asleep, whatever the cause of death may be. For private communion will at last become an intolerable and impossible burden, especially in the time of the plague. And it is not right that the church should be made so serviceable with the sacraments, especially to those who have so long despised them, and afterwards want the church to be ready for them in every case as a handmaid, whom they themselves have never served in anything. But because this is not yet arranged, thou wilt do as thou canst. In the meantime you will communicate the sick alone, if it does not please you to communicate with them, as you have done here.

but protesting that you will do this for a time, but that this will not happen to them forever, because something will be arranged in this matter. 1) "Ketha wants the hewn house door to be as wide as the measure is. The length or height will be determined by the masters themselves. She may have none of the other doors. Order it the best you can. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen." On Wednesday after Catharine [Nov. 26] 1539.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2605.

(Wittenberg.) November 26, 1539.

To Augustin Himmel, pastor in Colditz.

Of an economic matter and a call from heaven to Dresden.

From the Kraft Collection at Husum in Schütze, Vol. III, p. 119 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 228.

To the highly venerable man, Magister August Himmel (*Hymel*), Bishop of Colditz, his brother who is extremely dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I wonder very much, my dear Augustin, what it is that you have not finally squeezed out and sent the income of my Wolfgang 3) or at least indicated what the cause of the delay is. Now, so that we are not compelled to send to Grimma, you may deliver this interest or income to the pastor in Grimma, to whom it has been written that he is spending it on cloth.

By the way, Dr. Jonas informs me that you are required by Mr. Cellarius as a comrade in the work at the church in Dresden; but I, if I knew that you could or wanted to go there, would gladly make an effort to have you dismissed by the Prince, when I would have recognized that it was your advantage. I think indeed that your housekeeping is burdensome, perhaps because of your farming; but since you write nothing, I am uncertain of your origin.

1) The following (in the text in German) is missing in all German translations.
2) In the text: "Thür" and "Wollens".
3) Compare No. 2124.

zen's opinion. Therefore, notify me as soon as possible and I will immediately write to the prince. Farewell and pray for me. Wednesday after Catharine [26 Nov] 1539. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2606.

(Wittenberg.) November 26, 1539.

To Johann Cellarius, pastor in Dresden.

About the visitation in Meissen.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 280, printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 118 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 229.

Grace and peace in Christ! With regard to your visitation, my dear Cellarius, you should behave in this way: If your prince should desire you to take this burden upon yourself, you may say: if they wished to make a wholesome and constant visitation, that they would by all means (as people inexperienced in these matters) have someone of ours attached to you, who knows the way and the form. Secondly, they will make a mockery of themselves with such a cold visitation, and you may say that ours would suffer it very gladly if they were not compelled to such a burden; so much is lacking in it that they should seek it. For all that they will do of this kind, they will do only in the endeavor to help the church and to save souls; much rather would they be subjected to these exceedingly great burdens. If now your courtiers, killed by avarice, should at all fear the expense, you can say that even ours cannot serve the avarice of yours at their own expense, because they spend enough, since in the meantime they neglect theirs and ours here. I have always supposed that the Gospel would have a very difficult entrance in this region, since it is entirely idolatry, that is, avarice, because Christ says that one cannot serve God and mammon at the same time. For mammon has wholly taken possession of Meissen and holds it, therefore it is impossible that it will be patient against the gospel. But if thou obtainest nothing, yea, if ye must visit without us, thou mayest visit.
in the name of the Lord, so that you may at least make a cold visitation and, as much as you can, counsel the souls, at least push out the poisonous papists. Fare well in the Lord. Wednesday after Catharine [Nov. 26] 1539. Yours Mart. Luther.

No. 2607.

(Wittenberg.) November 30, 1539.

To Johann Spangenberg, preacher in Nordhausen.

Luther recommends to him an official sent there.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 281. Printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. I20and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 230.

To Johann Spangenberg, the servant of Christ in Nordhausen.

Grace and peace in Christ! Dr. Jonas sends this M. Nicolaus in place of Doctor Oethen 1) as a servant of the church, my dear Spangenberg, and this same Dr. Jonas has asked me that I might also recommend him to you by my testimony. Since I believed that this would not be necessary, I will do it very briefly, since I am certain that you will do more than we desire, according to your own favor, which you cherish toward the least members of Christ, in accordance with Christian brotherly love. Only may you cause your northern houses (*Aquilonensibus* == living in the north) to hold, as St. Paul teaches, their teachers, who preside over the word, to be worth twofold honor, otherwise it will happen in a short time that they will have no people whom they could hold to be worth half honor, if they then wanted to hold them to be worth threefold or even tenfold honor, for there is a shortage of laborers in the harvest of the Lord. Therefore, let those who have hold on to this, so that they may not afterwards have what they would hold on to, for this M. Nicolaus is sent against my will, since I wanted to use his work elsewhere; he is a very good man and at the same time learned. The Lord be with you, and pray for me. Sunday after Catharine [Nov. 30] 1539. Yours, Martin Luther.

1) Dr. Jakob Otto.

No. 2608.

Eisleben. 2. December 1539.

To his sister Dorothea.

(A fake letter.)

Luther promises that he wants to hold the first evangelical sermon in Roßla and Ober-Roßla at Christmas, because they long for evangelical sermons.

This letter, according to a copy which the editor received from the pastor Gupner in Nieder-Roßla, is printed in the Altenburger Ausg., Vol. VIII, p. 994; in the Leipziger, Vol. XXII, p.568; in Walch, Vol. XXI, 428; in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 231 and in the Erlanger, Vol. 55, Since the Sacrament was already administered in 1526 in Ober-Roßla in both forms, De Wette I. o. places this letter in this year; but it would be strange if the Sacrament were administered properly and yet preceded by a Protestant sermon. Hence Seidemann, in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 544, note 5, places the letter in the year 1529; but in the "Luther Letters," p. 11 and p. 44, published soon after, he declares it most definitely spurious. Dorothea Luther was married to Paul Mackenrodt in Nieder-Rossla; his name was not Balthasar, as the inscription of this letter calls him. See No. 2073. - We leave out the letter.

No. 2608 a

(Wittenberg.) 4 December 1539.

To Nicolaus Medler, pastor in Naumburg.

About a marriage deal.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 265, printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 121 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 232.

Grace and peace! I have neither leisure nor time to write much and to many, my dear Lord Nicolaus. Therefore, because you desire this, to bring this matter between M. Corbianus and Hanna Moniana, I set you the Wednesday after Luciae [Dec. 17] as a date; the same I write to the other party. If this day is very inconvenient, then agree with each other and tell me the day, but after the Leipzig fair. And it is not necessary for M. Corbianus to incur expenses, since he is also excused in all matters with the Virgin; only Bachofen and you can lose this time and expense. Farewell and pray for me. On Thursday after Andrea [4 Dec.] 1539. Yours M. Luther.

No. 2609.

(Wittenberg.) 4. December 1539.

To the Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1022.

No. 2609a.

(Wittenberg.) 4. December 1539.

To Georg Buchholzer, provost of Berlin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1026.

No. 2610.

(Wittenberg.) December 10, 1539.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, jointly with Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 748. - In addition to those signed there, the following signed [later]: Anton Corvinus, Adam Fulda, Johannes Lening, Justus Winther, Dionhsius Melander and Balthasar Raid. (*Corp. Ref., Vol. III, 863*.) Bucer also added his name only later.

No. 2611.

Weimar. 29 December 1539.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther, Jonas, [1]Bugenhagen, Cruciger and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

The Elector reports that the ratification of the Frankfurt Peace Treaty, according to the Archbishop of Lunden's report, is still dependent on the Emperor, therefore it is necessary to make preparations for the theological defense of the Augsburg Confession, and for the end to assign theologians to the Schmalkalden Day (March 1, 1540), who are to work out a well-considered counsel for the settlement. He sends Bucer's and Wicel's act to Leipzig, so that they can take a look at it. The most distinguished theologians are to be written to, as Link, Osiander, Dietrich, Brenz, Rhegius, Probst, Aepinus, Amsdorf, Bucer and comrades, Schnepf and the most distinguished theologians of the Landgrave, in order to hear their concerns about the council proposal; if possible, a meeting with them is also to be arranged. During the negotiations in Schmalkalden, Luther is to stay in Eisenach.

Ans den Acten des Weimarschen Archivs, *Reg. II, fol. 295, No. 121,* printed in *Corp. Ref., vol. III, 868 f.* A regest in Burkhardt, p. 338.

1) "Jonas" is omitted from Burkhardt.

No. 2612.

(Wittenberg.) No date 1539.

To the mayor of Wittenberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 790.

No. 2613.

(Wittenberg.) No date 1539.

To Justus Jonas.

About a letter of recommendation.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 276. Printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 123 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 252.

To Justus Jonas, Doctor and Visitator in

Saxony.

Heil. I have written coldly, my dear Jonas, for Mulmann, because I have heard today from Michael Stiefel (of whom you know how credible the man is) and M. Lucas, 1) your teacher of the prince, shameful and unseemly things about this man. Therefore thou readest [the letter], and set thy seal upon it, and send it back. I have pressed my seal lightly upon it, that thou mayest open it, and press thy seal the more strongly upon it, lest it should be sent back. I would not that we should be heard, so much do I believe our boot (*ocreae*) that knows his manners by experience. Farewell. Sign your name. 4539. Your Martin Luther.

No. 2614.

Without date 1539.

Written in someone's memory.

From the J. Gottfr. Olearius *Scrinium autiquarium etc.* reprinted in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 244 f.

Ps. 27, 14. (Ds. 26.)

"Harvest thou the LORD, be thou confident and undaunted, and wait for the LORD."

A wonderful saying. It is commanded that one should wait for God, who is everywhere the most present, as if He were absolutely nowhere present (*nusquamtissimus*); but this is how a godly heart feels in

1) Edenberger.

of temptation, while the wicked imagine that he is very near to them, in the greatest assurance and presumption, as Jeremiah says, Thou art far from their hearts.

The opposite for the wicked: Fear the Lord, be dismayed, and let your hearts tremble; fear the Lord. But this the wicked believe not, even as the godly hope not the contrary, as it ought to be. And yet it is true that the Lord is near to those who fear him, and knows what is hidden from afar. Thus it comes about that neither the godly wait for the gracious God, nor the godless fear the threatening one. In both this happens only in part and to a very small degree.

Mart. Luther.
1539.

No. 2615.

(Wittenberg.) 2. January 1540.

To Chancellor Brück.

Luther asks him to persuade the Elector to prevent the noblemen from riding in.

The original is in the *Autogr. Vol. XXV, fol. 44*, of the Basel Library. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 89, no. 161; in Walch, vol. XXI, 428; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 253, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 269. - The Erlangen edition has reprinted from De Wette not only the incorrect determination of the time: "January 3," but also the incorrect proof: "Walch XXI, 425."

Clarissimo Viro, Domino Gregorio Hein [2]*de Bruck, jurium Doctori, Saxoniae Cancellario et Consuli, suo in Domino Majori et confratri charissimo*.

G. and F. I had hoped, my dear lord and godfather, that you would have been with us for the feast; now that you have not, I must nevertheless ascribe a memorial to you; [it] is that you wanted to urge M. G. Lord that S. C. F. G. wants to prohibit the riding in of noblemen in S. C. F. G. lands. What is the point of such disgraceful slaughter, robbery and slavery in public inns, and in the peace of the land?

2) "Brück" (*Pontanus*) was actually called "Henisch", "Heinse" and was a native of Bruck. In the *Album, p. 5*, he is entered, "*Georgius henisch de bruck. 1502*."

3) About the intervention of the guarantors, who in case of non-payment of the debtor had to go into custody at his expense in an inn, so to speak, until the creditor was satisfied, see Hönn, Coburg Hist. (Burkhardt.)

under princely protection, since the nobility corrupts, eats and devours each other so unkindly? Four noblemen have now squandered three hundred florins on Martin List for 20 florins, as one complains, by riding in the inn: how much better it would have been if each had paid 5 florins and redeemed poor List! This also happens elsewhere. What devil has given the nobility such power to trick, see, and plunder one another without the knowledge and will of the overlords? If Kolhase did it, as a murderer, it were small... That's what one nobleman does to another under the sovereign guard and protection. If the princes punish not here, God will punish them all with us. And who knows why our affairs go so crooked, perhaps our offices also go crooked before God (yes, not perhaps), and one irritates the other against each other. Forsooth, the princes are bound to prevent such things, and you are bound to counsel and do such things, or else you will be guilty of such harm and wantonness. I intend to do a public writing to the princes for the sake of these things. But my letter is nothing, and will soon be thrown into a corner, where you do not fight down with a living hand, as your office and command demands. How many ways can the devil wreak havoc! If the Turk will not devour us, if the pestilence will not clear up, if the emperor will not curb us, we must devour ourselves, wear ourselves out, corrupt ourselves through avarice and usury. God have mercy, or if that does not help, then let the last day strike, amen. God be praised, amen. *Feria 6. post Circumcisionis* [2. Jan.] 1540. Martinus Luther.

No. 2616.

(Wittenberg.) January 7, 1540.

To the Elector Joachim II. of Brandenburg, together with the others Theologians.

Request to allow export of purchased grain.

The original, written by a scribe of the time and signed by the theologians, is found in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 90, no. 162; in Walch, vol. XXI, 430; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 254; in the Erlanger Ausg., vol. 55, p. 271, and in the *Corp. Ref., vol. III, 918.*

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord Joachim, Elector, Margrave of Brandenburg, of Stettin, Pomerania 2c. and in Silesia, of Crossa, Dukes, Burgraves of Nuremberg 2c., our most gracious Lord.

God's grace through our Lord Jesus Christ beforehand. Most Sublime, Highborn, Most Gracious Prince and Lord! E. C. F. G. we humbly add that the church here has been very diligent to buy grain for the needs of its poor, and the people who have been appointed to do so have been in many places for this purpose. But when finally the honourable and strict Dieterich full Rochau asked for grain to sell, he kindly let himself be heard to leave 21 wispel 1) to our church and the poor, so that E. C. F. G. graciously agreed to carry them out of E. C. F. G. principality. Although we now know that E. C. F. G. made this prohibition for their country's necessity, we humbly request that E. C. F. G. graciously consider that such statues against the nearest neighbor, especially in such necessity and for the poor, may sometimes be alleviated and dispensed with; just as Joseph, in the great land riot in the Orient, not only helped the Egyptians, but also other countries and people. Thus says the Prophet: *Frange esurienti panem tuum etc.*; and Solomon says: "He who hides the grain will be cursed, but he who sells it will be blessed"; which sayings should rightly remind everyone to exercise faith, and with this hope to communicate to others that God will again bless us, give us a gracious year, and feed his poor, as the Prophet tells us of the young ravens: *Qui dat escam pullis corvorum*. For it is said that they are forsaken by their elders; therefore worms grow in the nest, that in the mean time the young may be fed. Therefore we also pray with diligence that God will have mercy on the poor, and for their sake give gracious increase. Therefore, let E. C. F. G. graciously show Himself to the poor here, for nothing is sought there but for great need, and let Him graciously grant a reported number of grains,

1) 1 medlar == *approx.* 4 bushels.

bought from Dietrich von Rochau. God will undoubtedly reward this, as He has promised. So we want to ask God with diligence to give E. C. F. G. his blessing and welfare. Date Wednesday after Epiphany [7 Jan] of the 1540th year.

E. C. F. G.

subservient willing Martinus Luther, Dr. Justus Jonas, Dr. Joh. Bugenhagen Pomer, Dr. Philippus Melanthon.

No. 2617.

Wittenberg. January 7, 1540.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with the other theologians.

The theologians promised to draw up an objection for the day at Schmalkalden and the settlement negotiations to be held there with the Popes. This was done (see St. Louis edition, Vol. XVII, 319, No. 1295), and Luther sent it on January 18, together with his letter to the Elector. This letter is the answer to No. 2611.

From *Cod. Palat. 689, p. 84*, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 256; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 272, and (comparing a copy in *Cod. Galli,* I, p. 50) in *Corp. Ref.* vol. III, 920.

God's grace and peace through our Lord Jesus Christ beforehand. Most Serene, Highborn, Most Gracious Prince and Lord! E. C. F. G. Writings, concerning the discussion, what in the case, if one might come to a settlement, to leave out of external and middle things or ceremonies, we have received in submission together with the Carlowitz Reformation. And although such patchwork is very perilous and painstaking, we nevertheless want to bring together our humble concern, and E. C. F. G. We also do not consider it necessary to require the other preachers this time, but want to write to them and inform them in writing what we are based on. And there will be little disparity among them. For as far as we understand, the question is not what is to be done about doctrine and necessary things, but only about outward and middle things. For we hope that in this part princes and estates will finally be mindful not to make a mishap in doctrine and necessary things.

to permit or consent to any work, gloss, alteration or sophistry.

And although some wanted to be moved to such a devil's specter, as the Italians and French will no doubt bring such pebbles - as we know that they are now discussing such pebbles in Rome and Paris - we, by the grace of God, do not want to have anything to do with sophistry, and would much rather put our miserable skin on it. Nor do we desire that anyone should take care of us who has no desire to do so. What destruction the Concordirn in the Synod of Sirmio has wrought in the trade of the Son of God! So now the devil is also trying sophistry.

By the grace of God, the doctrine in our part is so light and bright, and written with such diligence, that it needs no glosses, and that all God-fearers in all countries must confess that it is the right, pure, Christian doctrine. The same is true of necessary and external things, such as the abstention from all private masses, all invocation of the saints, monasticism, marital status, and the use of the sacrament. Since, then, of these two matters, namely, doctrine and necessary external things, no further discourse is necessary, we hope that the third matter of means will not be much disputed. So one can also speak little of it, before one hears whether the bishops want to renounce the persecution, accept the Christian doctrine and necessary things. Then one may seek comparison, or mend in means. For how would it make sense if they were the enemy of doctrine, as they are in principle, and yet should have authority, ordination, and jurisdiction? But of this we will further indicate our opinion in our objections. We also want to bring together our answer and confutation of the bells in necessary parts. For without a doubt, these bells will be the most important action. We cannot see how it is possible for the bishops to abandon their idolatry without the pope's permission, unless it were to happen, as it was done in Cyro. For when Cyrus undertook the war with Croesus, and sought grace and good from the Jonians, that they would not help Croesus, he would let them remain in the old liberty, and let them be such.

they came to Cyro, when the game was turned, and Croesus was a prisoner, and said, Cyrus would leave them at liberty. Then Cyrus gave them this answer. At one time there was a fisherman, and he whistled a dance to the fish with a little pipe, that they should leap out; but they would not. So he had to take pains to see them with a yarn. And when he had brought them to the shore in the yarn, they began to leap, as is their manner. Then said the fisherman, "Nay, we have been too long. When I whistled to you, you would not dance; now you will, if it be not easy for me. So when this part suggested ways and means of settlement, they would not: now they will not come to it. But, most gracious lord, we will, according to E. C. F. G.'s most gracious command, prepare ourselves for the written record, and E. C. F. G.'s order. C. F. G. the same and in a conducive manner. We also want to show ourselves to be respectful of the fact that we will come to Eisenach at a certain time by further gracious order of E. C. F. G.. And Doctor Martinus will, on his own behalf, ascribe his humble answer to E. C. F. G.. For we are always willing and ready to render submissive and obedient service to E. C. F. G.. Date Wittenberg, January 7, 1540.

E. C. F. G.

subservient willing servants Martinus Luther Dr. own handwriting. Justus Jonas Dr. own manuscript.
Johannes Bugenhagius Pommer Dr. own manuscript.
Philippus Melanchthon's own handwriting.

No. 2618.

Plötzka and Pretzin. 10 January 1540.

The parishes of Plötzka and Pretzin to Luther.

The congregations complain that Captain Sigismund Pflug has changed the income and housing prescribed for the pastor by the visitators to his detriment in such a way that it is to be feared that he will "run out of length" and no one will be able to bring him back. They themselves are not in a position to help their preacher, because the captain is also dealing with them in such a way that they "must perish with wife and children. Therefore they ask for Luther's intercession to the Elector. Luther did this with his colleagues on January 16.

The original is in the archives at Weimar, *Reg. H, fol. 449*. Reprinted by Burkhardt, p. 339, who notes: "The acts in *Reg. Kk, 196, N. XIX, 1*. provide information about the number of complaints. Nothing is known about the course of the matter other than that in 1541 in June the monastery lacked any pastoral care, as the Domina of the monastery, Magdalena von Hackeborn, complained that 'for almost a year she had neither a pastor nor a preacher here'. The last pastor to be dismissed was Andreas Ebelius."

Venerable, most reverend Doctor and Father in Christ! With the rendering of our willing and guilty services, we poor people may not salvage E. A. W. although the almighty, merciful God has given us poor sinners his holy gospel again abundantly out of grace, for which we always acknowledge that we are grateful to him, and we have received a pious Christian and respected pastor by electoral appointment, it is nevertheless the case that we are now so burdened and afflicted with a captain, Sigismund Pflug, that we fear that we poor people will be deprived of preachers and everything. For although some years ago the electoral visitators provided for our preacher in such a way that he, together with his wife and children, was to have a decent home, salary and food in the monastery courtyard, But this year the captain (because he had a regiment) changed this completely, tore it apart and despised it, and drove the pious man from his home in the monastery courtyard and expelled him, and now he has to live in a loose hut in the village, where a shepherd barely lived; therein the good man hath neither cellar nor chamber. We poor people would gladly change this, if it were within our means, for the captain in question deals with us in such a way that we poor people must perish with our wives and children. We must serve daily in the court, when before we served no more than seven days in a whole year; and in addition we are stung, and martyred, and made to suffer, without other great curses and blasphemies against God, such as we have never heard greater, so that we are cursed and maligned daily, that it grieves us to come before his eyes. 1) In such a regime with the Lord, the preacher, and with us, we can wait for no improvement. Therefore, venerable Doctor and Father in Christ, E. A. W., we poor people ask for God's sake that you would favorably prescribe us to our most gracious Elector, Duke John Frederick of Saxony, so that 2) H. C. G. may graciously-

1) In Burkhardt: "dass uns grewet vor sein augen zukomen".
2) Burkhardt: "hirmite".

We would like to see that we may continue to keep our dear Lord and faithful servant in the word according to the will of God, and that the captain be turned away from such devilish rage, for to worry about where this pious, patient preacher will have to run the length, we will be deprived of the word along with our food, and no one will be persuaded or brought back to it. To prevent this and to ward off the devil, E. A. W. wanted to impart your help and comfort to us poor people for the sake of God, so that we may enjoy this in time, which without a doubt the Almighty God will reward you abundantly through our dear Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. We, however, as poor people, recognize that we are always guilty of deserving such great kindness in addition to all other fatherly kindnesses shown, and we ask E. A. W. for a favorable answer. [Given this Saturday after *Trium Regnum* [10 Jan.] Anno 1540.

E.A.W.

willing and poor parishioners and community of Plötzka and Pretzin.

No. 2619.

(Wittenberg.) January 15, 1540.

To the court marshal Asmus Spiegel at Gruna.

Exhortation to fair proceedings in the dispute with the pastor at Gruna near Eilenburg.

In "Brem- und Verdische Bibliothek" 2c. Zweiter Band, Hamburg, 1736, 8. p. 205 from the original, which was pasted in the front of a part of Luther's works belonging to the church at St. Katharinen in Hamburg, and in Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 56.

To the strict and firm Asmus Spigel, Court Marshal at Grunau, my favourable Junker and dear Gevatter.

G. u. F. Gestrenger, Fester, dear Gevatter! I ask you very kindly to let your priest come from you with kindness, so that his complaint does not disparage you. For in this way you will make nobles (which has already happened to many) that no priests can be sent to you. So then you will have to bear on your consciences the missed souls and all the spiritual damage to the churches, which you will not be able to answer for at death and the last judgment, which would be terrible, and I would be very sorry to hear or hear of you. So know ye good

To the extent that the parish estates are not the property of the parish lords, which is why they are also exempt from secular authority, as no person can value them for his own, but all are vain guests, that is, free persons, inside, as long as they live or can live. Make you, dear father, no further bad name, for without that very many take the good name from the praiseworthy nobility, which brings nothing good in the end. Which I write, as he who wishes you and yours every good. Hereby commanded by God, and greet your dear vine together with the grapes kindly. And thanks also for the gift of the venison. Thursday after *Octa. Epiphaniae* [15 Jan] 1540.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2620.

Wittenberg. 16 January 1540.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Jonas and Bugenhagen.

Intercession for the parishes of Plötzka and Pretzin and their pastors.

The original is in the archives at Weimar, Reg. D, fol. 449, without signatures, but with Luther's, Bugenhagen's and Jonas' seals. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 341.

Most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord! E. ch. G. our submissive, obedient and obliging services are always ready with diligence beforehand. Most gracious lord! Because the community of Plotzk and Pretzin complains to me, Martin Luther, and us other appointed visitators about Sigmunden Pflug, their magistrate, due to several noticeable complaints, E. ch. G. will graciously hear from the enclosed document. We have entirely provided for the decree concerning the preaching office, which is to be held at certain hours according to the opportunity of the people, likewise concerning the residence and maintenance of the preacher, as then all this by virtue and by virtue of E. ch. G.'s gracious command, is given to us, should be ordered, should remain unchanged and in strength, but that, as E. ch. G. from the poor people's complaint, has been torn and changed to the noticeable detriment of the preacher, who is a learned and pious man. And it is to be feared, where it is so

that he, the preacher, will not be preserved, because he already has a vocation to Sponda, which he will however (if a reasonable appointment is made, so that he will be provided with a poor dwelling, which corresponds to his status, and also the preaching ministry will be held at a convenient hour) postpone, and gladly remain with the poor people. Have therefore E. ch. G. Landvogt, Ern Bernhardten von Myla, knight, and asked to have the appointment that the order of our, the visitators, may remain in strength and unbroken, considering that because of the preaching at inopportune time and hour, as mentioned above, great harm and neglect must happen with the poor people; but the same he Landvogt, to do such at this time, had a reservation. But we are in no doubt where E. ch. G. would give him a gracious order (who has always been very diligent in matters of visitation), he would know how to keep all obedience. We therefore ask in all humility and submission that E. ch. G. will have a gracious understanding, and provide that the ordinance with preaching, as it was not made to us without forethought, may remain in force and unaltered, so that the poor people will not be neglected, and thus [neither] E. ch. G. nor we may be weighed down in our consciences before God because of such neglect. For we do not want E. ch. G.'s humble opinion, where the present preacher of the place would turn away, that we would not easily get his like there again, for there is a lack of all pious, learned and faithful preachers. Your ch. Your Grace, therefore, will graciously show yourselves in this, so that the preacher may remain in his prescribed dwelling and maintenance, and may hold his office, as imposed on him by us, unwaveringly at the appropriate hour, and be assured of the reward of God Almighty. So we want it for E. ch. G. blessed regiment and welfare, also to earn ill subservience. Date Wittenberg, on Friday Marcelli [16 Jan] Anno 1540.

E. churf. G. submissive, obedient, decreed Visitatores in Saxony, now at Wittenberg.

No. 2621.

(Wittenberg.) January 18, 1540.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 335, no. 1296.

No. 2622.

(Wittenberg.) January 18, 1540.

Concerns of Luther and the other theologians for the day at Schmalkalden.

See St. Louis edition, Vol. XVII, 319, No. 1295. - This concern was sent with the "preceding" letter to the Elector. It was sent to the Nuremberg clergy on February 17, and signed by the theologians at the Convention at Schmalkalden, March 1. Hence it is marked with this date in the editions. In *Corp. Ref.* vol. III, 926, it is dated "January 18."

No. 2622a.

Wittenberg. 22 January 1540.

D . Caspar Cruciger to Caspar Börner, Rector of the University of Leipzig.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 317, No. 1294. -- To the sites may be added: *Corp. Ref.* vol. III, 947.

No. 2623.

23 January 1540.

Prince John Frederick to Luther and the other theologians.

(Regest.)

Request, in view of the doubtful attitude of the Nurembergers, to address a letter to the prebendaries there and to indicate to them how they intend to behave towards the prospective imperial settlement proposals, and to express the hope that they would persevere in the Protestant confession.

Printed by Bindseil, p. 136, the above regest by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 346.

No. 2624.

Weimar. 25 January 1540.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

Answer to No. 2621. The Elector was pleased to hear that Luther was willing to go to Eisenach during the Schmalkaldic Convention, because although it was

may be a vain endeavor for the adversaries, it would nevertheless be useful and good for the sake of the Confession's allies.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, fol. 295, 121,* printed in Burkhardt, p. 342.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! Your letter, given on the Sunday after Antony [Jan. 18], we received on the Saturday after [Jan. 24.We truly fear that little, and nothing at all fruitful, will be accomplished with the papist mob, as unrepentant against the conscious truth, and that you are willing to go with us to Eisenach under the Schmalkaldic Day, we gladly hear, For although it may be a futile expense and effort on the part of the opposing party, it will nevertheless be of use and good to us, our relatives of the Christian denomination, so that they and their preachers, because it is written to them to bring some of them with them, may be all the more confirmed and preserved to remain in the right 1) course with us and you. For you see that Doctor Butzer together with the Hessian Chancellor, with the articles which we sent you next, 2) went quite far in Leipzig last year, and now fear that some of the Estates, together with their prelates, would want to fall on such a course and opinion, and especially out of fear of Imperial Majesty, 3) if they should not be countered by well-founded objections and counter-reports. For this reason, we graciously request once again that you not complain about such journeys (raißen), in honor of God and His Word, and for the preservation of righteous Christian unity among ourselves, insofar as you would be able to do so without detriment to your health for the appointed time. For if you should set out on your journey at once, and you should feel that wandering and traveling away would not agree with you, you shall not be suspected by us whether you return home again. But that nevertheless the others go away and travel with us. We have not wanted to save you from this in our gracious opinion and are inclined to you with grace and good. Date Weimar, Sunday Conversionis Pauli [25 January] 1540.

1) "rechten" put by us instead of "rethe" [== Räthe]l in Burkhardt.

2) Cf. no. 2611.

3) In Burkhardt with punctuation that disturbs the meaning: "und sonderlich aus forcht, kay. mah. mochten fallen wollen," 2c,

No. 2625.

(Wittenberg.) January 29, 1540.

To Duchess Elisabeth of Brunswick.

Luther recommends M. Justus Waldhausen, who was appointed Syndicus in Hameln.

The original is in the Münden City Hall Archives. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 91, No. 164; in Walch, vol. XXI, 432; in the "theol. Nachrichten," October 1814, p. 378; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 259 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 276.

To the most illustrious, highborn Princess and Lady, Lady Elisabeth, née Margravine of Brandenburg, and Duchess of Brunswick and Lüneburg, my gracious wives.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn princess, gracious lady! This Magister Justus Waldhausen, a citizen's child in Hamelin, has been appointed Syndicus there; he has therefore asked me to write to Your Worshipfulness, because he has now lived in our Gospel for 12 years, but is perhaps not yet in the habit in Hamelin. Ew. F. G. want to be his gracious princess and protect him as much as possible, and also urge Ew. F. G.'s husband 4) that he would value such people with His Grace. For as Your Worshipfulness will see and experience, he is a finely learned, skilful, pious person, the like of whom is not to be found much. Your Worshipfulness wants to graciously prove himself against him, also for the benefit of the people and the country, since he can and will serve well. In this, Your Worshipfulness does God vain special service. Hereby commanded to the same dear God, Amen. Thursday after St. Paul's Conversion [29 Jan.] 1540.

Ew. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther.

No. 2625a.

February 6, 1540.

To Georg Scarab in Hanover.

(Regest.)

Luther urges him to take refuge in prayer and to avoid loneliness.

Printed by M. Thiel, "Luthers Leben", Riga 1830, with the addition of a facsimile, and by C. Krafft in the "Theol. Arbeiten" 2c., II, 103. The above regest by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 347.

4) Elisabeth's husband is Erich the Elder. (De Wette.)

No. 2626.

Belgern. 10 February 1540.

The council of Belgern to Luther.

Request to the sovereigns for support for the income of the preachers and school teachers there.

Printed by Burkhardt, p. 343, who, however, has not given his source, which most probably is to be sought in the Weimar archives.

Venerable, Respectable, Most Honourable, Favourable Sir and Dear Father! Our very willing and diligent services are always before Your Eminence. We consider it unnecessary to inform Your Eminence how and in what form the monks, in the beginning of the evangelical doctrine, subjected themselves to resist the same holy divine word, and still do.

Since Ew. E. has undoubtedly had sufficient experience of such evil practices, and we and our entire parish are now and daily being informed, not without harm, how the rulers of the parish and monastery court with us, namely the monks, at the time of the next visitation, concealed the best income of the parish, also the perpetual endowments of the altars in our two churches, of which we had little knowledge due to the deceitfulness of monastic cunning, were concealed, and the lowest, most laborious income was declared to the lords of the visitation at that time (only divine word intended for reduction), because of which now and then the respectable and worthy gentlemen, our pastor and deacon, as well as other servants of the little youth, have to suffer great lack and loss for their faithful, laboriously diligent service of their income, and, since now (praise God) the harvest is great, but the laborer (inherited) little, to go to other places for richer pay, with demolition and damage to our poor churches and their stupid consciences, are urged and caused, and although the durchl., highborn, gn. Lord, the Elector, at our humble request, graciously improved the salary of our church servants with 20 Fl., it is not enough, because the first salary was so small, to provide a considerable amount of income. For E. E. from inserted note 1) well to judge whether

1) (The inserted note income of the common box 44 fl. *inclusis* 34 fl. Approximately the [brewing] pans, of which usually 4 are led, carry of each brew 2 gr. Item 4-1/2 bushels of grain, 4-1/2 bushels of barley. The brick barn bears so much profit with sorrow that it may be kept in length, for the wood is noticeably expensive, and what [one] bought before for 10 fl., one must pay for 30 fl. now; to this one must leave half the earth here, and may hardly have sufficient earth this year; that is once true. Now one must pay from such income to the schoolmaster.

they may receive from 2) decreed incomes with wife, child, and servants, before in such dear swift runs of the yearly time.

Now, God knows, we would like to help and be helpful with the income of the common treasury; Thus the rulers of the same have had to build a hospital, which never existed before, item the schoolmaster, item the deacon, new houses from the ground up, quite and probably with great expense, moreover, to the old rectory and other buildings, which all drew the false monks to themselves, so much improved that therefore there is very little supply, without which one must recover the daily penny from the income of several brewing pots and the brick barn, which all bear much construction and expense. And does the necessity ever demand that we should keep with us the faithful workers of the word, for praise and glory to Almighty God and the betterment of our poor parish, for the consolation of the sinful souls, and yet due to inability, as reported, we cannot do so even without the contribution of our poor citizens. Therefore we are compelled to complain about all this, our need and concern, to no one but God the Almighty and the most illustrious, high-born sovereigns and sovereign princes, our gracious and most gracious lords, and also to E. E., our favorable dear Lord and Father, with comforting confidence. 3)

and coadjuvants about 20 fl. per annum; how do you maintain the buildings of the church? Diacon's income is 25 fl., 1-1/2 times grain, Beiger measure; schoolmaster's income is 23 fl., 1-1/2 times grain, which grain the schoolmaster must bring in with toil and expense at half and whole measures with the performance of many useless words. The priest's income is assessed at 70 fl., including 13-1/2 fl. 3-1/2 gr. money interest, the other is grain, barley, oats and decem (tetzen) on some fields on the Elbe, and the priest has to collect all this with much expense in the villages at individual mills and bushels, and hear many useless words from the coarse farmers (paurn). If it is the case that the Elbe flows out, as often happens, then the Decem is lost, and must borrow the grain until the next year, and in sum, it is a laborious reward for faithful work to collect. In addition, he has several firths of hay and wood. The coadjutor's 20 fl. item 2 fl. find-wages (vynt lon) and some bread; not much over 60 fl., belonging to the parish in the villages. The hospital has not a penny of income; moreover, our most gracious lord, the Elector, has graciously decreed 21 pennies, and each servant will receive the same annually.

2) In the text: "ab sie sich ob"; should probably read: "ob sie sich ab". - "off" -== from.

3) On February 13 Luther addressed his intercession to the Elector, and an investigation of the facts was ordered, but until the beginning of May no resolution took place: Thereupon the Council of Belgern repeated its request on May 3 and asked for 100 fl. and some fathoms of wood, whereupon on May 24 the Council was granted 80 fl. and 20 monasteries of wood, but on revocation, annually. (Burkhardt.)

And because the spiritual goods should be donated for the preservation of the poor wretched and for the promotion of the divine word, our most diligent, earnest and loud (petition) for God's sake is addressed to Your Eminence, that Your Eminence would take heed of our need and request, that we and our poor parish be granted the right to the sovereign, high-born princes and sovereigns, our most gracious and merciful lords. Our gracious and most gracious lords, request that their sovereign and princely sovereigns pay us from the income of the parish. Our most gracious and gracious lords request that their sovereign and princely sovereigns, from the income of the parish and monastery estates with us, which are to be in part mild alms of our forefathers, give to our common treasury one hundred fl. annually, or else what their sovereign and princely sovereigns recognize. G. recognize, to be graciously helpful (behülfen). By God's help and the counsel of pious people, we have decreed this and will distribute it again annually, so that the Almighty God may be praised, His holy Word may be promoted, the poor little youth may be provided with pure teaching, and the poor wretched people may be provided with a fair amount of hospital care. And the gracious God will reward all of this abundantly to Your Eminence. Thus, for your sake, we owe it to you day and night, to the best of our ability and diligence, and we do so with great pleasure. Date Belgern, the Tuesday after Estomihi [Feb. 10] Anno Dom. 1540.

E. Your Honor quite willing, the council there.

No. 2627.

Wittenberg. 13 February 1540.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, jointly with Jonas.

Intercession for the church servants in Belgern.

The original (in chancery hand) in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Oo, pag. 792*. Belgern. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 346.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord! Parents ch. G. are always ready beforehand for our prayer to God together with submissive and obedient service. Most gracious lord! The Council of Belgern has especially addressed me, Martin Luther, Doctor, with the enclosed letter, requesting that I will humbly request from your Lordship that the same Lordship will graciously procure from the monastery estates a gracious tax for the maintenance of their church servants and let it happen to them, and also sought the same from me, Justo Jonah. So then at this time a quick newspaper is available, and the poor people with their wives and children,

as your Lordships have graciously asked you to consider, but if there is any doubt that they are not well off on a low salary and are suffering hardship, we will not be able to refuse them their request. We therefore humbly request that Your Lordship graciously show mercy to the poor people with a help and tax at Your Lordship's pleasure. This E. churf. G. want to forbid me by God and to earn in submissive obedience at all times. Date Wittenberg, Friday after Estomihi [13 Feb] Anno 1540.

E. churf. G. submissive, obedient Martinus Luther and Justus Jonas, both Doctor.

No. 2628.

Mid-February 1540.

Formula of absolution.

This form of general absolution, written by Luther himself, is printed in Hormayr's Taschenbuch für die vaterländische Geschichte and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 245. - Probably this is the formula of which Melanchthon writes to Veit Dietrich on February 15, *Corp. Ref.*, vol. III, 957. It seems to have been put (for Osiander's sake) for the Nurembergers, because Melanchthon sent the autograph to Dietrich. Cf. *Corp. Ref., l. c.* 954 and 955.

Dear friends, because we are all mortal, no hour of death is certain, so humble yourselves before God, confess in your hearts that we, all poor sinners, are in need of His grace and forgiveness every moment. And if God would demand today or tomorrow that someone among you leave this pit of misery, then I, as a pastor (preacher), absolve from all sins by His command all who are now here and hear God's word, and with true repentance of their sin believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, amen. Go in peace, whether you live or die.

No. 2629.

(Wittenberg.) February 17, 1540.

To the clergy at Nuremberg, together with the other theologians.

The Wittenbergers inform the Nuremberg clergy how they will react to the forthcoming settlement negotiations with

The Pope's position, namely, that they do not want to give in on essential matters, and he asks them to make their opinion known to them as well.

From *Epistolae selectiores aliquot Phil. Melanthonis ed. a Peucero, Witeb. 1565. 8. p. 186* (without day and year) in De Wette, vol. V, p. 260 (datirt: "February 12, 1540" according to a manuscript at Munich); in *Aliquot epistolae Rev. Patris Doct. Martini Lutheri, quibusdam Theologis ad August. comitia a. 1530. scriptae*. (No place) 1549. 8. at the end; dated from it in *Corp. Ref.* vol. III, 958, "*Feb.* 17"; in Melanthonis Consilia Iat. ed. a Pezelio, P. I, p. 359 (without year and date), and in *Melanchthonis Epist. lib. I, p. 224*. this letter is written by Melanchthon.... We have followed Bretschneider's dating because Melanchthon (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. III, 955, No. 1928) tells Veit Dietrich on Feb. 12 that "the summa of our opinion is written in a letter" that will soon reach him.

To Mr. Wenceslaus Link, Doctor, Mr. Andreas Osiander, Mr. Thomas Venatorius, Mr. Veit Dietrich and their other colleagues who teach the Gospel in the church at Nuremberg, his exceedingly dear brothers in Christ.

Hail! If only God would have the churches everywhere to agree on the right doctrine of the Gospel, as your church, by God's grace, has been preaching Christ with us for many years, as it were with one voice. We do not doubt, however, that this agreement has been beneficial to many godly minds and has served as an example to many churches. But what is more desirable, what is sweeter to a godly heart, than to see flourishing churches in which God is rightly worshipped and the wholesome doctrine is presented, and whose praiseworthy examples, to use a word of Paul, glorify the glory of Christ? Since we are most anxious to maintain harmony forever, we thought it necessary to consult with you at this time, since it is believed that consultations on the settlement of public disputes are imminent. For the [bishop] of Lunden has written to our princes that the emperor is coming to Germany, not to stir up a civil war, nor to credence the bishops with the blood of the blessed to drink, but to confer how a harmony may be established by mutual yielding (*moderatis rationibus*), and he has exhorted ours that they should diligently consider in what matters yielding may be a firm and lasting

could promote peace. It is a great praise for Emperor Carl, if in truth it is assumed that Christ's honor will be glorified and the salvation of the whole church advised. For it is a glorious word in tragedy that is said of an excellent ruler: To advise the fatherland, to spare the citizens, to abstain from cruel 1) bloodshed, to govern the morals, to restore tranquility to the world, peace to his time: this is the highest virtue, in this way mau goes to heaven. But we are moved by many things to suspect that this rumor is either spread quite falsely, so that the adversaries may acquire goodwill and applause among the people by pretending to a very fine cause, or that an ambush is laid by the pretext of negotiating peace. For, first of all, how is it consistent that they should wish to negotiate for peace, although it cannot be obtained that the banishment of Minden be ended, although it is certain that everything is being prepared for war, although the kings are invited to participate in the ungodly and exceedingly shameful alliance which has been made in your city, yea, although the iron minds of the bishops can be moved to equity no more than could be done with Pharaoh? For such obstinacy is wont to accompany blasphemy and murder. But because the Emperor's will is unknown to us 2) we must certainly believe von Lunden's that the consultations on concord are not falsely promised, but even these are not without danger. As it is to be desired that Carl may in truth and from his heart wish that the light of the Gospel may be restored to him, and that he may obey the divine voice which preaches to the kings, saying [Ps. 2:10.], "Be ye therefore wise, ye kings," so it is to be feared that, 3) as now the courts are full of deceit, it will be aimed at throwing over the right doctrine with a new dazzle by an artifice.

1) Instead of *fratrum* in the *Corp. Ref.* we have assumed *fera* with Peucer, Pezel, the Munich Codex and De Wette.

2) Instead of *nota in* De Wette, *ignota is* to be read, as the misprint in Peucer indicates.

3) *ne* *is* missing from De Wette.

At the Council of Sirmium, when Constantius was endeavoring to reconcile the conflicting churches, not by removing but by concealing error, the Nicene Creed was changed, and an ambiguous common word was sought which neither party would reject. It was decided that instead of xxxxxxxx the following should be substituted

xxxxxx; but shortly thereafter the evil broke out again much more violently, and this very ambiguity produced new fights. The same thing will happen now, when the concord is to be negotiated. You have doubtless seen the Cologne writing, in which more convenient interpretations are given to the abuses. And it is considered the praise of a good head to devise these subtle glosses, and so already at Rome and in France the makers of these glosses are held in the greatest admiration. One will therefore take recourse to them: articles will be presented, so that the errors and abuses, painted with several colors, will be restored. Perhaps, in order that we, won by some bait, may consent, they will also let us have some of our articles. Then they will tell us that we should not only care for ourselves, but also for other nations that might be deterred from the better doctrine if we were too eager to defend all that is ours. They will say of the dangers of civil wars, it is better to have mediocre churches than none. We know that such words are said in conventions even by our own, and these reasons are valid among worldly-minded people who fear for their treasures or well-being, of which there is a great number everywhere. Perhaps the intrigues are also aimed at dividing our people, who, as the adversaries see, do not otherwise hold together in the best way. Therefore there will be some who want to be relieved of care, expenses, and dangers, and for this reason will interpret the Emperor's service as the best, and will say that they do not want to quarrel for the sake of other things; a civil war is to be avoided. Since these deceitful proposals for a settlement will bring with them many dangers, it is truly necessary for the godly,

that they bring with them well-armed and strong hearts; it is also necessary for them to have a firm agreement among themselves. Therefore, in order that we may consult with one another, we have deemed it good that the sum of our opinion and our thoughts be made known to you, and we ask again that you make your opinion known to us. For although there may be among you, 1) as elsewhere, worldly-minded men who judge that these disputes are futile wars of words, useless for the commonwealth and for the life of men, and for this reason take pains to wriggle out of them in every way, just as a predatory fish, having swallowed the fishhook, nevertheless escapes by wounding its mouth in order to tear itself free from the hook: these men's judgment is no concern of ours or of the Church; we seek your assent and do not doubt that the will of your Church agrees with you. But it is most to be desired that the harmony which has hitherto existed between our church and yours may be an everlasting one.

But we at least have divided the whole discussion into three parts. Either they will request that something be changed in doctrine, or in external things that are necessary, or in external things that are completely mediocre. With respect to doctrine, we have decided entirely that we will not permit any change in any article of the Confession and Apology, no matter under what pretext this may be. At Augsburg they had drawn the matter so that we should at the same time place ambiguous articles which could be interpreted at will (*flexiloquos*). The matter was similar to the example at Sirmium. But our matters have already been made known and explained with a good many explanations, so that it is sufficiently known what we hold in truth. And if they should miss anything, we shall present our opinions to them, in word and writing. But with them we shall by no means make new articles, lest the truth, which was before clearly indicated, should now be buried by new circumlocutions. If they

1) *Corp. ref.*: *vos*; De Wette: *nos*.

If they seek the truth, as they boast, they may agree with the rightly developed doctrines. If they only deal with it, that they pinch off something of the reputation of our doctrine by new subtleties, then we want to flee them as hateful intriguers. It says 1) the old man in the comedy, how one can have the usurer as a mockery by the trick with the day, where the old month changes with the new (*de die* xxx xxx xxx). From the church such subtleties are to be far removed; far be also that word of Sinon: 2)

Aut versare dolos, aut certae occumbere morti [either use intrigue, or be subject to certain death]. It behooves us rather to offer the necks of tyrants to be cut, than that we should pervert the gospel of the Son of God. There are the catechisms of your church and of ours, in which the summa of doctrine is set forth, testifying in no obscure manner that we accept and maintain in truth the agreement of the general church of Christ as to doctrine. We retain the Symbola; we restore purely the opinion of all prophetic and apostolic Scripture concerning repentance and faith; we have restored the right use of the Sacraments. We show what is to be kept from superstitious customs; we direct the godly again to truly good works; we show the dignity of civil offices, the difference of the law and the promises. Finally, we have brought light to many articles of Christian doctrine. This the adversaries cannot deny, and if they wish to judge without calumny, they will be compelled to confess that we teach godly and useful things. If, therefore, they will, let them agree; if they will not, we must follow Paul's rule [Gal. 1:8 f.], "If any man teach another gospel, let him be accursed."

The second part of our estimate is of the external things that are necessary. As these we call the abolition of all masses at which people are absent who have to work with one another.

1) The *editio princeps* reads: *dicit* and has the marginal note: *Aristoph. in Nub*. The other editions read: *discit*.
2) *Virg. Aen. lib. I, v. 62*.

The abolition of the canon which enjoins the performance of this ceremony for others, living and dead; the abolition of all invocation of the dead, direct or indirect; the abolition of vows and monasticism; the restoration of priestly marriage and of the whole sacrament; the abolition of magical usages, as the consecration of water, herbs, bells, and the like; also of sacrifices for the dead.

The kings care less for doctrines than for the outward appearance of the churches. Therefore they will fight most fiercely for the preservation of private masses, for the use of one form of the sacrament, for the invocation of the saints. Perhaps they will also quarrel about the celibacy; because this is very apt to preserve the spiritual goods and the splendor of the priests, so we see that the bishops and the kings have a great abhorrence of the marriage of the priests. Nor will they wish to see the monastic system entirely abolished. Finally, they will present us with Mosheim's 3) or Wicel's moderations (*moderationes*), which retain the main things of the godless nature. By the way, they will permit that some common vices be ameliorated, which, after all, cannot be done away with if the roots remain. Although we do not think that they will grant us anything with respect to the mass and its observance, we can nevertheless imagine that some will turn to the French Council, that a mass be held daily in the parishes, even if there are no communicants. For they assert that these

3) Rupert von Mosheim, Doctor at Strasbourg (Bretschneider). - At the end of the fifth volume, De Wette says, among the subsequent remarks: "A good-natured and, as it seems, benevolent man, Robert von Mosham (or Moshaim), cathedral dean at Passau, an ancestor of the chancellor of Mosheim, believed himself called by higher revelations to lead the apostates back into the fold of the church, and at the end (154t) wandered through the Protestant cities of the Confederation. He accused most Christians of believing much less in Christ than in Luther, the Pope, or Zwingli, and was therefore taken for an impostor by both Catholics and Protestants. He wanted to found a sect of his own, but died in 1543." (Müller's Memorabilia from the History of the Reformation, vol. 2, p. 219. *Hottingeri hist. eccl.,* IX, 322.)

Ceremony is a work and a spectacle by which thanks are given, by which the memory of the death of Christ is preserved. It may therefore be performed by a single person, they say, just as single people, either for the sake of remembrance, or to give thanks, may read the history of Christ's death, or any psalm, for the same reason. This is brought forward with great pretence by worldly men, who are well armed with science and eloquence, and they compare these usages with the Roman or Attic plays, which are employed for the sake of memory. For we see that good minds incline to evil opinions. But we have decided that we will not accept a mass (*liturgiam*) without communicants, because it is not lawful for anyone to establish services without the command of God. Such a spectacle, however, would be considered a necessary service of the Church, and one that must be distinguished from the food of the people; therefore, this is by no means to be accepted. They would, under this assumed form, bring up again all the abuses of the Lord's supper, for it would be said immediately that this spectacle of worship was *ex opere operato*. 1) And the example of the Levitical ceremonies need not be drawn here. These were a discipline (*paedagogia*) for the people, and had to be kept for their sake, not as a divine service. But in the New Testament no ceremonies are acceptable without faith. The use of this ceremony is to be free, as Paul says [1 Cor. 11:28.], "Let a man examine himself, and so eat of this bread." And let it remain the form of administration (*ministerii*) instituted by Christ, and observed for some centuries in the first Church. Nor can the adversaries complain that we depart from the church, if we will not accept that spectacle. Rather, they depart from the true and ancient church by adopting a manner unknown to the ancient church. They will

1) That is, it pleases God well, in itself, by being accomplished. Cf. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 944.

They also demand that we should approve the use of the one part of the Sacrament, but we cannot agree to this, for we are not permitted to deny the institution of Christ. We have learned that they are very unwilling to be called idolaters because of the invocation of the dead. Therefore they will seek a new pretext; they will say that it is permissible to speak: Pray for us, holy Peter. But even this form we shall not accept, for every invocation to one who is absent ascribes omnipotence to him. Finally, we believe that they will devise many a deception to excuse and maintain the root of the ungodly nature, and, like Proteus, will make themselves whimsical in all things. But we have by all means determined that even of these outward things which we have enumerated, we will admit nothing to the adversaries. To these we also add this, that we shall never approve the power of the Roman Pontiff, which he assumes over the other bishops. If he will perhaps grant us barbarians, as he calls us, something, he will forbid the same in other realms, will command that the godly be put to death, and will not desist from being the antichrist, as Paul indicates. Therefore his tyranny must not be strengthened.

The third part of the deliberation is about matters of substance, such as certain godly lessons in the churches, clothing, and similar matters; also about the standing of bishops, jurisdiction, and ordination. Nothing can be done about these things unless the doctrine and necessary things are first agreed upon. If the bishops will stiff-neckedly hold fast the errors and ungodly ceremonies, we must obey Paul's rule: "If any man teach another gospel, let him be accursed." Neither would they edify our churches, but rather make them desolate. But if there were bishops who, like Rahab, feared the judgment of God, and would look upon the poor churches and the fatherland, accepting the gospel for the glory of Christ, and rightly directing their ministry: with them it would be easy to come to an agreement about the middle things, just as now also we have to consider the inequalities in

neutral customs everywhere for the best, if only no impiety is involved and the purity of the doctrine is preserved.

You remember the history of Attalus of Pergamus. When a certain Alcibiades, out of a thoughtless desire for piety, prescribed for himself a new, exceedingly hard way of life, and ate daily only bread and salt and drank very little water, the martyr Attalus was sent by God into prison, and he was commanded to tell Alcibiades that he should eat of the common food. And as a reason was added: so that he would not be an offense to the brethren, that is, so that others who were more rude would not admire this new and apparent way and think that such works were worship, and forget the doctrine of proper worship.

For this reason we also praise those who, even in matters of substance, reject inconsistent customs as fasts, which cause some error to the inexperienced. Nevertheless, when some [bishops] accept the gospel, the whole form of the church system will have to be discussed among the godly. For the form of ordination must also be improved, and the canons of digamy must be amended, and the papal laws concerning divorces must be freed from their errors. Of course, the laws which are not given by God cannot be of perpetuity. Those people will also have to be admonished to remove from the churches by their own example ceremonies that are unseemly for Christian seriousness, such as the carrying around of images and other similar things. We do not want to follow pagan but apostolic examples and love the ceremonies handed down by God, whose summa is seriousness and benefit. Let godly and instructive sermons resound in the churches. The people shall have hymns from which they can learn; there shall be earnest prayers; the Lord's Supper (*Synaxis*) shall be celebrated as often as godly people desire the Sacrament. But private absolution should precede it, which is to be maintained and restored for many reasons. The excommunication is also to be restored, not, as before, in

The only reason for this is not because of disputes over worldly matters, but because of openly disgraceful deeds, in that in every church the elders are summoned to this judgment. These are serious and necessary ceremonies to establish discipline; we cannot yet deal with the adversaries, to whom, as long as they oppose the gospel, we cannot grant any authority in the church.

There you have the sum of our opinion, in which we will not change anything, God willing. Nor are we afraid of the worldly judgments of those people who cry out that the stubbornness of a few will ignite a civil war; they cry out with a loud voice: for the sake of public tranquility, we must give in a little; it is better to have only some churches than none at all; we must prefer unity to these disputes, so that the war against the Turks can be undertaken. Yea, we know that many things are brought together by the wise to reprove us. Nor are we so utterly without common sense that we alone should not see our dangers and the common dangers. But we must obey the commandment of God, which requires the confession of right doctrine, and that ungodly worship be punished, and that we command it to go forth. But although we do not doubt that you will, as before, unite your opinion with that of our church, we ask you again and again to make your will known to us, and we hope that your church will follow your decision, although we know that there are certain other people there who are oligarchs, who, as to the church, so to the aristocracy of the very beautiful city, are not well-disposed (*aequi*), who, seeking with a new and immoderate zeal to gain the favor of the enemies of the Gospel, who should curse them for their deeds of murder, indicate sufficiently that they would gladly destroy you also, if they could. How much more honorable it would be for them to join in the fight for the gospel than to strengthen in the adversaries their hatred of the true doctrine and their hope of the apostasy of others!

Therefore we write nothing to those oligarchically minded, only consult with you, and ask you to let us know your opinion.

God will guide the outcome and will not abandon the true church, but even though it will have to suffer the cruelty of the adversaries because of the confession of the Gospel, we would rather do this than throw away godly doctrine and disgrace Christ. Why should we flee these praiseworthy battles, seeing that the Son of God has suffered the lamentable execution for us? If we truly worship God, we must be especially mindful of the fact that we are required to become sacrifices, as most of the fathers, prophets, and apostles have been, and as the martyrs of all times, who would rather be killed than throw away the confession of right doctrine. The aged Isaiah, having ruled the church for nearly eighty years and freed the fatherland from tremendous wars, was finally cut with a saw. Jeremiah, having ruled the kingdom of Judah forty years, and preserved the remnant, is at last stoned. Those men so great and so deserving had to suffer the cruel treatment. We should be ashamed to be so tenderhearted as to think that GOD deals unjustly with us when He allows us to be afflicted. But this philosophy is not cared for by those oligarchic men whose softness and lusts we know you especially detest. We see that, as the world grows old, ungodly natures and Epicurean opinions increase. With all the greater struggle should all the godly protect the right honors of God, not only the teachers of the churches, but also others who preside over the commonwealths, who should also use their power for the glory of Christ. The adversaries have always done this cunningly, and when they propose any moderation, they seem to do it chiefly in order that they may divide ours, knowing very well the speech of Antigonus on Eumenes, in which he told this fable: A certain lion, who loved a maiden, the daughter of a shepherd, desired that she should be given to him to be his wife; he tells his love, and promises that no danger shall threaten her for his sake, but that she shall live safely and pleasantly with him. The shepherd answers:

The beginnings of love are very ardent, but afterwards there are often quarrels between the lovers. If this happened to him and the girl, he would fear the lion's claws and teeth. Therefore the lion goes away and has his teeth pulled out and his claws blunted. Then he returns to the shepherd and again desires the girl in marriage. When the shepherd sees that the lion has been deprived of his weapons, his claws and teeth, he beats him with a club. Thus you see that the adversaries set out to deprive individuals of their weapons and so to oppress them. But let them see to whom this care is given. It is incumbent upon us to prove steadfastness in the confession of right doctrine, and for the honor of Christ not to flee torture when the fury of the adversaries drags us to the penalty of death. We have written this to you out of the best and friendliest sentiments, and we ask that you interpret our letter for the best and answer us as soon as possible. Be well. Anno 1540, the 17th of February. 1) Martin Luther. Justus Jonas.

Johann Bugenhagen. Philippus Melanthon.

No. 2630.

(Wittenberg.) February 25, 1540.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 336, no. 1297. -

In the fourth last line of the text read: "govern" instead of: "bless."

No. 2631.

(Wittenberg.) February 26, 1540.

To Jonas, Bugenhagen, and Melanchthon.

Luther writes of an indisposition, but declares himself ready, if called, to come to the meeting in Schmalkalden.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 289, printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 126 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 270.

1) This time determination is found in the first edition (in which, however, the signatures are not set) and in the *Corp. ref. but is* missing in Peucer, Pezel and De Wette. The Munich Codex has February 12.

To the highly renowned men, Dr. Justus Jonas, Pomeranus, Philip, the faithful messengers of Christ, his superiors in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I am writing the second letter, dear men, and if I did not hope that your letters would fly to me on the journey, I would be angry at your silence, which has lasted so long, since it seems to me 1) that you have been there so many days that you could easily return.

For a great rumor has arisen that the assembly is revoked, and some expected your return two days ago.

Here, praise God, all is well, only your little daughter, Philip, threatened one day with illness. This I write, that thou mayest not be troubled. The rumor (as you know) makes the evil greater by its variability. 2) There is no danger. For two days we have seen the sun here, but again the former storm has returned, but the Elbe is falling. Would that God would make it last. We have no other news. It was good that I stayed behind while you were gone. I suffered a severe pain in the muscle of my right arm between the armpit 3) and the elbow this whole night, so that I could not sleep. I wonder what it is: if I were to touch or strike the spot myself with an iron hand, I feel no pain, then the joints are in good order. I think it is the tooth of a snake that does not let me move my arm backwards. Sometimes the sign of the magician Cario comes to my mind, which he cut at that place of the arm through the upper and lower garment. Sometimes I think of Hans Reineke, who complained of heaviness in his arms before he left. But that notwithstanding, I beg to be reminded 5) that I was

1) Instead of *videar,* De Wette supposes *videatur*, which we have assumed.
2) De Wette's conjecture, *auget* instead of *viget*, we have accepted.
3) Instead of *ascellam*, which our lexicon does not offer,
should probably be read *axillam.*
4) Our assumption; we do not find *duploidem* in our dictionaries.
5) Instead of *admonente* we have adopted *admonete.*

shall be called, and I will come. For I am quite well, and my daughter has begun to drink and eat with appetite, and crawls on her hands through chairs and tables. 6) But this I write, that the rumor, being a very bad reporter, may not trouble you. This also, and all that is of evil, if God gives grace, will soon cease. Be at ease in the Lord and pray for us as we pray for you. On Thursday after Reminiscere [26 Feb] Anno 1540. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2632.

Nuremberg. 29 February 1540.

The Nuremberg clergy to the Wittenberg theologians.

(Regest.)

Answer to No. 2629. Link, Dominicus Schleupner, Andreas Osiander, Veit Dietrich, and Thomas Venatorius announce their complete agreement with what the Wittenbergers wrote to them: "Your diligent concern in these matters is so similar to ours and completely in accordance with it that, when we read your writing about the future settlement, we let ourselves think that we had written it ourselves, and you have even met and painted all of our thoughts and what we ourselves have thought and considered in this, as if they were our own writings.

Printed by Burkhardt (without indication of his source) as from the "end of February". Our time determination is according to Seidemann, *Lauterbach*, Preface, p. XIV.

No. 2633.

(Wittenberg.) 3. March 1540.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

Luther complains about the lukewarmness of the Dresden court and reports news.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth. 402, fol. 185. 4.* and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 290. Printed in Schelhorn's Ergötzlichkeiten, vol. I, p. 304; in Schütze, vol. III, p. 127; in *Strobel-Ranner, p.* 283 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 271.

To the highly venerable man, Mr. Anton Lauterbach, the faithful bishop of the church at Pirna, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace! I see well enough, my dear Anton, that at the court of Dresden

6) As a result of a miscarriage she was so seriously ill on January 22 that there was little hope of life. She was on the mend on February 9, but still not out of danger on February 12. See *Corp. ref.* vol. III, 947. 952. 955. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 318.

In the end, when there is an extraordinary weariness to advise the affairs of God and of men, hope and avarice seem to reign. The old prince can do nothing; the younger ones do not yet dare, nor could they, even if they dared. May God Himself rule His churches alone, until He finds the instruments by which He visibly rules the church for us. Amen.

Here there is nothing new except the raging book of Mezentius^) against our princes. They say that the Turk is approaching with incredible armor, but in the meantime we drink and play bravely. The Emperor Carl and Ferdinand lead a good life in Flanders. The Lord must be asked for the day of his appearing, that he may come as soon as possible. Come, Lord Jesus, amen.

My Käthe has very miraculously risen from a right death and is now crawling on her hands and learning to walk. It is a manifest sign from God. She sends you her respectful greetings along with your Agnes and Elisabeth. Farewell and pray for us, as we also do. Wednesday after Oculi [March 3] 1540. Mart. Luther.

No. 2634.

(Wittenberg.) March 5, 1540.

To Melanchthon.

Luther reports news. Kohlhase is captured. Of an incident with Henry of Brunswick.

Printed in Innocent News 1704, p. 825; in *Tob. Eckhardi Codd. Mss. Quedlinburg, p. 89*; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 24 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 272. German (from your autograph, which came to him from Quedlinburg) in Walch, vol. XXI, 1303.

To the worthy man, M. Philipp Melanchthon, the sincere disciple of Christ, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace! What I write to you, my dear Philip, I write to all of you. For I assume that you are in Schmalkalden, and have the same fate that we had three years ago, since our letters came very slowly to Wittenberg. The last one, which is dated from Weimar, we have

1) "Mezentius" is the name given to Duke Henry of Brunswick. This probably refers to his writing of Nov. 24, 1539, which appeared in print in 1540.

from which I see that you have read the book of Mezentius 2). I have not yet had time, nor do I feel like reading it all the way through. I also hear from others that the reasons are coldly refuted by him, that it is wholly directed to invective. For so far it has been the custom and the manner of the whole papacy (*Papae*) to rage against my person, leaving the matter I handled. For what could they do otherwise, since they are deprived of conscience and knowledge, and are nothing but *entia* [things] without *con* and *sci.*

Your little daughter is well, and all Hans, which I hope you will know from fine letters. May the Lord rule you by a fine, certain, joyful Holy Spirit in his cause, and a fine cause in you, amen.

Here the people rejoice that Kolax or Kohlhufen is caught with two; but I believe that you already know this, since the horsemen fly to you like this, and no doubt tell everything in the most reliable way. That enterprising Kolax, who has loaded himself with so many blood debts (for I would care little 3) for robbery) for they say,
that more than forty of the fine company had perished. Our castle owner says that 14 were executed, all of the number of those who plundered the Marzan. This those wicked murderers would not have believed would happen in so short a time, if any one had foretold it to them that night. I will relate a ridiculous prank (*stratagema*) which M. Anton [Lauterbach] writes to me at Pirna. 4) Namely, that Mezentius, as he was returning through Silesia, had spent the night near Bauzen, then in a certain town of Kalau, and as he had come there late to spend the night, some noblemen came along, who said that they were looking for Hans Spregel 5) and stayed there for the night, for they had agreed that they would meet there that night.

2) See the previous number.
3) Instead of *proni* at De Wette we have assumed *parvi* with Eckhardt.
4) Henry of Brunswick refers to this incident in his "Duplik wider den Churfürsten von Sachsen", St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1241, § 14 f.
5) Walch reads: "mirror". - Immediately following Walch reads: Pommetam instead of: *pernoctare*.

wanted to come. When Mezentius became aware of this, he is said to have mounted his horses at once and flown away, fearing danger from the inn. "The great heel-knight soon seized the hare-panier." It has been laughed at by those who made this play, and by all who hear it.

Farewell, and pray as you do, and write again all the more often, the slower your letters reach us, as you know. Our Elbe had receded from the climes, but yesterday and today it has returned?) It is to be wondered what this constant flooding means. On Friday after Oculi [March 5] 1540.

My Lord Käthe greets you respectfully; she wanted me to write this and says thank you for leaving me here. She is beginning to be hopeful in the glory of returning health, thanks be to God. She does not walk around yet, but it is more [walking] than crawling.

No. 2635.

(Wittenberg.) March 16, 1540.

To Hieronymus Weller.

Luther writes to him because of a pastor and excuses the visitators with the fact that it stands badly at the court in Dresden.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth. 402, fol. 185. 4.* and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 294. Printed in *Welleri Opp. omnia, tom. I, p. 207*; in Schelhorn's Ergötzlichsten, vol. I, p. 625; in Schütze, vol. III, p. 195; in *Strobel- Ranner*, p. 284, and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 273 f.

To the excellent man, Hieronymus Weller, Doctor of Theology, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Mercy and peace! What you desire, my dear Jerome, I do, and so I write to your senate. But what you write about the priest, I have read with sadness, but I ask you to speak and write about him as much as you can, all the good, and excuse the evil that you hear, only for a short time. For thou knowest not how whimsically everything is done at the Court of Dresden, over whose sullenness I am so incensed.

1) Walch reports the opposite.

I have written to a certain man, who has great power in the same, a letter that is not at all modest, indeed, that I have refused to do, say, and write anything further for that cause. Surely it is not the fault of the visitators if something is not done quite right (as far as I can see), but of that pack of wise people who make themselves believe that they have not ten Solomons but a hundred gods in their heads. With how deep a hatred I am wont to hate this sort of people, thou knowest, 2) and thou canst not love them either, I know. Therefore, if those poor visitators miss anything, I pray thee, with thine own, to postpone thy judgment until the day of *inspection* comes, which will be shortly. Fare well in the Lord and greet the senators and all of us. I and my Käthe (who has returned from the dead) wish you happiness as a new father, and your wife as a new mother. God keep and increase this blessing, Amen. Tuesday (after) Judica (16 March) 1540.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2636. 21 March 1540.

Albrecht, Duke of Prussia, to Luther.

(Regest.)

The duke recommends the sons of Georg von Kunheim and Christoph von Portugal, who are going to Wittenberg.

A regest is found in I. Voigt, "Mittheilung ans der Correspondenz des Herzogs Albrecht mit Luther" 2c., Königsberg 1841, p. 11 and in Kolde, Xnaleota, p. 347.

No. 2637.

(Wittenberg.) Between the 21st and 27th of March l 540.

To Jonas, Bugenhagen, Cruciger, and Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 336, no. 1298. - There, according to De Wette, the time is determined: "In March or April." But from the fact that the Elector sent a large part of this letter in German translation to the Landgrave of Hesse already on March 27 (Neudecker, Aktenstücke, p. 234), the above dating results.

2) Instead of ut we have assumed tu.

No. 2638.

Wittenberg. 30 March 1540.

Johann Schreiner, pastor in Grimma, to Luther.

(Regest.)

He asks Luther for his intercession with the Elector that from the sequestered goods of the monastery at Grimma an allowance be granted for the low salaries of the church and school servants. - The letter is dated from Wittenberg, because Luther was absent at the time of Schreiner's personal presence there.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, p. 792. Grimma*. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 351.

No. 2639.

Schmalkalden. April 5, 1540.

Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Landgrave thanks Luther and Melanchthon for their opinion (concerning the bigamy), expresses the hope to now "do all evangelical dealings more freely, more confidently and more courageously", while otherwise he would have fallen into despair, since he had not gone to the sacrament since the Peasants' War due to complaints of conscience. As Melanchthon would have reported to him, he had now entered into a second marriage, which he wanted to keep secret 2c.

According to the concept in Marburg communicated by M. Lenz, Briefwechsel Bucers, p. 361. The above regest in Kolde, p. 348.

No. 2640.

Schmalkalden. April 7, 1540.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector asks Luthern not to give the Landgrave a final answer in the marriage matter.

From the Weimar Archives, *C, p. 163 ff. N. 19-26, fol. 71,* a concept with many corrections, printed by Burkhardt, p. 352.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! After the highborn Prince, Mr. Philipp, Landgrave of Hesse, our friendly dear cousin, brother, and we are now all here in Schmalkalden, we are told that his dear one sent a messenger to you yesterday before the date, and perhaps wrote to you about the matters in which you and some others have advised his lordship before, and that his lordship has now brought them into execution. Since all sorts of things will happen as a result, we are concerned that S. L. might want to further secretly enable and induce you in his opinion that

the House of Saxony, for the sake of the hereditary brotherhood and also otherwise, may not be interested: our gracious request is that you should not submit any final answer to S. L., where S. L.'s letter seeks such or what he would like to learn. 1) this time, but to write down your answer freshly, 2) until the return of our theologians to Wittenberg, then we want to talk about it with those who trust in such things before, but in any case you want to trust us and send copies of S. L.'s letter, where he will send a report, to our hands or make a report of it. Hereby you do our pleasing opinion, and are inclined to you with but graces and kindnesses. Date Schmalkalden, Wednesday after Qüasimodogeniti [April 7] 1540.

No. 2640a.

Eisleben. 7 April 1540.

Dr. Caspar Güttel, preacher in Eisleben, to Luther.

Güttel sends to Luther a copy of Agricola's letter to the preachers 2c. in the county of Mansfeld of January 27, 1540 (see St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 55b). Before the Mansfeld preachers reply, they wish to know whether Luther knows Agricola's writing or not.

Alls the original printed in Förstemann's "Neues Urkundenbuch", p. 327.

Grace and peace from God the Father through Christ our Lord. Respectable, highly esteemed Doctor, Preceptor and Father! The ungrateful man, M. Johann Agricola Eisleben, my godfather, has complained about E. A. W. to three city governors, all parish priests and preachers, with words of shame attached, as if he wanted to disgrace his fatherland, E. A. W., [and] all of us, and bring us to shame. [and] put us all to shame and punish us with lies, purging himself alone and cleaning himself up nicely, as if he had never stumbled and transgressed in such highly important matters, nor even been found to be lying, you will well hear from the copy you have, from the original and handwriting of his cousin Andreä 2c. Since the honorable three city bailiffs, my favorable lords, friends and cousins, have been with me, they have asked to meet at a convenient time with Dr. Wendelino) 3) and Er Michaelen Celio 4) along with others.

1) In Burkhardt: "want to experience, want to learn". Because we consider the latter to be a correction of the former, we have omitted "erfahren wollt".

2) Maybe: "postpone"?

3) Dr. Wendelin Faber zu Seeburg.

4) Michael Coelius, pastor in the valley of Mansfeld.

The question of how to reply to the said Magister Eisleben, and [that] for the sake of the homeward journey (heymfort) 1) of our sovereignty on account of the young lord, Count Albrechten of Mansfeld, might be protracted, is a concern of many honorable, kind-hearted people, whether E. A. W. such ingratitude, disgraceful word is also knowingly or concealed. Therefore I have decided in the best way and considered it good to inform E. A. W. of his complaint and letter before all else, which I do herewith, considering that the letter against the Antinomians 2) (Antiqmünche) has first been dedicated to me by E. A. W., from which the wounds have been partially hewn and the little horse has been running and the bear has been humming, so that E. A. W. alone has first knowledge of such a violent and poisonous letter, [and] the reason. We want to respond to this pestilence and poisonous worm with healing theriac (Tiriack), if necessary and in all fairness, through Christ, our Lord and Savior. To whom be E. A. W. now and [with] all yours eternally commanded. Dated Eisleben, April 7, 1540.

E. A. Dignities subservient pupil Caspar Guethel.

No. 2641.

(Wittenberg.) April 8, 1540.

To Melanchthon in Schmalkalden.

Luther writes about the mind of the emperor and the state of things. Last about Agricola.

Handwritten in Cod. Goth. 185. 4. and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 294. Printed in the Innocent News 1722, p. 188; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 27; in Schütze, vol. III, p. 197 and again vol. III, p. 128 (as addressed to Jonas, Bugenhagen and Cruciger with, from the Wetstein collection in Amsterdam); in De Wette, vol. V, p. 275 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1300.

To the highly famous man, Magister Philipp Melanchthon, the faithful disciple of Christ, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace! That you write, my dear Philip, that the emperor promises a private conversation, I also wonder very much what that means. I believe the emperor is uncertain what he will do before

1) "Going home" == leading home, wedding.

2) St. Louis ed. vol. XX, 1648.

He should do it in all things. It is necessary for him to have a hidden heart, since he is trapped among so many vipers that he cannot do enough for us or for them by making certain promises. For I think what I should do if I were caught in his place, especially since I do not know these things at all. God must be asked for him. It is indeed no small miracle of God that he has held back the Emperor's hand for so many years, while the Cardinals and Bishops raged in vain, incited him, urged him, and drove him; it is incumbent upon us to thank God for this. But whatever may happen, occur, or come to pass, by prayer, which alone is the almighty ruler in human affairs, we shall effect all things; By the same we shall direct what is decided, amend the errors, bear what cannot be amended, overcome all evils, preserve all good, as we have done hitherto, and we have experienced the power of prayer, of which the papists know nothing, the obdurate and in so many counsels disgraced people; they will not and cannot repent. And the final wrath of God comes upon them, who have filled their hands with the blood of Christ and of the Christians; yes, they have long since been completely drowned in the blood of the saints. For though we wretched sinners live in the sinful flesh, yet we are pure of blood; yea, we hate the bloodthirsty, and the blood-god that owns and drives them. This I have written only to answer, and to testify that I have received your letters; 3) for such things are we wont to communicate with one another.

3) Here Schütze, Aurifaber, Wetstein and *Cod. Goth*. The following with variations: Everything is well here. We pray and certainly believe that we will be heard. Although it is still uncertain, we also believe about our understanding or petition. We shall nevertheless obtain what we have prayed for, as we have obtained it hitherto. It is God who gives life in the midst of death, and has mercy in the midst of anger, and laughs in the midst of wrath, so in the midst of turning away the petitions He will give the fulfillment of the petitions. All his works are divine and marvelous and incomprehensible: for him there is that which is not; there is that which comes to naught; there stands that which falls, and for him nothingness is all; to him alone be glory, who alone is God; he alone makes all things, he alone governs all things. Whether therefore ye bring us peace, and we shall receive it as brought out of the midst of war; or whether ye bring us peace, and we shall receive it as brought out of the midst of war.

to speak confidentially when we talk of these things. Finally, I hope that you will receive other letters on the journey.

Everything is well here by the grace of God, only that I would like you to return as soon as possible, yes, to have returned long ago. I am very angry with Master Grickel, whom I wish to leave behind before I die, adorned with his virtues. 1) Fare well in the Lord. Greet all those who are mine, and tell them that all is well in their houses. On the day after the eclipse of the sun, 2) which we have seen exceedingly sad in its distress for two hours, from 5 o'clock until about 7 o'clock. Turn the misfortune, O Lord, against the enemies, and save us in thy name, Amen. My Käthe, who is completely restored, sends you her most respectful greetings; she is very fond of you and loves you dearly. (1540.)

No. 2642.

(Wittenberg.) April 10, 1540.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

(Regest.)

Answer to the Landgrave's letter of April 5 (No. 2639). Luther asks him to keep the matter secret for the sake of the Gospel and to mend his ways.

Printed by M. Lenz, Briefwechsel, p. 362. The above regest in Kolde's *Analecta*, p. 348.

If we bring war with us, we shall likewise hope for peace in the midst of war; whether by death or by life, let the will of the Lord be done; when it is done, our peace also shall come to eternal life, amen. Be strong despisers of Satan. He crucified him who was crucified by him, the triumphant one in Israel, and he put him on display, and gave him up to us to be laughed at, to be mocked, if we believe in the crucifier, the Lord Jehovah Christ, and the crucifier of his crucifier, the devil. For even if he should crucify us, we also shall crucify him again with the very thing wherewith he shall crucify us, and in that day, or even before, we shall make a public spectacle of him. Fare well in the Lord. Given at Wittenberg, Anno 1540. Yours Dr. Martin Luther.

1) This Luther did at the beginning of June 1540 by his writing: "Report of M. Joh. Eisleben's false doctrine and shameful deed; in addition answer to his unfounded complaint" 2c., St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1648. See also the introduction there p. 56.

2) The solar eclipse was on April 7 in the morning at 5 o'clock.

No. 2643.

(Schmalkalden.) About the 11th of April 1540.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 353, no. 1300.

No. 2644.

(Wittenberg.) April 12, 1540.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Answer to the Letter of April 7 (No. 2640). Luther reports that he burned the letter of the Landgrave, in which he reported the consummation of his double marriage, and that through him the secret should not be known.

The original is in the secret archives at Weimar, *Reg. C*, page 163, No. 19, sheet 75. Printed by De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 258.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

G. u. Friede und mein arm *pr. nr.* Durchlauchtigster, hochgeborner Fürst, gnädigster Herr! I humbly inform E. C. F. G. that I have promptly burned the letter of M. G. H., the Landgrave, so that it may not, forgotten or mislaid by me, come to anyone's hand. For, if God wills it, such a secret shall not come from me. S. F. G., however, write nothing more than thanksgiving, and indicate how they want to carry out the work and keep it secret, for which I have also asked again that it should and must remain secret and not be praised, as has been advised before. Because he then esteems it so highly for the salvation of his souls, we must ask God that He may graciously help it to come to pass, amen. I hereby entrust E. C. F. G. and all those who are now acting in Schmalkalden to the grace of the Holy Spirit, Amen. The Monday after Misericordia Domini [12 April] 1540.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 2645.

(Wittenberg.) April 13, 1540.

To Prince Joachim of Anhalt.

Luther recommends M. Georg Aemilius (Oemler), who has dedicated his poems on passages of the Revelation to the prince and wants to deliver them himself.

The original is in the Dessau State Archives. Printed by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 259.

To the most illustrious and high-born Prince and Lord, Lord Joachim of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien and Lord of Bernburg, his gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime Prince, highborn Count! M. Georg Aemilius, my compatriot, has published poems on the prophetic images (*figuras*) of Revelation and has attributed them to the name of E. F. G.. As he had decided to deliver them himself, he asked me to recommend him by my letter and to prepare an easier access to E. F. G. for him. Although I knew that my recommendation was not at all necessary, since his own erudition recommends him sufficiently, and he, with the kindness and accessibility of E. F. G., would have found admission easily without my letter [, I did not want to refuse]. 1) However, he not only had this in mind, that he was looking for a patron for his book, but that he would also like to inspire other princes through the example of E. F. G. to love and cultivate the sciences and to support the students. This endeavor shines forth almost alone in your Anhaltian family, which all good and learned men highly admire and wish luck to. Therefore, may E. F. G., whatever the offered gift may be, receive it with the usual grace. I heartily commend E. F. G. to the goodness of GOD, the merciful Father, with all her house, Amen. On Tuesday after Misericordias Domini [13 April] 1540.

E. F. G. devoted

Martin Luther.

1) Added by us.

No. 2646.

(Wittenberg.) April 13, 1540.

To Dr. Caspar Güttel, pastor in Eisleben.

Ueber Agricola und dessen Klageschrift. Answer to No. 2640a.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 292. Printed in Litterar. Wochenblatt, II, 314; in Schütze, vol. III, p. 130; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 314 (?) and in De Wette, vol.V, p. 278.

Doctor Caspar Güttel of Eisleben.

Grace and peace! I have received your letter, my dear Caspar, together with the invectives of M. Eisleben. But what can I do but let the judgment of God fall upon him who has despised the mercy of God? If he does not suffer Luther as a friend, he may suffer him as an enemy, although I do so unwillingly. "I hold that the little fool is become foolish." But I pray thee again to gather testimonies of his doctrine, because when thou didst send it me, I did not believe it, and so lost it. Not as if I had need of them, for I have strong testimonies of his mouth and hand, but because it is fitting that this insolent and lying mouth should also be disgraced by many testimonies of others. Farewell and pray for me. Tuesday after Misericordias Domini [13 April] Anno 1540. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

No. 2647.

(Wittenberg.) April 14, 1540.

To Nikolaus Sastrow, citizen of N.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2222. - Hitherto, in all editions, this letter has had the heading, To an Unnamed Person." Burkhardt, p. 353, says: "The letter is to Nicolaus Sastrow, according to Mohnike's Sastrow, 1,184. From it in: 'The Frontier Messengers,' 1857,18."

No. 2648.

Wittenberg. 18 April 1540.

Ordination certificate for Johann Fischer to Rudolstadt.

Printed in Innocent News 1715, p. 190 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 260.

It has brought Johann Fischer letters to us, which indicated that he was in the city of

Rudelstadt was called to the service of the Gospel, and testified that he had godly and honorable morals. Since, however, it was requested in these letters that the calling of Mr. Johann Fischer be confirmed by public ordination, we have recognized, after having examined his scholarship, that he holds the pure and general (*Catholicam*) doctrine of the Gospel, which our church also teaches and confesses, and has an abhorrence of all fanatical opinions, which are condemned by the judgment of the general church of Christ. He also promised that he would faithfully present to the people the pure doctrine which we profess. Therefore, since our ministry must not be lacking to the neighboring churches, and the Concilium at Nicaea has decided in a godly manner that ordination should be desired by the neighboring churches, we have commanded this Mr. Johann Fischer by public ordination the office of teaching the Gospel in the church and administering the sacraments instituted in the Gospel, according to his calling. Therefore we commend him to the church of the city of Rudelstadt, and ask that the Holy Spirit may govern the ministry of this Mr. Johann Fischer for the glory of God and of our Lord JEsu Christ, and for the salvation of the church. Given at Wittenberg, on the Sunday of Jubilate [April 18] Anno 1540.

The pastor of the church at Wittenberg and the other ministers of the gospel in the church, Martin Luther, D.

No. 2649.

(Wittenberg.) April 29, 1540.

To Spalatin.

Luther asks him to help Sebastian Delitsch to the finished parsonage in Schilda.

The original is said to be in the Anhaltisches Gesammtarchive. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav. A*. Printed (after the manuscript) in the Theol. Studien und Kritiken, 1835, Heft II, p. 353 and in De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 260 f.

To the man to be highly honored in the Lord, U. Georg Spalatin, the true Bishop of Meissen, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace! I beseech thee, my dear Spalatin, that thou wouldst have this Sebastian De Litsch, a learned and godly man, to the now completed parish of Schilda. Therefore ask Dr. Jonas, Dr. Augustin and Dr. Martin Luther, thy best and most devoted friends. Farewell and pray for me. Thursday after Cantate [April 29] 1540. yours Martin Luther.

No. 2650.

(Wittenberg.) 3. May 1540.

To the town council of Siegen.

Luther recommends M. Georg Aemilius (Oemler), who had been appointed school teacher in Siegen. - "Probably Erasmus Sarcerius, who was Rector of the Pädagogium there in 1540, had approached Luther about a teacher." (De Wette.)

The original was still in the city archives at Siegen in 1818. Printed in the Nassauische Zeit- und Taschenbüchlein (Hadamar 1801); in De Wette, vol. V, p. 279 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 279.

To the mayor and council of Siegen.

G. and F. in Christo. Honourable, wise and dear gentlemen and good friends! Since Magister Georgius Aemilius has been called upon to train your youth and to guide them in the arts and in education, I kindly ask you to let the same M. Görgen be faithfully ordered to you; for he is a very fine, learned fellow, and he has also shown himself to be quiet and calm with us, so that, wherever you will help to tame the wild youth for the good example of others, he will be able to produce great fruit. Thus you see how great a lack of people has now become, and the youth may well need strict abstinence. Hopefully, if God wills, you will know how to abide in this. Hereby commanded by God, Amen. Monday after *Vocem Jucund*. [Martinus Luther, Dr. SS 1)

No. 2651.

(Wittenberg.) 4. May 1540.

To the dean and the canons of Zeitz.

Luther sternly requests them to return Pancratius Fischer to the court having jurisdiction over him.

The original is in the parish of Oberlungwitz. Handwritten in Aurifaber, Vol. III, p. 296. Printed from the original in the Sächs. Kirchen- und Schulblatt, No. 32, 1865; also in the Eisleben edition; in the Alten-

1) SS == *subscripsit*.

burger, vol. VII, p. 422; in the Leipziger, vol. XXI, p. 366 (not "266," which De Wette offers and the Erlanger reprints); Walch, vol. XXI, 433 f.; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 280 and in the Erlanger, vol. 55, p. 280.

Repentance or hardening, as God has provided, dear nobles! My petition and request is that you release the poor man, Pancratius Fischer, and return him to the court from which you have taken him iniquitously and violently. For ye ought ever to know that no man shall take hold of another's judgment. Now he (which ye cannot deny) has been and is found in the judgment of Christ and his church, and ye have shown yourselves to be *sacrilegious and* robbers of the church, and have taken Christ into his judgment. But if you will not do this, then I will play a game with you priests, and tell all the world what you are, where your power is. If anything happens to you, I have warned you faithfully and have done my part; I also hope that my most gracious lord will be enough of a man for you, and whom I can persuade more. If you want to punish me, then you should start with yourselves and mend your whorehouse, murder pit and church robbery 1) beforehand. But soon more of this. Do and make as ye will, that your evil may not fail. Tuesday after *Vocom Jucunditatis* [May 4] 1540. Martinus Luther.

No. 2652.

(Wittenberg.) May 6, 1540.

To Simon Leupold, ducal Mecklenburg secretary.

Luther sends him a letter to be addressed to the Superintendent Riebling and bears him greetings.

The original is in the Grand Ducal Secret and Main Archives at Schwerin. Printed by G. C. F. Lisch, Jahrbücher des Vereins für mecklenburgische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde, Jahrgang V, Schwerin 1840, p. 246 and by De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 261.

To the worthy man, Mr. M. Simon, Secretarius of the Princes of Mecklenburg, his extremely dear [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! There you have, my dear 2) Simon, my letter, which was addressed to Johann

1) Aurifaber fund after him De Wette) offers: "Raubstuel"; the Eisleben: "Raubstall"; Walch: "Raubsel".

2) We consider that "*M*." is read from "*mi*", and have translated accordingly.

Riebling must be sent. My occupation does not permit me to write more, nor is my health able to cope with the many letters I have to write. Farewell and greet your Princes respectfully in my name and especially Prince Magnus, the son who is extremely dear to me in many respects. On Ascension Day [May 6] 1540. Martin Luther.

No. 2653.

(Wittenberg.) May 10, 1540.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for Georg Schnell for the transfer of the Wartburg estate.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Mm, fol. 78 b, No. 29*. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 354.

G. u. F. in Christo. Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! Magister Georg Scharf, to whom E. C. F. G. of the fief of Wartberg, has turned away and become a preacher at Herzberg, has united with the preacher there that he should take his place at Wittenberg, for reasons of which he is aware, and the said preacher, George Schnell, has granted him his merit and everything (which is better than this), for the sake that he, a single person, would like to study here, and has requested me to write to E. C. F. G. and to ask that E. C. F. G. would graciously grant such a fief to the above-mentioned Georgen Schnell. He is a very pious, industrious man, in addition to being of service, and studies quickly, especially in the Ebräischen, is a good preacher, so that those in Herzberg are very reluctant to leave him. Therefore, I humbly request that E. C. F. G. would have such a fief prescribed for him, if there were no other concerns, in which E. C. F. G. will know how to graciously show themselves. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. Monday after Exaudi [10 May] 1540.

E. C. F. G. subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 2654.

(Wittenberg.) May 11, 1540.

To Justus Menius in Eisenach.

Luther asks him to collect the interest of the fief for M. Georg Scharf.

From the former Gudic Collection, Bl. 214 (at the Wolfenbüttel Library) in Schütze, Vol. III, p. 131 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 281.

To the man to be highly honoured in Christ, Justus Merlin, Bishop of Eisenach, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace! I beg you, my dear Justus, that you, I beseech you, squeeze out of the Schösser the hard-flowing (*difficiles*) interest which, through the leniency of the Prince, has been bestowed on M. Georg Scharf 1). For he has asked me to write this, for he has decided to change his present position. But you will give the receipt in my name if it is necessary. Fare well in the Lord. Tuesday after Exaudi [11 May] 1540.

Your Mart. Luther.

No. 2655.

(Wittenberg.) May 15, 1540.

To Dr. Johann Lang in Erfurt.

Luther recommends Sebastian Schaufel, is glad that Aegidius Mechler did not go to the Duchy of Saxony, and expresses his displeasure against the Leipzigers,

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 297. Printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 132 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 283.

To the excellent man, Mr. Johann Laug, Doctor of Theology.

Grace and peace in the Lord. I commend this Sebastian Schaufel to you, my dear Laug, so that you, if you are able, may provide him with some position. He is a good and worthy man, whom we would see promoted. I am glad Aegidius is kept with you. Ah, how great a pain it would have been to learn that you too, Laug. Laug, were lured from Erfurt to the Duchy of Henry. The duke is very good, but an old man unfit for so great a rule, and meanwhile such people rule, to whom I would not send a dog, nor even a fly. You may persuade all you can of that. I hate the Leipzigers (the common people, of course, I quite like).

1) "It is to be read *Quick* instead of: *Scharf*." (De Wette- Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 559, note 4.) This remark is erroneous, since Luther did not address the Elector about this fief until May 10, and Schnell therefore did not yet have it. Cf. the previous number.

so that I hate nothing under the sun more: so great is there the arrogance, the presumption, the rapacity, the usury. And what more shall I say? The worst ejection (*sentia sentinarum*) of the worst people prevails there, so that if mau did not have to serve the lowly people, they would have long since ceased to have a preacher, except for pernicious Epicureans, who are their equals, and Papists, in that I at least admonish and dissuade all of them in this way. God have mercy on the good, and curse this accursed city forever. You are quite well. On the day before Pentecost [15 May], Anno 1540, Martin Luther.

No. 2656.

Torgau. 15 May 1540.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

Answer to No. 2653: The Elector grants the transfer of the fief from Georg Scharf to Georg Schnell.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Mm, fol. 78b, No. 29*. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 354.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have received your letter, in which you have sent the old preacher at Herzberg, Ern Georgen Schnell, of the fief or prebend at Wartberg, which Mag. We have received and read your letter in which you request that the old preacher of Herzberg, Ern Georgen Schnell, of the fief or prebend of Wartberg, which Mag. Georg Scharf has had as his studio, who is now going to Herzberg in the place of the aforementioned Schnell, and that he, Schnell, should be willing to study in the place of Scharf, and we are graciously inclined at your request to pardon the aforementioned Ern Georgen Schnell with such a fief, and to have the prescription changed from Scharf to him. For this reason we graciously request that you have the prescription touched by the Scharfen sent to you, and send it to us in our office, then we will direct it to the Schnellen and have it executed, and also subsequently have it sent to you again, so that you can hand it over to him, which we in our gracious opinion again do not want you to do, and we are graciously inclined to you. Date at Torgau, Saturday on the Holy Day of Pentecost [15 May] 1540.

Notes. 2)

Concerning the enclosed note of Magister Philippi Melanchthon's servant, we will graciously comply with your request.

2) This note has been lost.

No. 2657.

Wittenberg. 17 May 1540.

Ordination certificate for Heinrich Bock.

From the original signed by Luther and his colleagues, which is kept in the Nicolai Church at Reval (where Bock's tomb still is), at De Wette, Vol. V, p. 283 and in *Corp. Ref., Vol.* III, 1031.

Since the council of the city of Reval in Liefland has appointed Magister Heinrich Bock from Hameln, a man of excellent godliness and scholarship, to govern their church, he has also requested that our judgment of him be made known to him. But we most earnestly desire that godly, earnest, and learned men should be set before the churches of Christ. Therefore we have approved this appointment with the greatest willingness, and have admonished Magister Heinrich to take upon himself the leadership of the church in Reval. For since he has lived in the school of our church for more than ten years and in the meantime has led the Saxon Collegium in Erfurt with great praise, we have learned that he is of honorable and godly manners and has diligently exempted church doctrine. However, he holds the unanimous doctrine of the general church of Christ, which our church also confesses, and abhors all fanatical opinions that are condemned by the judgment of the general church of Christ. Furthermore, the knowledge of the arts, which includes philosophy, is of some service in teaching. Since Magister Heinrich has applied good diligence to all parts of philosophy, he wisely and correctly distinguishes ecclesiastical doctrine from philosophy, and in explaining it, he applies the proper manner and skill that is worthy of a learned man. He has also promised that he will constantly and diligently recite to the people the pure doctrine of the Evangelist which our church confesses. Therefore, that there might be a public testimony of our judgment, we have commanded him in the church the office of teaching the gospel and administering the sacraments instituted by Christ, according to his calling. We testify to this by this public letter, and commend him to the church at Reval, and ask that it lovingly receive him, nurture and care for him, and protect him. The greatest good deed of God on earth is the public ministry of the

God wants it to shine in the cities and in the society of men. Therefore, the cities do God an extremely pleasant service, which order the churches properly and provide and protect godly and well-instructed teachers. We therefore exhort the city of Reval to keep this very good and exceedingly learned man, Magister Heinrich, in a godly manner, and to support and protect him in such a great government. Given at Wittenberg, May 17, 1540.

The pastor of the church at Wittenberg and the other ministers of the gospel in the same church,

Martin Luther, D.

Johann Bugenhagen, Pomeranus, Dr. Justus Jonas, D.

Philip Melanthon.

No. 2658.

(Wittenberg.) May 18, 1540.

To Anton Lauterbach in Pirna.

Luther recommends someone and complains about the Dresden court.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 298. Printed in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 286; from the von Ludwig collection at Halle in Schütze, vol. III, p. 133 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 285. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1469.

Grace and peace! I ask, my Anton, who is exceedingly dear in Christ, that you let this Georg Schammer be your command, if you can provide him with a small position, as we have also asked both you and Mr. Cellarius here, at least Master Lucas both of you. Therefore, either one of you or both of you at the same time, take care of the man as much as you can, so that he may know that I have not lukewarmly asked this for him, which he has so often desired from me.

There is nothing new, except that you believe, and I believe, that your court in Dresden is not a court (*aulam*) of God, but a worldly stable (*caulam), if* you have not learned something else in the meantime. My Lord Käthe greets you and your lamb and little lamb. Fare well in the Lord. On Pentecost Tuesday [18 May] 1540. Respectfully greet the Lord Cellarius in my name.

No. 2659.

Torgau. 21 May 1540.

The Electoral Councils to Luther and the other theologians.

The councillors ask by order of the Saxon princes that Eberhard Brisger of Altenburg be left as preacher in Zeitz.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. B, fol. 194*. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 355.

Our friendly service before. Venerable and Reverend, Special, Dear Gentlemen and Friends! It has now come to the Electors and Princes of Saxony, our most gracious and gracious lords, the Council of Zeitz, among others, on account of Magister Eberhard, who by order of their electors and princes has been assigned to them for some time as a preacher of the divine word. who has been assigned to them for some time as a preacher of the divine word, with the request to leave him with them longer and to ordain and confirm him to them as a pastor, as you will then find to be true from the council's document, especially the first article of the same 1). Thereupon, before the same departure, our most gracious and gracious lords have ordered us to write to you on account of their Supreme and Federal Governments that [they] did not mean to do it without your prior knowledge, even though their Supreme and Federal Governments had reservations about taking the aforementioned Magister Eberhard completely away from Altenburg and transferring him to another place. Since, however, the still needfulness wants to provide the people of Zeitz with a learned, understanding, God-fearing man, who lives and lives well, according to the opportunity and form of the place, and they therefore ask so highly for the mentioned Magister Eberhard, as can be seen from their writing, their chur- and F. G. would not be determined, what in this case is to be promoted. have not decided what should be done most conveniently in this case for the advancement of the glory of God and the spreading of his divine word, and will make known your misgivings about the said Magister Eberhard, and will nevertheless be anxious to appoint someone in his place against Altenburg or perhaps against Zeitz, since he is not to remain at the end. In this you show your chur- and F. G. to gracious favor, and we find you quite willing to serve kindly. Date Torgau, Friday after Whitsun [21 May] Anno 1540.

No. 2660.

(Wittenberg.) May 22, 1540.

To Anton Lauterbach in Pirna.

A council concerning church discipline. Luther reports that he cannot come to the wedding of Lauterbach's brother.

In *Strotrel-Ranner*, x. 286 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 285 f. Schütze, Vol. III, p. 133 and Aurifaber, Vol. III, p. 298 have inserted most of this letter in the one of May 18 (De Wette).

Mercy and peace! My dear Anton, you can publicly absolve a public sinner who confesses and repents and promises to amend in the future before the altar, after he has been absolved by the authorities.

I cannot come to your brother's wedding; the matter of Master Grickel 2) is now being dealt with. My Käthe says thank you. Fare well in the Lord with your family. In haste. On the day before Trinity [22 May] 1540.

No. 2661.

Wittenberg. 22 May 1540.

To the Electoral Councils, together with the other theologians.

Answer to No. 2659. About the employment of Brisger in Zeitz.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. IX, 1590; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 91, no. 166; in Walch, vol. XXI, 434; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 286, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 281 f.

To the venerable, respectable, highly esteemed, strict and honorable, our most gracious and gracious lords councilors, anitzo at Torgau, our dear lords and favorable friends.

Our very kind services before. Venerable, Respectable, Esteemed, Esteemed and Honourable, Special Lords and Favourable Friends! We have heard the contents of your letter with the transmission of the Council of Zeiz's writing, concerning especially the Magistrum Eberhardum, and have talked with each other. Find that the necessity he

1) Burkhardt: "the same".

2) Agricola. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XX, Einl., p. 57 a.

demands that a learned and pious man is to be appointed in the town of Zeiz, and so the council so diligently asks for the said Magistrate Eberhard to leave and confirm him to them: so we, Martinus Luther and Justus Jonas, both doctors, especially would not dislike that the said Magister of the town, as far as it would be convenient for him, would stay. But if he would not be inclined to do so at all, but would rather stay in Altenburg for many reasons, we would not blame him. And as to how it will be zero to order another preacher, God wants, at least we, Justus Jonas and Philippus Melanchthon, to talk with you verbally in Torgau on a future Monday or Tuesday. For we are willing to serve you kindly in all ways. Date Wittenberg, Saturday after Pentecost [22 May] Anno 1540.

Martinas Luther. Justus Jonas.

Johann Bugenhagen, all Doctor, and Philippus Melanchthon.

No. 2662.

(Wittenberg.) May 24, 1540.

To Count Albrecht of Mansfeld.

Luther asks for merciful treatment for the "Mackerode", who are related to him by marriage, concerning the mining.

Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 91, no. 167; in Walch, vol. XXI, 436; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 287, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 283.

To the noble and well-born Lord, Lord Albrechten, Count and Lord of Mansfeld, my most gracious and beloved sovereign.

Grace and peace in Christ. Gracious sir! I have not asked for anything for a long time, I must also come once, so that the road of intercession does not become overgrown with grass; but I humbly ask that E. G. will also hear me, so that I, not deterred, may come again, and not fall into suspicion, as if E. G. were ungracious to me, if I do not know that I deserve it. G. is ungracious to me, if I do not know myself guilty, that I have deserved it, and is that: I was now once at court, where I do not like to be; was among other things: said, how E. G. was very sharp with the hut-masters.

and were great people, who did not wish E. G. any harm, and wanted to prophesy (as I once wrote to E. G.), as if the county would finally be robbed of the blessing of the hand, they made a lot of speeches and causes, so that I could not leave it undisclosed. Then I asked how my friendship was going: I was answered that my brothers-in-law were holding Mackerode, so that they would certainly have to become beggars. God does not want that, I said, they have nothing else but hereditary fire; I will certainly write to my gracious lord about it, for my brothers-in-law have not written anything to me about it, without my once jokingly calling them slag drivers for slag lords, whereupon they laughed and said, with time it might not be far off, and went away; such words occurred to me at court.

Therefore I ask, my lord, that E. G. allow me a request and be a merciful lord to the good Mackerods or their heirs, and have graciously commanded them, considering that E. G., otherwise a great, rich lord, can gain nothing with good people's poverty, but rather that they would invite God's disgrace upon themselves, with whom it is quite small to make rich poor and poor rich. I do not ask for justice (of which I know nothing in this matter, nor do I wish to know), but for mercy and favor; for our Lord will also need God's mercy and favor, as our Lord will know better than to report this himself. For if we seek our right too strictly against our neighbor, and do not also let grace shine, God will also seek His right against us, and let grace be dark. I hope that your Lord will understand nothing else from this than that I love your Lord as my dear sovereign, and that I mean him with heartfelt loyalty, which is why I cannot suffer to hear anything unkind said by your Lord; much less can my conscience suffer that I should stand in sorrow, as if God would be angry with your Lord, and that I would not be able to say anything unkind to him.

1) As we see from "Luther's Inheritance Contract" (No. 2073), only one Mackerod, namely Paul, was Luther's brother-in-law. Therefore, "brother-in-law" stands here in a broader sense for those related to him through this brother-in-law.

I wouldn't have shown it at times. Please have a gracious response to this. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Monday after Trinity [May 24] Anno 1540.

E. G. willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 2663.

(Wittenberg.) May 24, 1540.

To the council of Roßwein.

About the employment of M. Johann Zacharias (Petzensteiner) as pastor.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 994; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 569; in Walch, vol. XXI, 435 f.; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 289, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 284 f.

To the honourable and wise, mayor and council of Roßwein, my favourable, good friends.

Grace and peace. Honorable, wise, dear sirs! That you accept M. Johann Zacharias as pastor pleases me well; it would also have been unnecessary to seek my favor, because he is powerful in his own right and is not subject to our circle. God grant that he may bear much fruit, amen. Monday after Trinity [24 May] 1540. Martinus Luther.

No. 2664.

(Wittenberg.) May 24, 1540.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

(Regest.)

Short thanks for a carton of Rhine wine.

Mitgetheilt von M. Lenz, Briefwechsel, p. 362. Above regest with Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 348.

No. 2665.

(Wittenberg.) May 26, 1540.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther asks the Elector to intercede with Duke Heinrich of Saxony to help the wife of Basilius Axt, a former nun, to her inheritance, which is withheld from her by her brother, Ernst von Schönfeld, with reference to papal law.

From the original in the Weimar Archives, *N, pag.* 108. 41. in De Wette, vol. V, p. 289 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 285.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

G. u. F. in Christo and my poor *pr. nr.* Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! It has written to E. C. F. G. the Duke from Prussia (which letters I recently sent to E. C. F. G.) for the good Mrs. Basilien Axt 1) 2c., as Ernst full Schönfeld, her brother, wilfully withholds her daughterly or womanly fee, that E. C. F. G. would graciously prescribe her to Duke Henry, that Ernst von Schönfeld would not have to refuse by the Pope's right (as I see the papist lawyers master him) the seduced soul or nun her hereditary fee. Now I don't know what E. C. F. G. can do about this, because the regiment at Dresen stands thus (as if God wants to fall); but if E. C. F. G. would know any advice, it would be a good thing. know any advice, my humble request is to help whether Duke Heinrich would be able to not again concede to the pope, and to count innocent seduced women for nuns, considered that such would be a great disgrace to the accepted Gospel and an annoying strengthening of the cursed monastery. What E. C. F. G. can do in this matter, they will know how to graciously show themselves. It is one of the nuns and an honest matron that I respect, Ernst von Schönfeld is not worthy to be such a sister's brother before God, and also cannot be ashamed of her before the world with reason 2c. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Fer. 4. *post trinitatis* [26 May] 1540.

E. C. F. G. subservient

Martinas LutheR.

No. 2666.

(Wittenberg.) May 28, 1540.

To Johann and Georg, Princes of Anhalt.

Luther resists the occupation of the parish office in Dessau by Petzensteiner and wants to be helpful for the acquisition of a suitable man.

1) Ave, née von Schoenfeld.

Printed in Lindner's "Mittheilungen", vol. II, p. 62, with the wrong date "June 25"; likewise in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 224. With correct time determination in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 261 f.

To the noble, high-born princes and lords, Mr. Johanns and Mr. Georgen, provost of Magdeburg, brothers, princes of Anhalt, counts of Ascanien and lords of Bernburg, my gracious lords.

Your Serene Highnesses and Lords! I do not know E. F. G. that M. Johannes Zachariä Patzensteiner (?) should come to E. F. G. in M. Hausmann's place. He is not a man for E. F. G. But if one would otherwise be found, I would gladly be conducive to it. They are especially strange that are not köppisch, or meidsam and leidsam 2c. For E. F. G. I am willing to serve. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Friday after Trinity [28 May] 1540.

E. F. G.
willing
Martinus Luther.

No. 2667.

(Wittenberg.) Late May or early June, 1540.

To a council of the Landgrave of Hesse.

Luther insists on the non-disclosure of the confessional secret.

The original draft in Luther's own hand is in the secret archives at Weimar, *Reg.* P. 163, No. 19, p. 116. Printed by De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 262.

G. u. F. My dear Lord and friend! That I write not to M. G. H., the Landgrave, but to you at your request, has its reasons. For I am well troubled with this matter of high and low estates, that I must remain on my "No".1) For what is a secret yes cannot become a public yes; otherwise secret and public would be one and the same, without distinction, which neither ought to be nor can be. Therefore the secret yes must remain a public "no," and again. All for this reason: *Unius testimonium.*

1) Here follow the words crossed out by Luther: "and have nothing to do with the landgrave".

(that is, "secretly") *Nullum, Duorum autem* (that is, "publicly") *omnia. Sicut ergo nullum et omne, sic differunt* secretly and publicly. [Deut. 19:15.) On this I have hitherto remained, and still, say that the landgrave's other marriage is nothing, and can convince no one. For as they say, namely, 2) *palam, it is* nothing true, though it be true as they should not say, namely, 2) clam.

But in this the landgrave is too close to us, yes, much more to himself, that he wants to make it palam (public), which we have made clam [secret] with him, and make an omne (everything) out of a nullum (nothing), that we neither know how to defend nor to answer for. 3) Nor would my Gen. 16:4 help him, because I have taught many ways before and after, that one ought not to enforce the laws of Moses, though in case of need one may use them secretly, or by the command of the authorities publicly, as an example, whatever the choice may be. Accordingly, if I were to advise a poor conscience in secret need of confession to use Moses' laws or examples, I would not, indeed could not, have instituted a public right or a cheap example, because I would be a confessor to whom nothing is publicly available as a right or an example, but would have to act solely on the secret need of the conscience.

6) But it need not be a public law nor an example, although it was 7) left to the dear fathers in the law of Moses in time past. Notwithstanding that one finds, for instance, in the histories after the birth of Christ, several examples where, out of necessity of conscience, a man has secretly had to have two wives, or out of the supremacy of the wilderness.

2) "namely" put by us instead of: ".,." which stands for: ".*i. == id est*.

3) Here follow the words which Luther again deleted: "and would thereby come to one another".

4) See St. Louis edition, Vol. III, 275, Z 6 and especially § 10.

5) Here follow the crossed out words, "no superiority but".

6) Here the deleted words precede: "Accordingly your council pleases me very well that the landgrave lets a ban go out."

7) First Luther wrote, but crossed out again: "But this piece must be drawn into it, that it could not be a public right or example, without the authority to do what".

leu, as some say of the emperor Carolo Magno and Valentiniano. But of all these there is no right, example, or custom to be made public.1) For it is not true, What thou doest by necessity, that may I do by right. A thief steals bread in hunger, and is not punished. A necessity is a murder, but is not condemned. But this is no right, nor is it an example, to steal and murder freely. Necessity transcends right and example, and yet makes no right and example. *Necessitas frangit legem, sed non facit legem*.

But this sharp disputation will nevertheless leave the pen in the heart, as if the landgrave had two wives in public, and wanted to decorate it with words and make it secret, and will hardly put an end to the disputing. Therefore I want (if it will be possible) that the landgrave goes back to the secret "yes" and to the public "no", and lets speak and preach badly, that with right or example no one could help himself to have more than one wife, silent, however, of the secret advice and need, happened in the confession, or in the future. But I want to leave the announcement pending. For since there has been no announcement that one may have two wives, but is still in the clamor alone (in addition, about one person, the landgrave), so one would let clamor go against clamor, then the *negativa* sermon would easily silence the *affirmativum clamor with* time, since a public sermon is more capable than a hundred tabernacle clamors and street tales.

Such seems to me the easiest way. And that the landgrave (as he is guilty) meanwhile also kept such a thing secret, and yet did not leave the mead, because he took it upon himself so dearly that it was necessary for him. So we, theologians or confessors, could help to defend it before God as a matter of necessity that must be mended with most examples. But that we should defend it before the world and *now rain,* this we cannot and will not do. Otherwise, nothing will be spared in our service in this matter.

1) Here follow the crossed out words: "because the public rights now at this time find against it and condemn such, with which one should and must hold firmly".

No. 2668.

(Wittenberg.) Early June, 1540.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther, after the landgrave himself has made the confession apparent, indicates to the Elector how he came to give this advice. He still upholds it.

A copy from the original is at the Kiel University Library, K. B. 85, p. 7. Printed by Seidemann, "Lauterbach's Diary" 2c., p. 196 ff. In the determination of the time we have followed Kolde, who *Analecta* p. 348 a
Regest brings. Seidemann places this letter in "April or June", but the complaint by the Dresdeners mentioned in it necessitates the later date (before June 10).

Most illustrious, highborn Lord, most gracious Lord! I have heard that E. churf. G. is being unreasonably complained of in the Landgrave's matters from the court at Dresen, and E. churf. G. will certainly allow himself to be heard against such clever meißners. For what the matter is, we both, I and M. Philipps, did not want to report to E. churf. G. (as a matter of confession) ourselves, as it is proper in matters of confession to keep secret, both the matter and the confessor; and if the landgrave had not revealed this matter of confession and confessor, it would have been nothing of such displeasure and spying.

And say even now:

If such a thing were to happen to me this very day, I would know nothing else to advise than as I have advised. This has no secret (no secret) for me (where it would be revealed afterwards), regardless of whether I am not as wise as they might think, for this is how the matter stood at that time: Martinus Bucerus brought a credence 2) and indicated how the landgrave did not know how to keep himself chaste because of some defects in his husband, had also lived so and so up to now, which is not good, and should be evangelical, in addition to being one of the most distinguished heads. Accordingly, he took it upon himself and trusted in God and in his conscience that he could not avoid such vices from now on if he were not permitted to take another wife. We, however, were almost frightened by such a narrative because of the desolate astonishment that would follow and

2) A credential or instruction (dated Dec. 10, 1539). *Corp. ref.* , Vol. III, 851.

we asked that H. F. G. would not do it; whereupon we were further told that he could not let it be done; if we would not let it be done, he would do it nevertheless, unseen by us, and obtain it from the emperor or the pope. We, however, to do this, we asked humbly, if H.F.G. wanted to do it, or (as he said) in conscience and before God did not know how to do it differently, that H.F.G. would keep it secret, because such necessity would force H.F.G. to do it, because it could not be defended before the world and the rights of the empire. Which therefore is promised us. Accordingly, we wanted to cover it up before God with examples, as Abraham 2c. did, as much as possible. All this has been done and acted in confession, so that we cannot be blamed as if we had done it willingly and gladly or with pleasure and joy. It was hard enough for us, but because we could not prevent it, we thought to save our consciences as much as we could.

I have received more things in confession, both under the priesthood and afterwards, and have given counsel, which, if they were to be revealed, I would have to say no to them, or report the confession also. Such things do not belong to the secular court, nor to be revealed. God has his own court here, and must counsel the soul, since neither law nor art can help it before the world. My preceptor in the monastery, a fine old man, also had many such things, and once had to say with a sigh: "Alas, alas! such things are so erroneous and desperate that no wisdom, law, or reason can advise here; they must be ordered to *Divinae bonitati*. From such experience I have also acted in this according to divine goodness.

Had I known, however, that the Landgrave had long since atoned for and been able to atone for such necessity in others than I am now learning, in the one at Eschweg, no angel would have brought me to such advice. I considered the unavoidable need and weakness, also the perilousness of his conscience, which M. Bucerus presented, much less would I have advised that it should be a public wedding, in addition to which (which was also completely concealed) a Principissa and young Landgravine should come along, which, of course, was not to

But I understood and hoped that, because of the weakness of his flesh, he would have to use his common nature for sins and disgraces, and that he would secretly keep an honest maid in a house in secret marriage (even though it would have an illegitimate reputation in the eyes of the world) for his great need of conscience, as such things have been done many times by great lords, just as I gave such counsel to some priests under Duke George and the bishops, that they should marry their cooks secretly.

This is the confession that I would much rather keep quiet, if it were not for the necessity; now I cannot do it. But the fact that they are dressed as if I had taught them such things thirteen years ago shows them how kind they are to us and how much they want to love and be united, just as if there were neither trouble nor infirmity among them, which are ten times heavier in the sight of God, nor is this our counsel, without the world having to spit from its neighbor's splinter with confidence and forget the beam in its eye. If I were to defend everything now that I said or did years ago, especially in the beginning, I would have to worship the pope; if they also defend their former nature (I will remain silent about the present one), they would belong to the devil more than to God.

I am not ashamed of such a report, wherever it should come before all the world, without preferring to keep it quiet for the sake of displeasure (where it would be possible).

M. Luther, M. p, 1)

No. 2669.

Wittenberg. 2 June 1540.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

About the rumor of the double marriage of the landgrave; Luther pretends to be ignorant.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 297. Printed from the Ludwig Collection at Halle in Schütze, vol. III, p. 134; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p, 287 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 290.

1) This is: *Manu propria*.

To the highly esteemed man, Mr. M. Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna, his extremely dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace! About the new marriage of the Landgrave, which you desire, I can write nothing, my dear Anton. I have heard that a child has been born from the virgin of the Sala 1). Whether it is true, I know not. And if it were true, and he acknowledged that he was the father, and fed mother and child, he would seem to be justified in doing so. If from this the rumor hath sprung, the rumor is not without cause. This much I know, and public testimonies of the marriage have not been shown to me. Then there are heirs from the lawful wife, who do not permit (not even the great ones) that fellow heirs come from another woman, especially from a lesser blood. Therefore let them bark that bark, until the thing itself teaches what a monstrosity this is. About princes and the affairs of princes one must not judge presumptuously without knowing the matter. About other things by your ordinand. Wittenberg, given 1540, the second of June. Martin Luther.

No. 2670.

(Wittenberg.) June 5, 1540.

To Johann, Georg and Joachim, Princes of Anhalt.

Request for venison for the wedding of M. Matthias Wanket of Hammelburg.

Printed in Lindner, Mittheilungen, vol. II, p. 60, no. 43; in the Erlanger Ausg., vol. 56, p. 223 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 265.

To the noble, high-born princes and lords, Johanns, and Georgen, Thumprobst of Magdeburg, and Joachim, brothers, princes of Anhalt, counts of Ascanien and lords of Bernburg, my gracious lords.

G. u. F. in Christo. Sublime, highborn princes, gracious lords! Doctor Jonas hath told me how he hath been to E.F.G.

1) Spelled variously; here "sala", otherwise also "sale" and "hall".

and asked for game for the wedding of M. Matthias Wanckel of Hammelburg, also received a gracious reprieve. But now that the day is approaching, namely the 14th day of June, that is Monday after Barnabas, and Doctor Jonas is absent from Dresen, the bridegroom has asked me to write to E. F. G. and to remind him of this promise. Therefore I also humbly ask for my person, because this is the first daughter from the priest marriage according to the Gospel, that E. F. G. would graciously show himself in honor of such marriage and help to decorate this wedding with game. But because the time is now heated and the flesh does not last, E. F. G. wanted to consider the right time, so that the venison would arrive today or at last tomorrow Sunday for eight days in the evening. For the bride's day will begin on Monday after Barnabas in the evening and will be completed on Tuesday after that. Also many learned and honest people will be invited and come to it. E. F. G. to serve, I am ever ready. Saturday, the 8th day of *Boniface* [June 5] 1540.

E. F. G. willing Martinus Luther.

No. 2671.

(Wittenberg.) June 7, 1540.

To Eberhard Brisger, pastor at Altenburg.

A short message concerning the inquisitor Pancratius Fischer. Cf. No. 2651.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. 185 and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 298. Printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 135 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 291.

To M. Eberhard Brisger, pastor at Altenburg.

Grace and peace in Christ! The prince has written in the matter of Pancratius, my dear Eberhard, so that I hope everything will be settled; but it is said that he was publicly notorious before the confession. If this is true, he will have to suffer something, but in a tolerable way, because he did not make his confession in their court (*foro*), but in ours. In haste and among much business. Be well. On the Monday after Bonifacius [7 June] Anno 1540.

Your Mart. Luther, D.

No. 2872. 9 June 1540.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther and Melanchthon.

The Landgrave regrets that against his will and without his consent his second marriage has become known, and reports that Duke Heinrich of Saxony has had the wife of Sala picked up by guards. Now he asks Luthern to intercede for her with Duke Heinrich, to make the whole matter clear to him, and also to report the facts to the preachers in Dresden.

A copy signed by the landgrave himself is in the state archives at Marburg. Printed by Kolde, p. 349.

Our gracious greetings first. Worthy and highly learned, dear faithful ones! You, Doctor Luther, have undoubtedly been sufficiently informed by Philippum Melanthonem of the form in which we performed the Digamiam with a respectable woman of the nobility's daughter. 1) Now we would truly have liked to keep the same dispensation in good secret, according to your and the other scholars' concerns, as nothing has changed in us in this case.

We also kept it so secret that we did not like to let the person taken see out of a window. For it has always been and still is our opinion to keep such a dispensation as secret as possible, so that it would not give rise to an introduction that everyone should or would want to follow. But that such a thing may have become known through undisclosed people, whom this business trusts, and especially also our sister, 2) who has no reason for the writing, nor knows what it is like for a troubled conscience, does not do us any favors.

And therefore we do not want to deprive you of our good faith, although we have confidentially informed our dear cousin, Duke Moritz of Saxony, who has been with us for a few days, of this trade, after his beloved had already understood something about it, 3) and the surplus (because we, since his beloved had to know something about this trade, could not avoid discovering it to his beloved), also his beloved has been informed about it.

1) The wedding was not on March 4, as Köstlin and Kolde state; others place it correctly on March 3, so also Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth. lib. III*, p. 278 b, who reports that it took place on Wednesday after Oculi (which is March 3). Oculi fell on the 29th of February.

2) The Duchess Elisabeth of Rochlitz, the daughter-in-law of George of Saxony. With her, the Landgrave had met Margaretha von der Sala, her lady-in-waiting.

3) Added by us.

4) His beloved father, Duke Henry of Saxony, should have sent for the woman in question as soon as she had returned from our country to her house, and should have sent for her with several equipped horses, and written to her as if he had something to say to her. Since the woman had not been able to give us her daughter unless we had promised her that it was permissible with God in the form of a dispensation, and we had therefore let her see your writings and those of other scholars, 5) as well as our wife's permission, 6) on the other hand, we had put her off, where she should encounter something about our wanting to place our body and goods with her. Now, if anything troublesome should happen to the women in this matter, it would be very bad for her, and we would not be able to avoid taking care of her, and, as far as we are able, we would be obliged to take care of her.

Therefore, since Duke Henry is related to the Gospel, and you will undoubtedly be held in good esteem and hearing by him, we indicate to you that, in order to prevent further harm, we hereby wish to remind you of this in a Christian and well-meaning manner, and trust you to do all that is good, you should send the aforementioned Duke Henry a skilful letter, as you know how to do, and let it go out in the most beneficial way, or send a trusted person, by which you report what form would be dispensed with us, and that it should also, as far as possible, be kept secret and used in such a way that it should not give birth to a consequence or common introduction that everyone wants to follow 2c., and that the same report should also be made to the prelates at Dresden (Tresen), as you will know how to write more skilfully than you have now told, and especially add: because this dispensation would have the form that he [Duke Henry] would therefore, for the sake of peace and for the good of all things, let the much-touched wife again move into her house alone and without remuneration, and for this reason not let her be further burdened or harassed.

In this you are undoubtedly doing a good work that is conducive to peace, which we, on the other hand, want to blame on you, to whom we are well inclined, in all goodness, and have not been able to save you in this way.

4) These brackets are set by us.

5) No. 2610.

6) Printed in *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. III, 864, of 11 Dec. 1539.

No. 2673

(Wittenberg.) June 10, 1540.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 363, no. 1303.

No. 2674.

(Wittenberg.) June 12, 1540.

To Johann Schlaginhaufen, pastor at Köthen.

About a marriage vow.

From a copy of the original in *Cod. Dessav. B* in Theologische Studien und Kritiken 1835, Heft II, p. 346 and in De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 266.

To the man to be highly honoured in Christ, M. Johann Schlaginhaufen (*Turbicidae*), Bishop of the Church at Köthen, his exceedingly dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace. "Dear master! Tell the journeyman to keep the maid for marriage, for the matter has come too far, as your letter reports, that there is" the consent and knowledge of the mother and the maiden, "desired by him"; item, "that she should deceive others for his sake." In this he would do her irreparable harm, about which he would have a constant and unrelievable conscience, which (because it is the wrath of God) would afterwards be hard to bear, namely, for him, who had not yet experienced temptations, and no quiet marriage could be entered into after this is left. My lady greets you, and we pray for your wife's salvation through Christ and in Christ and to Christ, amen. On the Saturday after Barnabas [12 June] 1540.

Martin Luther.

No. 2675.

(Weimar.) June 14, 1540.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Melanchthon expects little from the convention at Hagenau. He is still uncertain about his journey. Due to the daily worsening news about the Landgrave's cause, his health has become shaky.

Alls a copy in the archives at Zerbst (by Schreiber's hand with corrections by Jonas, who sent the same to George of Anhalt on June 17), printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 351.

Hail! There are no great expectations of the Convention at Hagenau, although King Ferdinand, the King of Mainz, the King of Salzburg, the King of Eichstädt, and I don't know what others have come together. We suspect that they themselves do not even know what they want to do. There are probable suspicions, for the sake of which some think that the Emperor would by no means have called the Convention, if certain opponents had not also given him hope that we would give in, and some of us had indicated that they desired new unions. I still have doubts about my journey. The weakness of body and health is increasing in me, because I hear worse every day about the affair of the Macedonian, the Landgrave of Hesse. And this is what the Meisseners are doing, who are holding the Mother 1) captive. Pray to God that He may avert this tremendous danger and trouble. Outside of this I have had no news. Be well and happy. June 14, in the year of the Lord 40.

No. 2676.

(Wittenberg.) First half of June 1540.

To Dr. Brück. "Report of M. Eisleben's false teaching" 2c.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1648.

No. 2677.

(Wittenberg.) June 15, 1540.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

Luther recommends to him Georg Schammer (see No. 2658), whom Lauterbach has provided with a pastorate, and asks him to take care of him against his evil wife. Of the bigamy of the landgrave and of the convent at Hagenau.

The original is in Dessau. Handwritten by Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 295. Printed by Schütze, vol. III, p. 135; by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 288 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 292. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1471.

Grace and peace! My dear Anton, this Georg Schammer, whom you have provided with a parish, has desired to be recommended to you. But he has a very wicked and malicious wife, to whom, if she should remain here and not follow her husband, as she has threatened, we shall give a bath in the

1) Frau von der Sala. Cf. no. 2672.

Or you shall mark her out with banishment. Therefore, if she follows her husband or accompanies him, according to your office and reputation you will treat that woman very harshly and assist the man. If then she should go away in impatience, she may go, that he may be freed from this ulcer. In sum, you will see to it that she does not cause offense to the gospel and make the man unfit for the ministry.

Here there is nothing but this monstrosity of the landgrave, which some begin to mitigate, some deny, some do something else. Most of the blame is laid on the Princess of Rochlitz, the Landgrave's sister. Whatever it may be, the day will soon make clear. Be well and pray for us, and ask your church to pray for the cause of the Gospel, which is being dealt with at Hagenau, and for M. Philip, who is sent there in the midst of the enemies, who are very angry about the latest book "Of the Church" and "Of the Duty of Princes," that God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, may command His angels over him, so that they may guard him in all his ways, amen. He has gone away sorrowful and in a shattered spirit. God keep him and comfort him. Farewell. My lady sends her regards. The Bible for Magister Latomus is ready, but I have no one to deliver it. On Tuesday after Barnabae [June 15], the day of Vitus.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2678.

Weimar. 16 June 1540.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector asks Luthern to go to Weimar because of Melanchthon's illness, and also to bring Crucigern, who is to go with him to Hagenau.

A bad concept is found in the Archives at Weimar, *Reg. O, pag. 144. EEE 1*. Printed in *Corp. Ref.* vol. III, 1045.

1) Melanchthon's writings: *De Ecclesiae autoritate et veterum scriptis. - De officio principum, quod mandatum Dei praecipiat eis tollere abusus Ecclesiae*. Both Wittenberg 1539. 8th (De Wette.).

To the venerable and highly respected, our dear devotee, Ern Martin Luther, Doctor of the Holy Scriptures at Wittenberg.

By the Grace of God John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c. Our greeting before. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! Although we intend to send the also reverend, our dear faithful, Magister Philips Melanchthon, along with other of our scholars, to Hagenau, it is happening with him in such a way that we fear he will not come there this time because of his weakness, and first of all so soon. Since the also highly esteemed, our councilor and dear faithful, Gregorius Brück, Doctor, has reported to us what the aforementioned Magister Philippi wrote to Hagenau on account of his tire, we consider, for your excited and other reasons, that there should be no hurry with his journey. But since necessity demands that we have you at hand the next day, and also that we send one or two theologians without delay to Hagenau, we graciously request that you go to Wittenberg, and, since it is convenient for you, dispose of it in a manner conducive to us here to Weimar. And because it has the opportunity with Mag. Philippsen, then Doctor Caspar Creutzigern want to bring you here, also graciously request this to him by virtue of this order of ours and indicate that he wants to consider his things according to whether we would order him hereafter further against Hagenau, that he be used for this, as we then provide that he will not complain.

We did not want to leave this undisclosed to you, and do this to us as a gracious and good favor. Date at Weimar, Wednesday after Viti and Modesti [16 June] Anno Domini 1540.

Jo. Fridrich, Elector.

No. 2679.

(Wittenberg.) June 18, 1540.

To Melanchthon in Weimar.

Luther consoles him in his grief over the annoyance of the Landgrave's double marriage. - Answer to No. 2675.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 299, printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 137 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 293.

Grace and peace! I have understood from your letter, my dear Philip, that your journey seems uncertain to you, and I am glad to see that you are in the right place.

2) "with ichtem" == any.

I wish that this may be certain, that the journey may be uncertain, amen. A few days ago I wrote to Dr. Brück, how we regretted that we had not talked about your journey earlier, since the Hessian (*Macedonicum*) trade did not let us see how dangerous it was that you should be sent sheep in the midst of the wolves, especially since the memory of it finally scourged us, that thou hast so grievously injured and provoked against thy head those most *lupissimos* and cruel 1) wolves and satans, 2) that now, just the reverse (*vice versa*), they will begin to think or suspect that thou art hostile to them, but I am more favorably disposed. Therefore your danger will become twice as dangerous as mine, since you now have the appearance that you have hitherto deliberately deceived them, which, as you know, and we know, is quite false. But Satan is the interpreter there, that is, a slanderer, and a devil worthy of his name (*diabolus* == slanderer). Therefore thou wilt take pains that, if only for thy weakness, thou be not sent thither. But if you have to go, because God so resists our wishes, our Father will still be with you. It is extraordinary how much we desire to see you, and God, who does wonderful things always and everywhere, does not despise our requests. Send thou all, that thou mayest be trustworthy and bold. We are with thee, and thou with us; and Christ is here and there with us. Fear not; we shall prevail, and we shall live, though we be sinners. "He is the Advocate with the Father," says John [1 Ep. 2:1.], in our stead and for us.

I would not have you grieve too much over the Hessian (*Macedonian*) deal, now that the matter has come to the point that it can be advised neither by mourning nor by cheerfulness. Why therefore do we kill ourselves in vain, or hinder by sorrow the knowledge of the victor over all death and sorrow? For he that overcame the devil, and judged the prince of this world, hath not he also

1) Instead of *suavissimos* we have assumed *saevissimos.*
2) by the writings mentioned in No. 2677.

Will he, with him, put an end to this trouble and overcome it? For though this present trouble be ended, yet afterward he will bring other and perhaps greater troubles, which, if we live, we shall overcome and laugh at through the same victor. There is nothing of calamity, not even hell, of which He has not said, and would have it understood [John 16:33.], "I have overcome the world; be of good cheer!" Then, if the emperor and the empire should wish, as they will at last be forced to wish, they could easily meet this offense either by a renewed edict, or by an edict decreed anew, that it should not be permitted that this deed should become either a right or an example. You know that in this case it was presented as if it were a case of extreme necessity, which either suffers no law, or at least mitigates it. Therefore, I beseech thee, for Christ's sake, be of good and quiet mind, and let those whose cause it is do something, and bear their burden, and not weigh us down alone. Since they know that we are sincere and faithful, they cannot accuse us of any offence, except mercy or the kindest compliance. And what evil is there that these princes do not commit through the emperor's compliance? although their evil deeds should not be evil deeds, so long as they are hostile to us. But our virtues are shameful deeds, so long as we do not worship Satan with them. But let Satan have a good year! For his sake let us mourn no more, nor be grieved: but in the Lord Christ let us rejoice and be glad: for he shall destroy all our enemies. We are not yet in the case of David, whose cause was much more desperate; yet neither is he fallen, nor shall this cause fall. Why then do you agonize, since the final cause (*causa finalis*) is certain, namely, the victory of Christ, although the formal and middle cause is somewhat disfigured by this trouble? My Käthe also calls you to be strong and cheerful. We, who sincerely love you, will pray diligently and strongly for you. Fare well in Christ, and fear not, neither be troubled.

Cast all your care upon him [1 Pet. 5:7], who will be anxious for us, and has commanded and required that these things should be believed. How I hate this stable 1) which is corrupted by devilish wisdom, you know well enough; we will have more to do with these serpents and monsters of wisdom than with all public and private enemies, just as it was with their spiritual (*mystico*) father, whose seed is mighty in this land. May GOD curse him, and that in a short time, Amen. But this shall be established, "I have overcome the world," and [John 14:19.] "Ye shall live, because I live." Again, prosper, and be merry and quiet, I beseech thee, as we desire, rather as the LORD hath commanded. Here, by God's grace, all is well, to whom alone be the glory. Friday after Viti [18 June] 1540.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2680. 20 June 1540.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

Through no fault of his, the digamy had become notorious. He now asks for your advice what he should do, whether he should perhaps explain his causes in a public announcement 2c. He expects your assistance, otherwise he would have to show your handwriting. In a special note to Luther he asks him not to be frightened. He does not want more than that they stick to their advice.

Printed in M. Lenz, Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 363. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta* p. 353.

No. 2681. 23 June 1540.

The Hessian theologians Adam Kraft, Johannes Kymeus, Dionysius Melander, Johann Lening to Luther and Melanchthon.

They ask, under assertion of the same reasons which the Landgrave has brought forward in the previous letter, not to leave the same, and to advise them what is now to be done.

From a copy in the state archives at Marburg printed by Kolde, p. 353.

1) With the "stable" (*caulam*) probably the court at Dresden is meant (see No. 2658), and with the "spiritual father" Duke George.

Grace and peace! What happened in Rotenburg 2) before the last meeting in Schmalkalden, dear fathers and teachers in Christ, you know very well. But we hoped that this matter would be concealed according to your advice, to which some of our people had subscribed. 3) We have not yet heard from you. By the way, contrary to the will of our prince and entirely contrary to the will of all of us, the rumor has been spread exceedingly widely, which (as is just) fills us with no small pain, since we fear that this rumor will do harm to the Gospel of Christ. Moreover, we hear that you will leave our prince in this matter; 4) that you may not do so, we beseech you for the sake of God's heartfelt mercy and by all that is holy. For if a separation of the allied states has been begun, we greatly fear that a ruin of all things, including godliness and the sciences, will follow. Nor does the Prince wish that you should defend his concubinage as a right and lawful marriage at this time, when polygamy has ceased to be in use. It will be enough if you do not regret the counsel you have given, if you uphold it and, if the matter should require it, confess it. Of this we are convinced that you will do bravely and with undaunted courage. We do not deny that ours have failed to publish the matter that should have been concealed and kept secret, but not less, but much more seriously (with the reservation of your judgment) we would err and sin against godliness if we left the prince, who is otherwise very good, in the lurch because of the publication of the concubinage, and gave cause for discord, which God may always avert. For who could prevent the prince, if he were abandoned in this not altogether bad matter, from entering into other relations, and being anxious for such things by which he might preserve himself and his own, as much as he could, and tear himself out of the threatening storms of war? But this is what we think of you, that since you have willingly faced much greater dangers before for the sake of God, godliness, and freedom, you will not be unequal to yourselves in this matter, especially since your godly concern on the occasion of this matter 5) will precede your own.

2) *Rotembergae*, Rotenburg an der Fulda. There the marriage of Philipp with Margaretha von der Sala took place on March 3.

3) See No. 2610.

4) This will perhaps refer to No. 2667.

5)

which has induced some of ours (which they would otherwise never have done) to sign it. And verily the manner of life which the prince now observes is much farther from infamy than before he corrupted himself (alas!) by illicit and indiscriminate lechery (*promiscua venere*), and there was occasion to blaspheme the gospel.

We do not doubt your godliness. We know and revere your gifts. You have hitherto sufficiently demonstrated the insurmountable majesty of your minds in the face of danger. Therefore, it does not require many words with you, whom we acknowledge and revere as our fathers and teachers in the Lord. We wish you in the Lord JEsu, and for quite a long time, the best of prosperity. And again we adjure you by the mercy of GOD that you will not leave us or ours in this matter, because of the many dangers which may arise from it for the Gospel and the churches. And again of our prince you shall be convinced once for all that, if Christ is gracious, he would rather lose his life and everything than fall away from the Gospel. We also desire your counsel, whether you deem it more useful to leave this matter doubtful as it is, or whether it seems more advisable to disclose to the noblest of the knighthood and the most respected of the cities both the deed itself and the causes of the deed which drove the prince to it, so that in these anxieties and distresses we do not carelessly subject ourselves to any matter which we might afterwards regret in vain, when the ability to change and recant has been taken away. We also ask, as diligently and respectfully as we can and should, that you not be sorry for your counsel.

No. 2682.

(Weimar?) June 24, 1540.

To Hieronymus Weller.

Luther refuses to submit an intercession to the court (at Dresden), because he has lost all favour there.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. 185. 4. and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 302. Printed in *H. Welleri Opp. omnia* zn end, p. 202; in Schütze, vol. III, p. 139 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 295.

To the highly honored man, Mr. Hieronymus Weller, Doctor of Theology.

Mercy and peace! I would gladly do, my dear Jerome, what you desire, but I am compelled to refrain from it, if I am to give you

...but rather to make trouble. For we have lost so much favor with the court that I can neither write petitions nor use myself for anyone. For we are soon answered that we seek to rule over them, which they absolutely do not want to suffer. Thus we are compelled to be mute, and, since God permits it, we let Satan have his will over the ungrateful and the hopeful. Therefore you must use other friends who can be of use to you. I am well pleased with the two psalms which you have interpreted; continue happily in the Lord and prosper in him. All our people greet you with me. On St. John's Day [June 24] 1540. Yours, M. Luther.

No. 26683.

(Weimar?) 25 June 1540.

To the Duchess Catharina of Saxony.

Luther repeatedly asks them (see No. 2565) to take up the cause of the Reformation in the Duchy of Saxony.

Printed in the Jenaer Ausg. (1568), vol. VII, p. 392; in the Altenburger, vol. VII, p. 426; in the Leipziger, vol. XXI,p.371; inWalch,vol. XXI,438; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 296, and in the Erl. Ausgabe, vol. 55, p. 286.

I ask again in all humility that E. F. G. will help seriously and diligently, as you gave me great hope in Leipzig, that the churches and the schools, which is the highest service of God, may not be forgotten, nor be held in low esteem. For I hear and see many things that I would not have provided for myself, which truly displease me; although there is little to be gained from my displeasure, if it does not displease God Himself, and in the end does not come to a good end. May God give God the courage to see and do this (as God has given God the space and power to do it easily), so that the dear Gospel may increase in the principality, or even remain.

For it has many and great secret enemies within, who boast of being great lovers of the word, and yet are heartily hostile to the persons who have to lead it, which is a very coarse, foolish, and yet injurious handle to destroy the dear gospel by much and high boasting. E. F. G. will graciously accept such from me for the best. For

How can I leave it, and how will it behoove me, not to care for the dear gospel, or silently hear its detriment? Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befohlen, Amen. Friday after *Joannis Baptistae* [25 June] anno 1540.

E. F. G. williger
Martinus Luther.

No. 2684.

(Weimar?) 27 June 1540.

To Eberhard von der Tannen, Captain at Wartburg.

Eberhard, commissioned by the landgrave, had turned to Brück for advice, and in his letter also asked for Luther's advice, because of his double marriage. Luther informed him of his opinion.

A copy is in the archives at Weimar, *Reg. C, p.* 163, No. 19, *fol*. 247. Printed by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p.267.

To the strict, honourable Eberhard von der Tann (Than), captain of Wartburg, my favourable lord and good friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Strict, firm, dear sir and friend! To your letter to Doctor 2c. Bridges for faithful counsel, M. gn. H., the Landgrave, into which you also drew me, I truly know nothing better than that you yourselves write: how his F. G. would be minded to write to the Emperor where he arrived: they would have taken a concubine to themselves; which they also wanted to do from themselves, if other princes and lords would first give a good example. Such a writing would make a clamor and come out everywhere, so that the matter would be covered up and made secret, and all the mouths that are now clamoring would be closed. For that his majesty should otherwise issue a writ of prohibition, or tell the matter, is in no way to be advised, and there would be neither measure nor end to the dispute and suspicion. But if the Emperor had to consider it a concubin, no one else could speak or think, and I will, if God wills, keep silent my part of the confession I received from his F. G. through Butzern, and I should be disgraced by it. For it is best that it be said that Dr. Martinus has ingratiated himself with a fine indulgence of your landgrave (for it is
have probably fooled greater men and are still fooling, as one says: A wise man does no small foolishness), before I want to reveal the reasons why we have secretly given in, because that would be too great a disgrace and humiliation for the landgrave, and would also make the matter much worse. Therefore, help us here, so that the F. G. does not write a letter, but writes to the Emperor (as said), so that one cry will dampen the other; then we will be confident to help. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Sunday after St. John [27 June] 1540. Martinus Luther.

No. 2685.

Weimar. 2 July 1540.

To Georg Rörer.

(Regest.)

Luther asked for his expert opinion on a passage of Scripture that seemed to him to be corrupt.

From *Flacii Regulae et trctatus etc.. Magdeb.* 1558,
often printed; last with C. Krafft, Theol. Arbeiten des rhein. wissensch. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 355.

No. 2686.

Weimar. 2 July 1540.

To his wife.

Luther reports his well-being. About an exorcism in Arnstadt. About the occupation of the parish of Greußen and several domestic matters.
The original is at the Munich Court and State Library. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 356 f.

To My Dearest Käthe, Doctor Lutherin and Women on the New Hemmarket, for your attention.

G. u. F. Dear Maiden Käthe, Madam of Zülsdorf (and whatever else E. G. is called)! I humbly inform you and Ewr. G. that I am doing well here; I eat like a behemoth and drink like a German, thank God, amen. That is why M. Philipps has truly been dead, and has risen from the dead just like Lazarus. God, the dear Father, hears our prayer, that we see and grasp, even though we do not believe it; so no one says amen to our shameful unbelief. I have written to Dr. Pommer, Pastor, how the

Count of Schwarzburg asks for a pastor (pfarrher) to Greussen, you may also help as a wise woman and doctor with M. Georg Major and M. Ambrosio, which of the three I have indicated to the Pomeranian. It is not a bad parish, but you are wise and do it better.

Here at Arnstadt (Arnsted) the priest has cast out a devil from a maidlin in a quite Christian manner 1) of which we want to say, God willing, he is still alive, and let the devil be sorry.

I have received letters from the children, also from Baccalaria (who is not a child) (nor from Mary), but I have received nothing from E. Grace, now you will answer the fourth letter, if God wills, with your gracious hand.

I am sending here with M. Paul 2) the silver apple which her (ir) G. H. gave me, which you may divide among the children, as I spoke before, and ask how much they want to take cherries and apples for it, pay them cash over, and you keep (the) stem of it.

Tell our dear boarders, especially Doctor Severo or Schiefer, my kind heart and good will, and that they will help in all matters of the churches, schools, house, and wherever it may be necessary. Also M. Georgen Major and M. Ambrosio, that they may be comforting to you at home; if God wills it, we will be up by Sunday [July 4] to move from Weimar to Eisenach, and Philipps with us. Hereby commanded by God. Tell our wolf (Sieberger) (*Lacaoni*) that he will not miss the mulberries, he will sleep through them; he will not do that, he will miss it; and the wine he shall also draw off in time. Be merry all, and pray, Amen. Weimar, *die visitationis* [2 July] 1540. Martinus Luther,

your sweetheart.

No. 2687.

Weimar. 2 July 1540.

To Johann Lang in Erfurt.

Luther announces to him his visit in Erfurt, and that he will bring Melanchthon with him, who is recovered from his illness.

1) "Wise" put by us instead of: "will".

2) Paul Eber.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 289, printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 140 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 297.

To the Christian man, the Doctor of Theology Johann Lang, Bishop of Erfurt, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace! Yes, you may rather expect and receive us (if God gives grace), either on the next Sunday or Monday, my dear Laug. For it is firmly decided to take supper (*coenare*) at Erfurt, either on Sunday or on Monday, if God does not refuse it. At the same time we will bring the Lord Philip with us. Namely, we are traveling again straight to Hagenau, I would like to think, perhaps to see for the last time that terrible Syrian, 3) the Behemoth, 4) whom in the second Psalm he who dwells in heaven has laughed at for twenty years, more or less. But this laughter they shall not understand, till the lamentable end of the psalm 5) is come to them: Ye shall perish in the way, because his wrath is unburned, because they will not kiss the Son. Auren, Amen, let it be done, let it be done, so they have deserved it, so they want it. Farewell and pray for us. Philip is quite well after so great an illness, for the same was more considerable than I would have believed. For we found him dead; by a miracle of God he is alive. Again, be well. On the day of the Visitation of Mary [July 2] 1540. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2688.

(Eisenach.) July 10, 1540.

To his wife.

On money matters, general lack of small coin, Melanchthon's recovery 2c.

From I. F. Karrer's History of the Lutheran Church of the Principality of Oettingen, reprinted in the Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche, edited by.

3) Cf. Is. Cap. 7, 4. ff. One would also like to think of the Assyrian Rabsake.

4) To make some sense, we have deleted the punctum before *sentirem.*

5) We have retained the original reading *finis* against *finit* in De Wette, and *Psalmi* (with Sagittarius) read instead: *Psalmus*

Rudelbach u. Guericke. 14th Jahrg., 4th quarter, Lpz. 1853, p. 707. enclosure. XX b; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 225; in Strobel, Collection 2c., no. XLVII, p. 134; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 268 and, according to a copy of the original in the Fürstlich Oettingenschen Archive, in Burkhardt, p. 498. - This letter is, as Seidemann rightly says, "a formal specimen card of variants," almost as many variants as text. We have followed Burkhardt.

Women Katherin Luderin zu Wittenberg 2c., my dear housewives 2c.

G. u. F. Dear Maid Käthe! I send you here with the carter Doctor Blickards 2c.

Forty-two thalers, the pay to be forfeited on Michaelmas in the future, plus the 40 fl. of Georgelt Schnellen on account; you may need it until we come. We do not have a penny of small coin at court, as wavy as you have in Wittenberg. For Georgen Schnellen from H. Georgen Land full of Weissensee has come the small money. But I think that 1000 fl. have now come or will soon come to Groschlin from m. gten 1) Herr zur Wechsel; for it is ever so ordered. It would be good, however, that the people begin to avoid even the Marks, like the Scottish pennies, because they do too much harm to this principality, because one is not worth 5 pf. And "may the length not be suffered without the ruin of my good lord, also of his lands and people, as we shall say, God wills. You "lay try with Hans von Taubenheim in Torgau, whether he could or will change you for the Thaler small coin. Nothing new, that also here in these lands the devil rages with terrible examples of his wickedness, and drives the people [to] murder, fire, 2) self-murder 2c. They are also quickly caught and judged, so that God may admonish us to believe, fear and pray. For it is God's punishment for the ingratitude and contempt of His dear word. Magister Philipps comes back to life from the grave, still looks sickly, but still lively, jokes and laughs with us again and eats and drinks with us over the table as before. Praise be to God, and give thanks also with us to the dear Father in heaven, who raises the dead and alone saves all the dead.

1) Burkhardt offers here and elsewhere, according to his transcription: "g etc." instead of: "gten".

2) Burkhardt: "mordbrand".

grace and goodness for ever and ever, amen. But pray diligently, as ye ought, for our Lord Christ, that is, for us all that believe on him, against the host of devils which now rage at Hagenau, and rise up against the Lord and his anointed, and seek to break down their foundations, 2c. as the other psalm saith, that they may mock God in heaven, and at the last break them as the vessels of a potter, amen. But what shall happen there we know not yet, except it be thought that they shall say unto us, Do this, and this 2c., or we will devour you. For they have evil in mind. Tell Doct. Schifer, that I think no more of Ferdinaudo; he is perishing. But I am afraid, as I have often prophesied, that the pope may bring the Turk upon us, since Ferdinand would not almost resist, as he is said to have said some strange words, and to see the work evenly. For the pope sings ready: *Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo*. 3) If he cannot drive the emperor over us, he will try it with the Turk. He will not give way to Christ; so let Christ also smite both Turks, pope and devil, and prove that he is the right and only Lord, set on the right hand of the Father, amen. Amsdorf is also still here with us. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Saturday after Kiliani [10. Julia] 1540. Mart. Luther.

You will know how to give the wages and drink money to the carter Wolffen. I think, if you have the windows made in the new roof, for I forgot it when I moved away, there should only be two against the Collegio between the two fire walls, and above in the ridge none against the Collegio, and three small ones with upright bricks against the kitchen; on the corridor into the dark room, half should be dressed high through the two embroidered 4) fields 5) (so that one could go underneath) and the light should fall in to the roof, 6) but I hope it is omitted.

3) *Virg. Aen., lib*. VII, V. 312. - "8i" is missing in Burkhardt.

4) Variants: "sieved" and "supported".

5) Variants: "patched" and: "boarded".

6) One sees here that Burkhardt's hope to "finally eliminate the calamity" by the copy delivered to him is not yet completely fulfilled.

(Eisenach.) **No. 2689.** 16 July 1540.

To his wife.

Luther reports about his well-being and news.

The original is in Königsberg at the von Wallenrodt library (which, like the originals of this library in general, has been treated barbarically). Printed in Lilienthal's Erläut. Preußen, vol. IV (mutilated); in Borowski-Faber, p. 98; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 298 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 287.

To my gracious maiden Katherin Lutherin von Bora and Zülsdorf gen Wittenberg, my sweetheart.

G. u. F. My dear maiden and Frau Käthe! Your Grace shall know that here, in praise of God, we are fresh and healthy; eat like the Behemen (but not very much); drink like the Germans (but not much), but are merry. For our gracious lord of Magdeburg, Bishop Amsdorf, is our table companion. More new newspaper we know not, for that Dr. Caspar, Mecum and Menius have been well cared for, have gone on a walk from Hagenow to Strasbourg, Hans full of jeans for service and honor. M. Philipps has again become fine, praise God. Tell my dear Dr. Schiefer that his King Ferdinand wants to get a hue and cry, as if he wanted to ask the Turk to be godfather over the Protestant princes; do not hope that [it] is true, otherwise it would be too coarse. Write me also once whether you have received everything that I sent you, as the other day 90 fl. at Wölfen Fuhrmann 1) 2c. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. And let the children pray. There is such heat and drought here that day and night are unspeakable and infallible. Come, dear last day, amen. Friday after Margaret [July 16] 1540. The Bishop of Magdeburg sends you his friendly greetings. Your sweetheart

Martin Luther.

No. 2690. 18 July 1540

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther.

(Regest.)

Extensive response to Luther's speeches in Eisenach. The Landgrave defends his course of action and exhorts Luther not to become fainthearted out of fear of the world. - Answered on: July 24.

Printed by M. Lenz, Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 380. The above regest by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 360. - The "July 8" by Kolde is a printing error.

1) At De Wette and in the Erlanger: "Paermann".

No. 2691.

(Eisenach.) , July 19 or 20, 1540.

Concerns of Luther and the Electoral Council about the Landgrave's double marriage, at Eisenach.

Explaining the consequences of the publication, they advise to keep the deal secret and send various forms how to answer evasively to possible inquiries. Also Margaretha von der Sala must be kept completely secret, the Landgrave must approach the Landgravine more, the relevant documents must be confiscated and, if necessary, the Court of Appeal must be recused.

From the state archives at Marburg printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 360.

Written Concerns 2) of Luther and the other electoral counsellors and theologians, the Landgrave Räthen finally delivered.

We have read through the submitted advice of its content and noted the same on two main points.

Now as far as the first, namely the secrecy 2c., is concerned, that our gracious lord, the Landgrave of Hesse 2c, will adhere to such advice, not only pleases us well, but we also advise it faithfully and ask that it be done in such a way, completely subserviently, and that his F. G. let this matter stand in *terminis quaestionis facti, that* is, doubtful whether it is so or not, as his F. G. should be instructed, and that his F. G. should be allowed to stand in *terminis quaestionis facti, that* is, doubtful whether it is so or not, as his F. G. should be instructed, and that his F. G. should be allowed to stand in *terminis quaestionis facti.* G., and that his F. G. with loud and strong confession ever does not surrender, then we have no doubt that the rumor that has arisen shall soon dissipate, as, God be praised, has already begun to happen. For as long as the people do not learn a certain reason for it, they become weary of talking about it, even of hearing much about it, and slacken. But if the deal were first to be made public by public confession, the fire and clamor would start again with unheard-of and so burdensome annoyance that it would be unaccountable even to God for the sake of conscience. Then also

2) This is the last concern about the advice which the Landgrave had sent to Eisenach on July 22. It was submitted after the Elector had left Eisenach on July 18, sent after him, and immediately approved by him. On July 23, Brück and Pack wrote about it from Eisenach to the Hessian Chancellor Feige.

The chiefs and males of the opposite part accept the matter with more trepidation, and think, as if it were time to make such a bargain and not to let it go unchallenged, and first of all, since one would not only stand by the deed and the fact, but also defend the matter publicly, contrary to the imperial and ecclesiastical rights described and the common custom of all Christendom, contrary to the imperial and ecclesiastical rights described and the common custom of all Christendom, as a common right and permission, or even just as a Christian dispensation, and let that which is now still *in quaestione facti* come *ad quaestionem juris.*

If the trade also remains *in quaestione facti,* and such an answer is given to the authorities once, or also to others, from which they note that it is not the opinion that one wants to carry out and protect such news, then the authorities will rather be inclined to suppress the rumor and not help to increase the annoyance by their actions, and by their action help not to increase the offence, besides that the great lords have enough to do in these tides, that they much rather spare than burden themselves with unnecessary matters of evidence and lawful execution; They will also no doubt consider, if 1) our gracious Lord of Hesse does not deny the matter and the requirement of public confession, 2) that it would be difficult for them to prove things legally. For there are few people who enjoy it, and in addition are engaged in their duties, not to report anything about it, that one would save them easily, also slowly and hardly be able to penetrate to testify about the conscious things, contrary to their duties.

In addition, if the fact were to be proven after long and many efforts, then first all kinds of burdensome disputations would occur, which they would much rather keep quiet about than have brought to light by their unnecessary pressing. Again, would also consider how difficult it might be for them to finally execute their and the 3) Court of Appeal's decision or verdict.

1) Kolde: "whereby".
2) "barred" put by us instead of: "spared"; in the manuscript perhaps: "verjhaet" == affirmed.
3) Kolde: "the".

There is no doubt that all princes, princes and estates, both of heredity and also of Christian understanding, would be more inclined and willing to be helpful, supportive and obedient to our gracious lord, the landgrave, since the matters remained *in quaestione facti,* than to be remembered in *quaestione juris,* because everyone, as is to be expected, will greatly fear the dreadful and sinful annoyance that has arisen from the uncertain rumor, and will also consider his wife and children in it, because not all women are as kind as our gracious Lady, the Landgrave, is showing herself to be kind and patient for the sake of such business.

But against this we have heard next at the town hall what our gracious lord, the landgrave, has for misgivings and complaints that his F. G. should deny the trade strack und rund (round) for reasons.

4) Although we are confident that a strict denial before God and for the sake of conscience should be less burdensome, as can be seen from many examples in the Holy Scriptures, for that with a strict and public confession and defense the great annoyance and the anxious apostasy of many good-hearted people should be confirmed, so we have noted from the submitted counsel, in what form, also on what form a middle and doubtful answer should be given to the emperor, king, also to the chamber court and others, so that his F. G. should be able to hear it. G. should be given. Also Doctor Martinus Luther has indicated an opinion, not unserviceable, in this regard. 5) About this we have thought of another form, as noted on the enclosed note. And have done so, whether from the three harmless forms such an answer could be drawn together, which nevertheless, according to opportunity, would make his F. G. indisputable, and the authorities, also others, a thought, not to ponder further on such once noted answer after the reason of the trade, nor to inquire unnecessarily.

But in addition to such concerns, it will be necessary for our gracious Father to take care of

4) Kolde: "only".
5) This concern of Luther's has not been preserved.

Lord, the landgrave, henceforth to hold and collect the things so that his F. G., contrary to such doubtful, unprovable answer, be less noted with the receipt, which would happen to our consideration and the rumor could be reduced and finally eliminated, namely, so that his F. G. put the person in a place, so that the people would be less aware of her, 1) and rode secretly to her according to his F. G.'s liking, and let his F. G.'s husband be around his F. G. more often and more for a while, also showed themselves in other ways, as the presented advice indicated at the end.

In all cases, however, it should be of use that his F. G. should bring back to himself the instruments made in the course of trade, and otherwise leave them in no one's hands, for instruments are, as the legal scholars say 2) . . .

But if the one from Brunswick would touch this matter in his further intended tender, then we considered in courtesy that against this man it should not be necessary to discuss the trade extensively, but that a mocking and scolding answer should be given to him, and to answer fools foolishly, for he has too great a beam in his eyes that he can be answered in a dissolute manner, so that all the world would be well satisfied as against such a one, and especially 3) if the substance of the answer would be included, as it is required to be given by the Emperor and others. Maj. and others have been considered and decided to give.

As far as the other main point of the advice is concerned, namely: If the Superior would not be satisfied with the reported answer, but would further insist on the Landgrave, or have legal proceedings taken against his F. G. by the Court of Appeal or otherwise, then we humbly consider that Imperial Maj. then can easily, after the opportunity of her

1) Rudolph Walter (*Gualterus*) wrote to Heinrich Bullinger on Aug. 4, 1540: "She [Margaretha von der Sal] lives in a certain monastery in Wisenstain with several noble virgins whom she has at her service from the prince, and differs in nothing from a true princess; indeed, she also wants to be held worthy of this honor and this name. For her dowry she has received, as the common rumour goes, twenty thousand florins." (*Corp. Ref.* , Vol. III, 1062, note).

2) The end of this sentence is missing.

3) Here we have deleted a superfluous "and".

Maj.'s request, further answer may be given and namely the previous answer raised, also all kinds of persuasiones introduced to induce her Maj. not to punish (anten) this trade unnecessarily, nor also to complain with the deed to his F. G. about unknown and unprovable things.

There is no doubt that the Electors and Princes of the Legion, as well as the estates of the Christian understanding, would, at the request of His Holiness, if the matters remained in *quaestione facti, help with* Imperial Majesty all possible efforts and show all fairness; and not only the reported Electors, Princes, and Estates, but also other Electors and Princes, each of whom has a few members. Maj. and show themselves in all fairness; and not only the reported Electors, Princes and Estates, but also other Electors and Princes, of whom there are not a few, who think his F. G. friendly and well, who would also much rather see and hear that his F. G. would like to press the deal and not let it come to public speeches and disputations with annoyance 5). For if our gracious lord, the Landgrave, were to lay hold of the exceptions considered in the council proposal, his majors would make themselves very suspicious of the matters, and also almost confess them, and especially with the 6) *declinationes fori,* as if such a matter *tamquam matrimonialis did* not belong before a secular court, but a general council, for one would have to put the reason for such exceptions on a digamy.

Therefore it is best that the things remain in *terminis quaestione facti* and in the rights, so in the Rathschlag allegirt, saying, *quod occulta non ecclesia*, to hear, 7) *donec manent absque confessione vel probatione occulta,* because there it says, as another text says: *quod occulta non habent publicam vindictam*.

And if our gracious lord, the Landgrave, should ever be molested by the Court of Appeal, and his F. G. should not have reservations about it for other reasons, then in our opinion it would be much better if his F. G. should recusir the same, and his F. G. should have suitable reasons for this, and should have a well-formed recusir put forward, which his F. G., praise be to God, should know well how to put, for in this way, in addition to the Secret Court, he should have the right of recusir.

4) Instead of "with" at Kolde, we assumed "nit".

5) Kolde: "can".

6) Kolde: "dem".

7) To wit.

the things would probably and soon bleed to death.

All this we want to indicate for our submissive concern on the above-mentioned, submitted advice for improvement, humbly requesting to note the same not differently than faithfully and well-meant.

No. 2692.

(Eisenach.) July 20, 1540.

Concerns about the landgrave's double marriage.

Luther insists on secrecy of the confessional.

From the original in the secret archives at Weimar, Reg. C, pag. 163, no. 19, fol. 115, printed by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 272.

As I have advised and asked from the beginning until now, so I still advise and ask (and this time for the last time. For I cannot do any more, nor will I, if I finally let it go) most humbly, M. G. Herr, the Landgrave, wanted to keep this matter secret again and keep it, for it is impossible to publicly defend the right, as I said yesterday, and S. F. G. will learn in time that we have meant it cordially and faithfully with S. F. G. in such counsel, and God will give His blessing to it.

If, however, S. F. G. of others, or also their F. G. themselves, want to reveal it to the Council, and want to burden churches and estates to defend such a thing for our whole confession, as they must help to carry it, then it is fair and necessary that they all be asked about it beforehand and taken to counsel. Otherwise, they should and will refuse to defend themselves, as if they had no conscience, and Dr. M[artin] and M. Ph[ilippus] will do nothing with their authority (even if they could do it and justify something).

And before I want to defend it obviously, I want to say no to my and M. Philipp's counsel publicly presented, because it is not *publicum concilium,* and *fit nullum per publicationem*. Or if that would not help, I will rather confess, where it should be called a counsel and not rather (as it is) a request, that I have erred and deceived, and ask for mercy. For
the offense is too great and unmistakable. And M. G. Herr, the Landgrave, should consider that S. F. G. would have enough of it, that they may have the mead secretly with a good conscience, according to our confession, on their F. G. confession.

Considering that S. F. G. has so little need nor causes for revelation, and can easily be kept in secret, thereby to degenerate so great unpleasantness and unhappiness.

I'm sticking to that.

No. 2693.

(Eisenach.) July 24, 1540.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

Luther tries to persuade him that he must keep the double marriage secret for his own good.

The original is in the Court and State Archives at Kassel. Printed in Niedners Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie 1852, Heft II, p. 275 and in De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 273.

G. u. F. in Christo. Sublime, highborn Prince, gracious Lord! I have received E. F. G.'s writing, which, as it seems to me, is written out of a moved mind, so that I am not aware that I should have deserved it. For as far as it seems to me, E. F. G. want to understand this deal as if we were doing it for our own sake, and not to degenerate E. F. G. to faithful subservient service, E. F. G. in the future burden. Therefore I hereby want to inform F. F. G. out of the right reason of my heart that I do not ask and warn so diligently against the revelation of the advice for my own sake; F. F. G. should take it for that with pleasure and not doubt that it is not to be done for my sake. Even if all devils would have revealed the counsel, [I] still want to know how to answer them by God's grace, that they should have nothing against me.

For I have the advantage that E. F. G., as well as all the devils themselves, must testify and confess to me: first, that it is a secret counsel; second, that I have pleaded with all diligence that it not be revealed; third, if it comes to pass, I am sure that it is not revealed through me. As long as I have these three things, I will not counsel the devil himself, that he may take my pen.

God will help me. By the grace of God, I know well how to distinguish between what may be yielded by grace in the distress of conscience before God, and what is not right before God in an external being on earth, apart from such distress. And do not like that E. F. G. should only come into the feather fight with you, E. F. G. have enough to do otherwise, and I too.

But this is the reason why I cannot and will not (as far as possible) let E. F. G., because they are in the confession with me, get into trouble, and I acknowledge my guilt as a Christian to advise and serve his neighbour to the best of his ability.

For if E. F. G. reveals the counsel at once, I do not care. But E. F. G.'s search is not achieved by this, and nothing is achieved, except that E. F. G. makes things all the worse for E. F. G.'s own neck, so that we cannot help E. F. G. out of it again, however much we would like to and would like to.

For the F. F. G. will not be able to maintain that the world should accept such a secret marriage of the F. F. G. for a public marriage, if they were to present many hundreds of Luther's, Philip's, and others. They will say, however, that Luther and Philipps have no power, contrary to public and praiseworthy law, to decree otherwise, although they are secretly guilty of counseling otherwise for the necessity of conscience.

In the world, too, things must be done in such a way that no court can interfere with another court, otherwise it would remain a desolate creature and not a court. In Saxon law, thieves are hanged; in Roman and Muslim law, they are not hanged, and many other such things. And yet God wills that such vile law be held to be law. How much more will he in this case want to have held the secular law contra *digamiam*, and yet in koro [*conscientiae*] 1) have his hands untied to let *diagamiam* go for necessary reasons against the secular law.

Where now E. F. G. through revelation of the counsel wants to go from God's judgment (who with grace yields to necessity) into man's judgment, then also E. F. G. of human

1) The word missing here is said to have become illegible in the original (Seidemann).

Right punishment suffer without the protection and help of divine judgment, in which the F.F.G. are not left. For the sake of the F. F. G.. God will not let the judgment of man, which he has confirmed, be torn asunder, even though he has shown mercy in his judgment. And our doctrine freely confesses that we not only want to leave worldly rights (where they are not against God) unhindered, but also want to help promote them.

From this it follows, where E. F. G. wants to stand on the revelation of the counsel, that finally E. F. G. must again do away with the chit as a whore, or else again crawl into this secret counsel. So it would be as much with honor now as with shame afterwards.

And what do E. F. G. dispute about it, that they do not want to consider the Metze a whore? Must they now, before the counsel is revealed, suffer that she is a whore before all the world, although she is held before us three, 2) that is, before God, no differently than a conjugal concubine. What is it then, that E. F. G. must suffer such cries any longer, with a good conscience, out of which necessity (as we believe) such happens, that in E. F. G.'s conscience she is no whore? F. G.'s conscience she is not a whore.

I write all this so that E. F. G. may hear that it is really not about me, who knows well to turn me out where it comes to the pen, and to leave E. F. G. in it. F. G. inside, which I do not want to do, because I cannot avoid it. For I do not intend to leave E. F. G. in this matter, as much as my mind and life can, not only for E. F. G.'s sake, but also for E. F. G.'s sake. F. G. alone, but for the sake of the whole confession, which is highly burdened with this matter.

Therefore do not worry E. F. G. how they do not want to let me out of the council, but much more how they do not push me out violently with such a way.

E. F. G. also wanted to think again how difficult it would be for the pious people, whom we otherwise plagued by the devil and all the world, to take such aversions upon themselves. For where a

2) That is before the landgrave, Luther and Melanchthon. For the secret Rathschlag (No. 2610) was signed only by the latter two. Bucer and the Hessian theologians had added their names only later.

Each one wants to carry out what he desires and put it on the pious pile, which will not last long, because it is right and just what they should help to carry and suffer, that they should also be consulted beforehand about it, and their will and opinion be found out.

That E. F. G. also finally indicates how the emperor, attacked in our attack, might be enraged by revelation, I hope it is not E. F. G. serious, would not help E. F. G. things. And if it were serious, I would not only take the Emperor's actions, but also the Scriptures, and read the text: *Omnis homo mendax, Et nolite confidere in principibus*. For he who rages against God's truth is easily reproached as a liar and a false man, which he would also have to suffer. Therefore, such E. F. G. advertisements do not move me at all, that I should bear the revelation of the counsel, which is done without my knowledge and will.

That E. F. G. jokes with me how we theologians take what we like, I have read happily. But thus it is not our fault that you princes do not take what you please. Why do you not otherwise? So I also hope that E. F. G. himself will also learn from dear Metze: where there is nothing more to be had in a beautiful woman than the paw at you, or as they say: short pleasures, long displeasure, it would not be possible to keep a marriage long, or to start a new one. It is God's will that either children come to this merry work, or fornication be avoided; otherwise I no longer know what the beautiful help more.

But I sincerely pray for this, so that the F. G. will not be suspicious of me, as if I let myself be incited against the F. G. I mean it from the heart, God knows that, and out of the great concern that I bear for the F. G.; if the F. G. do not believe it, they will probably find out in the end, and then thank me in vain. So I can truly see that my most gracious Lord is very serious and that all of us are willing to advise and help E. F. G. faithfully.

Since E. F. G. apologizes, they have loved the mead before, also well before others.
...that serves no purpose. For the choice should be free, and no one denies E. F. G. to love in the way E. F. G. writes. But it is nevertheless true that I myself read that one of E. F. G.'s good friends wrote that the landgrave would not persuade anyone to take a wife for the sake of his conscience.

Now consider, E. F. G., if our best friends speak such things, what will the enemies speak? For such speech will have the effect of nullifying our counsel, and he who will not let it go may say: Doctor Martinus believed that it was impossible to believe, and deceived himself and gladly let himself be deceived, if we still believe that E. F. G. was in earnest, and in secret confession do not let E. F. G. think of making such high and renewed words false.

Summa, I still ask E. F. G. to let the advice remain secret, and to let the speeches fizzle out and booze away, also to withdraw what can be withdrawn, so that the annoyance, which does not want to be defended, is quieted, because I do not see how E. F. G. can be urged to the revelation. And because E. F. G. does not allow himself to give an *ambiguous* answer where it should be, it is just as much said as that E. F. G. did not want to vaunt the mead before the world. If they were to remain eternally and always be *ambiguous, it* would soon be acceptable to God.

Herewith I command E. F. G. the dear God, for I mean faithfully what I want to advise my own soul.

Saturday after M[ariä] Magdalenä [the 24th of July] 1540.

E. F. G.
willing

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2694.

(Eisenach.) July 26, 1840.

To his wife.

Luther reports his return home. Of the Diet of Hagenau; of Melanchthon's restoration; of forest fires.

1) That is, words consecrated by an oath. See Melanchthon's letter to Veit Dietrich, Sept. 1, 1540, *Corp. Ref.* , Vol.III, 1079: *addito etiam jurejurando*.

The original is in the von Wallenrodt Library in Königsberg. Printed in Lilienthal's Erläut. Preußen, IV. B. (mutilated); in Borowski-Faber, p. 102; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 299 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 288.

Of the rich women of Zülsdorf, Lady Doctor Katherin Luther, living in Wittenberg in the flesh, and living in Zülsdorf in the spirit, to my beloved. - Absent your Dr. Pomeran, pastor, to break and read.

. . 1) We want to make sure that we find a good drink of beer with you. For, whether God wills it, tomorrow, Tuesday, we will set out for Wittenberg. It is a mess with the Imperial Diet at Hagenow, toil and labor are lost and fare is in vain; yet, though we have accomplished nothing more, we have hoisted M. Philipps out of the pit again and want to bring him cheerfully home from your grave, if God wills and with His grace, amen. The devil himself is possessed with new evil devils, burns and does harm, which is terrible. More than a thousand acres of wood have burned in the Thuringian Forest for my most gracious lord and are still burning. In addition, today there are newspapers that the forest at Werda has also caught fire, and many more places; no extinguishing helps. This will make expensive wood. Pray and let us pray against the wicked Satan, who seeks us not only in soul and body, but also in reputation and honor most fiercely. Christ our Lord would come down from heaven and blow up a little fire for the devil and his companions, which he could not quench, amen. I was not sure whether these letters would find you in Wittenberg or in Zülsdorf; otherwise I would have written about more things. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Greetings to our children, boarders and all. Monday after Jacobi [26 July] 1540. Your sweetheart

M. Luther, D.

No. 2695. 27 July 1540.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther.

(Regest.)

Detailed answer to Luther's letter of July 24 (No. 2693), in which he explains the agitation of his previous

1) There is about one line missing here. It would probably like to be completed like this: Grace and peace in Christ. My dear Käthe! Ew. Gnaden 2c. Luther apologizes for his letter, promises not to publish the Rathschlag without the utmost necessity, but still, after the misgivings of the Saxon councilors, refuses to deny the matter. He has full confidence in Luther, and believes that a personal discussion will soon lead to an understanding.

Printed in Lenz, Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 385. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta* p. 365.

No. 2696.

(Wittenberg.) August 10, 1540.

To Justus Menius.

Luther thanks for the friendly hospitality enjoyed at Eisenach in the house of Menius during the Convention, and gives him orders.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Gud*. Printed by Schütze, Vol. III, p. 141 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 300.

To the man to be highly honored in your Lord, Mr. Justus Menius, your faithful servant of God and disciple of Christ, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace! It is nothing, my dear Justus, that you are concerned about how we were exempt or treated in your house; more happened than we deserved, and even more than we wanted. The will and doings of all have been exceedingly willing and diligent, especially of thy wife. Your son Timotheus we taught to steal nuts for pleasure, and this we saw and rejoiced in, and he alone was a very pleasant spectacle to us. "To my cousin, Heinrich Ludern," the elder, you will say that Dr. Teutleben (*Dietlebius*) promised me that he would faithfully conduct this affair; with him also I have left the other things, but he shall not drift. I cannot remind Teutleben more than perhaps by a new letter, if it is necessary, which the old man himself should have known. By the way, what Georg Schnell had forgotten, since he received those 40 guilders from Weissensee in Eisenach, they kept 14 groschen back for him there, I don't know under what title, which, as I remember, has not happened yet. It will therefore fall to you to inquire with what right they cut off these 14 groschen. 2) For if

2) *defalcentt*, will be derived from *falx*; to hedge.

If they act sacrilegiously, it must be reported to the prince, so that one does not finally continue after the example to also cut off some guilders. If, however, there is any right, it must be carried out justly. Tuesday after Cyriaci [August 10] 1540.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2697. 13 August 1540.

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

The duke asks their advice how Margrave Wilhelm, Archbishop of Riga, should hold himself against the demand of the order and the estates in Liefland to accept the ordination, habit and order. This request was brought to Luther and Melanchthon by Magister Christoph Jahn0: "what in this case would be most advisable to do without danger to conscience: whether the Margrave, in order to have opportunity in his office to be favorable to the Gospel, would in good conscience accept consecration, habit, order 2c. and take the oath to the pope; or whether it would be more Christian, better, more beneficial, and more blessed to leave the archbishopric out of his hands and give it into his hands. - Luther answered on the 10th of October.

Printed in Faber's collection of letters, p. 33. The above regest in Burkhardt, p. 358. The citation from the letter in De Wette, vol. V, p. 308, note.

No. 2698.

Stockholm. 16, August 1540.

King Gustav of Sweden to Luther.

(Regest.)

The king thanks for the sending of M. Georg Normann (cf. No. 2529), confesses to be a zealous supporter of the Wittenberg theologians, and warns not to give credence to the slurs of his religious enemies.

Printed in the Skriftelige Bewis, hörande till Swensko Kyrkio - Historien eller Biskops-Chrönikan (by Spegel), p. 85 and in Burkhardt, p. 359. - p. 359, line 1 f. is to be read: "uns, unseren jungen Leibeserben, Herrschaften und Reichen zu sonderm Wohlgefallen" 2c. instead (in Burkhardt): "vns vnser jungen leibs erbherschaften vnd reichen zu sondern wollgefallen" 2c.

No. 2699. i8. August 1540.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Landgrave asks for the return of his letter of 18 July.

Printed in M. Lenz, Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 388. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 366.

1) De Wette calls him "Jonas."

No. 2700.

(Wittenberg.) August 22, 1540.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

(Regest.)

Answer to the previous letter. Luther sends back the demanded letter. The shouting ceases. Thanks for a gift sent to his wife.

Same locations as the previous number.

No. 2701.

(Wittenberg.) August 24, 1540.

To Conrad von Krajek.

(Regest.)

Luther answers to the information demanded by a message about the book of the key power, as well as about a letter (allegedly written by Luther) to Gregory (pastor iu Jung-Bunzlau in Bohemia) to the effect that the latter had scolded about the book translated into Bohemian and had declared it heretical, why a student wrote a sharp letter under Luther's name to Gregory, who sent it back to Luther. Luther's judgment was now this: If the book is faithfully translated, it should remain so; Luther had also proved to the pastor by letter the incorrectness of the papist doctrine of the power of the keys. Although he agrees with your student, he wants to punish the letter writer. If Gregory's opinion is that Christ's power of absolution is different from Peter's, it is incorrect; likewise that Peter could have absolved by his own power, for Peter's office in absolution is Christ's; there are not two different offices. Tuesday on the day of St. Bartholomew, 1540.

Printed by *Gindely, font. rer. austr.* XIX, 30. The above regest by Burkhardt, p. 360 f.

No. 2702.

(Wittenberg.) August 26, 1540.

To the Council of Riga.

Recommendation of M. Engelbert, probably to a preaching office.

The original is at the Riga City Library. Printed by De Wette, vol. V, p. 302 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 291.

To the honorable, prudent gentlemen, Mayor and Rathmanne of the city of Riga in Liefland, my favorable good friends.

Respectable, prudent, dear gentlemen! Magister Engelbertus has asked me for a report on your writing. Accordingly, as far as I have seen in fine writing, he is first of all well reported to the pure Christian doctrine.

He is also hostile to all sects, so that I consider him blameless and wholesome in this. Secondly, he is otherwise also known to be pious and honest. Thirdly, he is also learned enough in the languages. But how he is able to practice preaching and teaching orally, I do not know, for I have not heard him. Take heed also that ye know better such things among yourselves, 1) as he hath practised with you for some time, as he hath reported. Command the same Mag. Engelberten in your favor and friendly will. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Thursday after Bartholomew [26 Aug.] 1540.

Martinus LutheR, D.

No. 2703.

(Wittenberg.) August 27, 1540.

To Justus Menius.

An order. Sorry for short writing and greetings.

From the former Gndische Sammlung 214 at the Wolfenbüttel library at Schütze, vol. III, p. 141 and at De Wette, vol. V, p. 303.

To the highly famous man, Justus Menius, the disciple of Christ, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace! You shall, my dear Justus, tell my relative, Johann Schützmeister, that I have not yet received anything, but will faithfully send what I have received. Returning here, we are overwhelmed with so much business that there is no room to write any letters to anyone, which both he and you will very easily believe. Salute thine and thine own, and especially the nut thief or nut robber, 2) thy little Timothy, the exceedingly pleasant boy to us. This is one of the ten letters, 3) which I wrote this evening and have yet to write: take it for the best that it is shorter than you wished and I wished. Those 14 pennies may go/) as many other robberies go, of which

1) A gap is indicated here at De Bet.
2) Instead of *nucicrapam*, which does not exist, we have assumed *nucirapacem.*
3) Only two are reserved for us (De Wette).
4) Cf. no. 2696.

the whole world will be sucked dry. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. Friday after Bartholomew [27 Aug.] 1540.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2704.

(Wittenberg.) August 27, 1540.

To Anton Lauterbach in Pirna.

Luther apologizes for not being able to come to the wedding of Lauterbach's brother (cf. No. 2660), and gives him a council because of a peevish trade in his office.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 302. Printed in Innocent News 1726, p. 898; in Schütze, vol. III, p. 142; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 289 and in De Wette, vol. V, p.304. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1305.

To M. Anton Lauterbach, the faithful bishop and his extremely dear [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I will gladly be at your brother's wedding, my dear Anton, but in spirit and with my prayers. For that I do not come in body is not only due to the amount of business, but that I realize, rather that I know, that the Mammelucken and the queen of this kingdom are offended, for which I am perhaps somewhat to blame. And who is not offended by the nonsense of Luther?

I advise you to be patient with your mistresses, who (as you write) stubbornly cling to one figure (*pertinacibus unispeciebus*), and let the drunken Satan rage as long as it pleases God. You must bear the trouble, and in the meantime, as you do, exhort the others to the institution of Christ, and be sure that you will cause the devil greater trouble in his kingdom than those impotent ones. kingdom than those powerless mistresses (*domicellas*) in the kingdom of Christ. God will also put an end to these things. Only you shall despise and shun these people (*eos*), and let them despise and shun you. Thou art a public minister of the preaching ministry, those are private men and few; at last they shall be overcome. Fare well with your own. My Lord Käthe greets you. On Friday after Bartholomew [27 Aug.] 1540. Yours, Mart. Luther.

5) The Duchess Catharina of Saxony (?) (De Wette).

No. 2705.

(Eisenach.) August or September 1540.

Justus Menius to Luther.

Intercession for the Diaconus White.

The original is in the Wolf Collection of the Hamburg City Library, *Cod. I, fol.* 191. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta* p. 366.

To the venerable father, Mr. Martin Luther, Doctor of Holy Theology, his in Christ exceedingly dear father.

Johannes Weiß (Weis), the deacon of our church, told me when I returned home from the convent at Hagenau that he had been given hope of obtaining an increase in his salary through your mediation if I informed the most illustrious prince about the state of his affairs. Accordingly, at his request, I explained to the Prince : he had 65 florins a year, 5 malt of wheat and ten ounces of wood. In addition, from the vicariate of the convent of the Holy Virgin, 20 florins or a little more. The family consists of 9 persons, and I myself have asked that his salary be increased. But the most illustrious prince answered me that he knew nothing of your use, but that intercession had been made for another deacon, and that he had received as much as he had wanted. But since he now asks me, I would also like to support his cause with you, and ask you, if you are able to do such a thing, to be helpful to him.

No. 2706.

Zapfenburg. 1 September 1540.

Landgrave Philip to Luther and Melanchthon.

The Landgrave informs them that Elector Joachim of Brandenburg and Duke Henry of Saxony had sent an envoy to him because of his double marriage, what they had asked of him, and what answer he had given them. Now he asks for advice what he should do if he "should be harder hit. - The Landgrave's answer, dated Friedberg, August 27, was friendly, but negative: he intended to lead and complete his life in such a way that it would be acceptable before God.

1) The name of the letter writer is missing, but it can hardly be doubtful that it was Menius. For we see from the letter that the writer belonged to the deputies at the Convention of Hagenau, and Johannes Weiß was Diaconus of the church at Eisenach (see *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. III, 708).

and that he would not be dishonorable. - Perhaps this settled the whole matter; later nothing more occurs about it.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H,, p.* 365. 140. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 361.

...and our wills beforehand... Dearly beloved, dear special ones! We do not want to deprive you of your trustworthy opinion that a few days ago Margrave Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg, and Duke Heinrich of Saxony had their excellent envoys with us and had them advertise to us for the sake of the matter in hand. They have also received an answer from us, as the enclosed copies signed A. B. show, which answer we do not consider to be unequal, according to the advice which you and afterwards also others, the Elector's counsellors, recently considered at Eisenach, for we also drew it from such. Although we had an inclination to answer these envoys in 2) somewhat more harshly and to tell them that their masters should not worry about our housekeeping, but should look after their wives and children and people, and that we would leave them unperturbed in their housekeeping, we have nevertheless used the most lenient, and if we would like to remain with our given answer, that would be dear to us; but if we should be more harshly attacked, then let us know your concern as to what we should then further answer. That we do not deny too much, nor confess too much, that should not be lacking in us, for we would gladly remain in your counsels, if we did not press too hard, and would not save you this, that nevertheless we also have a knowledge, thus in your gracious opinion. You will find us inclined to mercy and good and as much as we are able [to show], 3) in all Christian and reasonable matters. Date Zapfenburg, on the first of September, Anno 1540.

No. 2707.

(Wittenberg.) 3. September 1540.

To Hieronymus Weller in Freiberg.

Luther disapproves of the reintroduction of the Buhlhäuser.

Manuscript at Gotha in *Cod. chart. 451. f.* and in *Cod.* 185.4. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 268 from *Collectio loc. commun. Luth., p.* 170; in *Opp. Welleri, p.* 207 at the end; in Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth. lib.* III, § 83, p. 313a from the collection of Sagittarius, and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 305. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1306. As the text in Seckendorf is considerably better than in De Wette, we have translated after him.

2) Burkhardt: "one".

3) Added by us.

To Dr. Jerome Weller, the servant of Christ.

Mercy and peace! Have nothing to do, my dear Jerome, with those who want the Buhlhouses to be restored. It would have been more tolerable if the devil had not been cast out than if he had been let in anew and fortified anew. Those who want to restore the Buhlhouses may first renounce the name of Christ and be pagans who do not know GODr. We Christians, if we want such fine, have a manifest word of God: "God will judge the fornicators and adulterers," much more those who favor them, protect them, assist them with counsel and help. How else could one teach publicly against fornication if one had to praise the authorities who permit fornication? But, they say, according to the words of Augustine, everything will be infected with fornication (*libidinibus*). Against this, by the grace of God, there is a remedy, namely, marriage, or the hope of marriage. But what need is there of marriage as a remedy, or of the hope of it, if we allow fornication to go unpunished? We have found out, when the houses of the Buhl were flourishing under the S,atan, that the things were not only not advised, but rather that by the example of free fornication profanation and adultery were increased, which was also publicly known. Now that, thank God, fornication is forbidden, there is less profanation and adultery, especially in public. Let the authorities (because they want to be Christian) punish both fornication and profanation as well as adultery, at least if it is obvious; if such things happen secretly a lot, they are excused. Summa: Against God we can do nothing, nor permit, nor tolerate. What is right must be done, even if the world were to perish over it. (*Fiat justitia et pereat mundus*.) Farewell. In haste. On Friday after Aegidii [Sept. 3] Anno 1540.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 2708.

Wittenberg. September 3, 1540.

To Dr. Caspar Güttel, pastor at Eisleben.

News of prevailing illnesses in Wittenberg and of Agricola's word-breaking departure for Berlin, where he had received a call.

Handwritten at Gotha, *Cod.* 185. 4. printed from the Caspar Sagittarius at Jena collection at Schütze, Vol. III, p. 144 and at De Wette, Vol. V, p. 306.

Grace and peace from God the Father through Christ. Respectable Doctor and Pastor! Although I am very busy and now an old man and not very firm, I will nevertheless, because our pastor Johann Pommer is suffering, succeed him in his office. Almost everyone here is ill, including Dr. Jonas and Dr. Creuziger. In my house I have had ten deathly ill. These fevers have an extraordinary strength; many it seizes, but wavy it kills. M. Grickel has done a work worthy of fine antinomy: he has secretly escaped to the Margrave, breaking the solemn promise made, and deceived the princes. 1) By the fruit you know the tree. There the faithless and lost man will race against us with lies. Fare thee well in thy Lord. At Wittenberg. In haste. Friday after Aegidii [Sept. 3] Anno 1540. Yours, M[artin] L[uther].

No. 2709.

(Wittenberg.) September 13, 1540.

To Georg Solinus, pastor in Tangermünde.

Ueber einen Kirchenzuchtsfall und die churbrandenburgische Kirchenordnung.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 305. Printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 202 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 307. German in the Altenburg edition, vol. VII, p. 721; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 368 and in Walch, vol. XXI, 439.

To M. Georg Solinus, pastor in Tangermünde.

Mercy and peace! I have advised, my dear Solinus, that this is the way to deal with the public death-witcher; this is also how we have acted. After it is certain that the authorities have acquitted him, and the offended party has been reconciled, and then you have also found out that he is heartily sorry and repentant, as you write, on a feast day after the sermon you are to announce from the pulpit the case and the repentance of the person, and call upon the congregation to come to the church with

1) See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, Introduction, p. 57 a and p. 59.

pray for him, and approve his absolution, for which he humbly asks. Then, in front of the high altar before which he kneels, you should publicly admonish him to repent and to accept the faith of absolution and not to doubt it; then you should absolve him in the usual manner and say in a loud voice: In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, Amen. Before the absolution at the altar, the choir should first sing the psalm: "God, be merciful to me according to your goodness" [Ps. 51].

I like your prince's church order quite well, as far as doctrine and faith are concerned. If you wish, you may also anoint the sick and confirm adults for a time, because he says that these are not sacraments; a free conscience can immediately perform a ceremony. If, however, thou findest thyself in any thing complained of, do according to the example of the priest at Spandau, who, being called from Zerbst, would not come until the prince promised and permitted that he should be free from these things. I think that these additions will not last long, especially the excessive amount of masses and other offices, since they have begun to be despised and to disintegrate into themselves; through the weariness of them and the contempt of the people it will not last long. In the meantime one must serve the things that are free, 1) and the common salvation of souls. Pray the same for me. On the Monday after the Nativity of the Virgin Mary [Sept. 13], Anno 1540, Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2710.

(Wittenberg.) September 17, 1540.

To Conrad Rehlinger, citizen of Augsburg.

Luther thanks for a cup sent to him from Honold's estate and apologizes for seemingly unkind words in an earlier letter.

The original is in the monastery library in Roßleben. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 362.

G. and F. Honourable, prudent, dear sir and friend! I add you to know that yesterday before Dato I received the cup,

1) De Wette reads *literis*; Walch read *liberis*, which we have assumed.

which you have prepared for me on account of the honorable, virtuous women Regina Honoldin, 2) widows, from the will of Hans Honold, blessed, and thank you kindly everywhere. It is much too precious for me to use. It may be a treasure. I also ask you to forgive me if I had written to you too thoughtlessly and unkindly before: I did not mean you nor the wife [,but the] 3) lawyers and formulists Clauseln, who need them. Thought some smart aleck would have wanted to prove his art. Also I have read several prescriptions in Hans Scheuchen's things, which I cursed and insulted, therefore I worried that there would also be such a mint master here. Summa, it is so bad; I must remain in my theological simplicity, and the crooked and expensive words, which must lie on the gold scale, express myself. Give my kind regards to Mrs. Honoldin and all yours. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Friday after *Crucis Exalt*. [17 Sept.] 1540. Martinus Luther.

No. 27 11

(Wittenberg.) September 17, 1540.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

l (Regest.)

Answer to the Landgrave's letter of September 1 (No. 2706). He expresses his satisfaction with the Landgrave's reply to the Saxon-Brandenburg advertisement, but would like them to be told occasionally that those princes as good friends should secretly leave what one secretly wanted.

Printed by M. Lenz, Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 390, where also the correct information about the determination of time is given. In De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 294 f. (this is the next following number), in Luther's vain letter to Brück, there is an approximate statement of the contents (of Luther's) of this letter, with the wrong date: "Soon after January 10, 1542." The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 367.

No. 2712.

(Wittenberg.) Somewhat after the 17th of September, 1540.

To Chancellor Brück.

Luther reports what he had written to the Landgrave, and gives the advice that the book of Justus Menius Wider die Bigamie should not be printed.

2) Burkhardt: "Honolain"; a misprint.

3) Hole in the paper. We have added to the gap. Burkhardt suggests: "because they have the".

Handwritten in *Cod. Palat.* From it in *Corp. Ref.,* vol. I V, 769, as enclosure to a letter of Brück to the Elector, with wrong time determination (see the previous number), and likewise with De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 294 f.

Martin Luther's answer to the Landgrave of Hesse about his affairs, copied from his own handwriting.

I have written to the landgrave in such a way that I am pleased with such a mild answer, given this time. The Margrave has also written to me and pondered the same matter, but I have not yet answered him, but I want to answer along with other things, namely that I know nothing about the matter, without what the cry gives, as Christ in the Gospel of Marci 13. does not know about the last day, and may say this with a clear conscience. For what I know secretly and confessionally, that I know before God alone and secretly, and not before men, neither shall I wish to know it; and whether I have said it, it shall not be believed of me, *juxta illud: unius testimonium nullum*.

But if they continue to hold out, he may give them a sharper answer, which he himself shows me, 1) and, because they want to be friends, would do wrong to be the first to stir up and attract such clamor even more, if they should be the first (if they wanted to be so holy and pure) to help quench and muffle such clamor.

If they know anything about this from the Scriptures, they should do all the more to stop it, because otherwise both friend and foe will keep silent and not believe.

With this I wish at last that the peevish, coarse Dresdeners 2) would finally have to become disgraced with the Copei because they do not have the main letter and seal.

This is the substance of the letter gewest.

He Justi Menii Büchlein 3) pleases me well, especially for the sake of the Pfarrherr to Mel

1) in No. 2706. This is fully probative for our determination of time.

2) Namely the Duchess Catharina of Saxony pursued the matter, "the high-minded Vasthi of Dresden", as the landgrave calls her (Seidemann).

3) The title of this book is: "Justi Menii Book, that it is not fitting for a Christian to have at one time more than one wife 1.5.4.0." (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I V, 767 f.).

4) who has driven this thing hard, and, as they say, caused it. But whether it should be omitted at this time has a doubt: first, that it would move suspicion, as if there were something in the matter, and might strengthen the clamor; second, that Melsingen might answer it. In the end, however, Luther would be questioned even more, and perhaps he would request that I write as well. Then I would rather let it settle itself as begun, than stir up the muck before all the world's noses. Otherwise, people are in the mood to know and research too much about new and dangerous things, so that it seems to me that in such cases, *silence* is not only a *responsum,* but also an *Optimum responsum*.

But it is not against us, for Mr. Just proceeds *contra legem et exemplum publicum polygamiae*, which we also do, and not *contra necesitatem et casualem dispensationem individuae personae,* of which we have acted as confessors. He also excuses the old fathers too weakly, and is One or Two Consequence therein not strong enough; *sed habet nihil ad rem*. Martinus Luther.

No. 2713. 4 October 1540.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther.

(Regest.)

Reply to Luther's letter of September 17, a copy of which is sent to him at his request.

Printed in Lenz, Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 391. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 367.

No. 2714.

(Wittenberg.) October 10, 1540.

To Duke Albrecht of Prussia.

Answer to No. 2697. Furthermore Luther gives news of the forthcoming convention at Worms, and that Duke Heinrich of Brunswick is accused of being an arch-murderer.

From Faber's collection of letters, p.30, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 308 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 291.

4) Johann Lening, the co-signer of the Rathsschlag (No. 2610), who later (March 27, 1541) wrote the book: "Dialogus, that is, a friendly conversation of two persons, there of, whether it is divine, natural, royal, and royal right measured or contrary, to have more than one wife at the same time. Confederation where yemant at this time take such, whether he as one

S. and F. Serene, highborn prince, gracious lord! At the request of E. F. G. Envoy, on behalf of the bishop of Riga, 2c. my objection is easy and recent: because the pope has been a soul-murderer for so many hundred years, and (as Apocalypsis (Cap. 17, 4. f.) shows) his church is the red whore with the golden cup full of fornication, and on her forehead is the vain name of all blasphemy 2c. 2c. There is no other counsel here than that which is written in the same book (Cap. 18:4), Flee from her, lest her plague come upon you 2c. For she is drunken with the blood of the witnesses of Jesus 2c. Therefore let E. F. G. be courageous, and help confidently that the devil in Rome may not be resisted, or that he may be confirmed, as it may be, 1) for it is to be hoped, because the abomination is thrust out of God, that he shall not henceforth return to his power, as Daniel (Cap. 11, 45.) saith, *Venit ad summitatem ejus et nemo auxiliabitur, etc*. Nevertheless we see that no one helps him (which he himself also feels), though many kings set themselves up as if they would, and yet do nothing. This is the way God wants it, for the time of his end is here and wants to be over 2c. Therefore, E. F. G. continue and either have the bishop of Rigen elected and confirmed by the chapter, or be a perpetual *electus* (as has often been done before) or *adjutor* under the name of the bishop, until the water runs out 2c.

Others will probably write to E. F. G. in the new newspaper. A day is now appointed by the Emperor at Worms on Simonis and Judä [Oct. 28], when the theologians on both sides are to hold a discourse; this is, they are to lose time, consume money, and miss everything at home or suffer damage. The

vnchrist zunerwerffen vnnd zuuerdammen sei, oder nit." 96 quarto. At the end: "Gescheiden auff Sontag Letare. Anno M. Dr. XLI. By Huldrichum Neobulum." Bucer perused this book, but is not the author. In the last days of the year 154t or at the beginning of 1542 Luther wrote the "Antwort Dr. M. L. auf das Buch *Nebulonis Tulrichii*"; but the same was not finished.

1) To this advice of Luther the duke replied: that as much as he and his brother would be inclined to follow this advice, the chapter, the knighthood and the countryside nevertheless insisted so firmly on the papal confirmation, consecration 2c., that his brother would not be able to avoid taking the liberty of this foolishness, and believes that this can also be done with a good conscience, so that the spread of the divine doctrine is promoted by him (De Wette).

we must let your devil go like this; but what will happen is easy to understand. There is nothing else, except that Duke Henry of Brunswick is accused of being an arch-murderer, who is said to have sent out many hundreds of murderers against the Protestant estates, more than three hundred have already been directed, many of whom confess disgrace to His Grace, also to the Bishop of Mainz 2c. What will become of it, the good Lord knows. It is impossible that such murder-burning should not come from high estates; for there is money enough, the pope is said to have given eighty thousand ducats for it. We must hear and suffer such things, but God will pay them abundantly here and there, and yet they shall not win; though they burn us all to ashes, yet shall they burn in hell in the fire under our feet forever, amen. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Sunday after St. Francisci [10 Oct.] 1540.

E. F. G.
willing

Martinus LutheR.

No. 2715.

10 October 1540.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

(Regest.)

Luther thanks for the copy of his letter sent to him on 4 October.

Printed by Lenz, Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 391. Above regest by Kolde, p. 367.

No. 2716.

(Wittenberg.) 12 October 1540.

To Johann Weinlaub and Jakob Stratner, together with Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

Recommendation of Dr. Cordatus, who had received an appointment in the Churbrandenburg (as superintendent over all clergy and vicedechant of the cathedral chapter at Stendal; see St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, introduction, p. 5 d).

The original, written by a scribe and signed by the signatories themselves, is in Dresden in *Cod. Seidel*. Printed by Schütze, vol. III, p. 145 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 310. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1472.

To the men gifted with excellent learning and virtue, Mr. Johann Weinlaub, Councillor of the most illustrious Margrave, Elector 2c., and Mr. Jakob [Stratner], 1) preacher, overseers of the churches in the Mark, his friends.

Hail! As the church is in misery in the world, so the teachers of the true gospel are strangers, not without great difficulty. Since they carry about with them the immense treasure, namely, the Gospel of the Son of God, it behooves all to desire to associate with such guests. And the story of the widow of Sarepta reminds us how pleasant it is for God to receive the piety of those who hospitably receive the priests, the expounders of the true doctrine. For God, for the sake of the Gospel, sustains the human race, the worldly government, and the continuance of the essence of things, and bestows that which is for life. We testify that this honest man, Conrad Cordatus, an Austrian, Doctor of Theology, is well versed in church doctrine, teaches the Gospel purely, has godly morals, and is gifted with a special steadfastness in the faith. For this he showed not only in enduring the common toils of the preaching ministry, in which he showed the greatest diligence, but also in other exceedingly hard plagues. For since he taught the Gospel in a certain church in Austria (*Pannonia*) in a humble, godly manner and according to his rightful calling, the tyrannical bishops threw him into prison for no other reason than because he had presented the correct doctrine that was necessary for the church. And since they threatened the man who had been deprived of all his goods with death if he did not abandon the Gospel, he was kept in prison for a long time. But finally, because his innocence was known to all, he was released and returned to school, where he not only listened to the teachers with great diligence, but also presented the church doctrine to others himself. After he was placed in charge of the congregations, he governed them faithfully, and most vehemently challenged the

1) *Stratnero is* missing in the original (De Wette).
2) in Wittenberg. Cf. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XXII, Introduction, p. 4 b f.

He defended the purity of doctrine against all fanatical opinions. We give him this testimony of his scholarship and godliness with a clear conscience, and would have gladly kept him if he had remained with us. But because he is called to teach the gospel, he has in a godly way maintained that other churches must also be served, and we have not been opposed to his very good will. For what is more desirable than that God should call and raise up such servants in great numbers into the harvest of the Gospel? But since you are charged with the oversight of the churches in the Mark, we have given him this letter to you, after the example of the old churches, so that you may know that we approve of his teaching and his customs. But we exhort you and others who love the gospel of the Son of God to receive and support this guest, who is to be highly esteemed because of his age, his learning, his godliness, and because of the confession of the gospel. We hope that his work will be useful to the churches of Christ. Furthermore, it behooves us to receive such guests with all the greater goodwill and to protect them, because for their sake God defends our churches against the tyrants, so that the light of the Gospel is not completely extinguished, and their families have a number of little nests. Therefore, we commend to you the Lord Cordatus, Doctor of Theology, and ask God, the Father of our Savior JEsu Christ, that He restore and govern your churches. Be well. On the 12th day of October, Anno 1540.

Martin Luther, D.
Joh. Bugenhagen, Pomeranus, D., the Dr. Cordatus brother in Christo, because of the exceedingly loud doctrine of Christ.
Philip Melanthon.

No. 2717.

Leipzig. 19 October 1540.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Various announcements that refer to the upcoming Convention in Worms.

Handwritten in *Cod. Lips. ep.* 89. printed in *Corp. ref.* vol. III, 1123.

To Martin Luther.

Hail! Two of the Leipzig Academy are traveling to Worms, Scheubel and Camitianus, 1) with the honorable instruction that they are not to accept anything that deviates from the doctrine of the Confession. I also hear that it has been strictly demanded of the Academy that no one should revile the right doctrine or the restored customs. I am glad that the Mysians are waking up a little. Yesterday the musician Sixtus Dieterich came to me, who has gone to see you. He brought letters from Vitus in Nuremberg, in which he indicates that Eck is already holding triumphs because of the convention in Worms; so much hope and confidence, they say, he has through the deed of Jason. 2) When those intriguers, Eck, Nausea, and Cochleaeus, 3) are confronted with us, the disputation will be very short. For with those who pretend to strive for concord, there would be more to create. But you will plead with God on our behalf. I learn that no one is being sent from Nuremberg, about which I am surprised, because, as you remember, it is said that the Prince sent a letter to the Nuremberg Council in his and the Landgrave's name that they should send some of the preachers to the Convention. But perhaps this was only requested before the Hagenau Convention. I would like you to inform the Prince as soon as possible that he should write again to the Nuremberg Council. You can talk to Dr. Brück about this matter. Farewell. Leipzig, the day after Lucas [Oct. 19] (1540).

Phil. Mel.

No. 2718.

Wittenberg. 23 October 1540.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, jointly with Jonas.

Intercession for an old man who had been involved in the Minkwitz feud and who asks for exemption to the lands of Chur-Saxony.

The original is in the archives at Weimar, written by Jonas' hand; not signed by Luther himself, but his

1) *Camitianus* is called Andreas Franck from his hometown Camenz in the Lausitz.

2) *Jason is the* name he gives to the landgrave whose double marriage is targeted here. - In an almost simultaneous letter to Myconius, *Corp. Ref.,* Vol. III, 1124, Melanchthon writes: "The Greeks tell that Jason was crushed after his return from the same ship, Argo, which he steered.

3) In the text incorrect: *Selens*, probably read from *Cocleus*.

Petschaft on it. Printed in De Wette, vol. V, p. 324 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 294. The original is not "without date" as stated in these two editions, but offers: "Sonnabends nach Xl m*Virginum*."

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Mr. John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg. Reichs Erzmarschall und Churfürsten, Landgraves in Thuringia, Margraves of Meissen and Burgraves of Magdeburg, our gracious Lord.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord! E. C. F. G. are ready to God our prayer with submissive, obedient service always with diligence before. Most gracious Lord! E. C. F. G. is undoubtedly unaware of the feud of Heinrich Queissen against the Bishop of Lebus, which has occurred. Because of it by Mr. Nikeln von Minkwitz, knight, an intervention together with some helpers happened at that time at Fürstenwald) But now the same Heinrich Queiß has let us know how such feud and action between the bishop of Lebus, the Sachewald, Mr. Niklassn von Minkwitz, all helpers and helper assistants shall be completely settled and agreed upon, so that all helpers and the belongers of the matter shall be taken to grace and again left to their goods and come. But to him, the mentioned Heinrich Queissen, his goods are still withheld. Because he is an old, weak man, about ninety years of age, has no home of his own, and is eager to turn to E. C. F. G. as to Herzberg, he has asked us most earnestly to plead with E. C. F. G. that the same E. C. F. G. should accept him as a subject of the place and in gracious protection. As we have considered his age, we do not know how to refuse him such a request. We therefore humbly request that E. C. F. G. take heed of the poor old man's plight and, if E. C. F. G. will do so, graciously accept him as a subject and under his protection and show him mercy. For the sake of E. C. F. G.'s blessed and praiseworthy regiment towards God.

4) In 1528. cf. St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1538. there read in § 18, line 4: "of the bishop who is called of Lebus". Col. 1539, line 5 read: "he shall be interrogated".

to forbid and to earn in honest obedience, we are in all ways obliged, *Datae Wittemberg*, Sonnabends nach XI m*Virginum* [23. Oct.] Anno 1540.

Martinus Luther, Ecclesiast, and Justus Jonas, Probst zu Wittenberg, both Doctor.

No. 2719.

Torgau. 25 October 1540.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther and Jonas.

Rejected answer to the intercession in the previous letter.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, p. 108. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 363.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotees! We have read your intercessory letter concerning Heinrich Queiß, whom we should accept into our city of Herzberg and into our protection. 2c. Now we know to remember that the invasion of Fürstenwald has happened, thereby many of the nobility have come into complaint, which has been settled in part; we would also have provided that the said Queiß would not have forgotten his trustee, and have brought the matter to an agreement (vorbit) and [by] 1) the proper means. But since this, as we note from your letter, did not happen, you yourselves must consider that we do not have unreasonable reservations about letting the said Queiss come under us and accept him into our protection, because we fear that we [un] 2) and our subjects might thereby incur a loss, which we and they would otherwise be left, since you know without this how closely 3) we are being sought at the present time, and the bishop of Lebus, at least, would not refrain from writing to us about it, thereby causing us to put ourselves again into counter-scripts, that 4) we would rather have a treaty with him and other papist bishops. For this reason you will know how to reject the said quarrel. We wish to report this again to you, to whom we are inclined to mercy and good. Date Torgau, Monday after Ursula [Oct. 25] Anno 1540.

1) Added by Burkhardt.
2) Inserted by us.
3) "exactly" put by us instead of: "enough".
4) "that" put by us instead of: "that".

No. 2720.

(Wittenberg.) October 30, 1540.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercede for a poor person.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 309. Printed in the Leipz. Supplement, p. 92, no. 168; in Walch, vol. XXI, 440; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 311 f. with the wrong date: "October 29," and likewise in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 293.

Grace and peace. Most noble, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! I had hoped that we would have persuaded Doctor Creutz, bailiff at Colditz, to give the fief to poor Bernhard; but he has learned to remain silent. If he does not like to answer, then we must let it go, and again, according to God's right, let it happen to him that an *erosio* happens *in domo impii,* as Solomon says [Proverbs 3:33], and where he gains one guilder with the fief, he loses ten. Now Doctor Brück, as I have reported, has put him off, saying that he wants to ask for help for him, that he might otherwise be provided for, and has asked me to also ask. Where E. C. F. G. know how to help, they will graciously assist; he must be fed by us as long as he is with us. E. C. F. G. will know how to graciously keep him in this. Hereby commanded to the dear GOD, Amen. Saturday after Simonis and Judä [Oct. 30] 1540.

E. C. F. G.

subservient
Martinus Luther.

No. 2721.

Neustadt (in Hesse). November 1, 1540.

Burchard Mithobius to Luther.

(Regest.)

Mithobius (a physician) reports about the progress of the Gospel, for which Corvinus of Witzenhausen had worked, but many obstacles stood in the way. He reports that Eoban Hesse died on October 5.

The original is in Wolf's collection at the Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg, *Cod*. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 368.

No. 2722.

Worms. 4 November 1540.

Melanchthon to Luther, Jonas and Bugenhagen.

Melanchthon speaks out about the deceitfulness of the adversaries who brought about the Worms Convention, whose negotiations will begin with Granvella's arrival. Of the rumor of the coming of Thomas Campegius, Thomas Badia, and Peter Danes. Of Link's and Osiander's despatch by the city of Nuremberg.

From a copy in *Cod. Lips.* printed in *Corp. ref.* vol. III, 1129.

To the highly famous and valuable men, Doctor Martin L., Dr. Justus Jonas, Dr. Johann Bugenhagen, Pomeranus, the leaders of the church at Wittenberg, his exceedingly dear patrons.

Hail! Never have we been more artfully ambushed than by the pretext of this meeting, in which, as the adversaries represented themselves, unity was to be discussed, the healing of the churches. But, in fact, it has been used as a pretext that we should be condemned by the previous judgment of this assembly, since the concilium appointed by the Roman Pontiff has had no progress. The most hostile vipers to this cause have been brought here, as the list (which I have enclosed) shows, and instead of the [Bishop] of Trier the Mainzer will preside over the Convention. Thus the one will have three votes. And I hear about Granvella that he is coming here, not to alleviate the discord, but because it is hoped that some will fall away. But the negotiations have not yet begun, for they are still waiting for Granvella. 2) If there were such generosity among our great men (*heroibus*) as the good nature of the matter demands, we could easily remedy these difficulties. For after we have arrived here, the eight has been proclaimed against those at Goslar on account of a certain monastery. Since this is done by the adversaries at the time of the truce, what are ours doing in the meantime? We hear that from the city of Rome there comes the bishop of Feltre, the brother of Campegius, 3) who has with him the master of the palace, a theologian.

1) See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 400; - there Col. 401, line 5 v. o. read: "Danesius" instead of: "Damasius."
2) He arrived on November 22. (Bretschneider.)
3) Thomas Campegius.

and another, a certain Peter Danesius, 4) who interpreted Demosthenes at Paris, an eloquent man; for I have seen fine writings. When these have come, the protestation 5) about the prestige of the pope will have to be opposed to them. But I fear that just at this first meeting there will be a separation of ours, although among the preachers who are here, by the grace of God, there is unanimity in doctrine. Also the other messengers of ours still agree with each other. These are those sent from Nuremberg, Dr. Wenceslaus and Osiander. For the fact that Osiander had doubted, as I wrote from Leipzig, 6) came from the fact that the Council had not yet received the letter of our Prince. For you know that the letter of the Emperor to our Prince was brought to our Prince shortly before our departure. Many tales are told of the King of France, of the Turks, and of other kings, but I do not think them worth telling, and you know how great is the disloyalty of these. Granvella hath lately put to death Vesontio, a preacher of the Protestants. Namely, from thence he came to establish the godly doctrine. For we have decided to mention this as an entrance. Pray ye for the church of the Son of GODr. I will write as often as we have messengers. Be well. Worms, November 4, Anno 1540. 7) Phil. Mel.

No. 2723.

Worms. 4 November 1540.

Cruciger to Luther, Jonas, and Bugenhagen.

Cruciger reports his arrival in Worms, speaks of the hostile intentions of the opponents, with whom the negotiations will only begin with Granvella's arrival; reports of the announcement of the verdict of the Eight on Goslar, the organization of the Presidium of the Assembly, Eck's activity, Melanchthon's well-being, and greetings to various.

From a Leipzig manuscript, *epist*. 54 a, edited by *Luntzius* in *Ephemerid. Lipsiens. anno* 1809. Intelligenzblatt No. 37, and in *Corp. Ref.* vol. III, 1131.

4) *Pierre Danes*.
5) See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 391, no. 1307; it was passed by Melanchthon at Gotha on Oct. 22.
6) No. 2717.
7) In Melanchthon's letter to Veit Dietrich of the same date, St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 403, line 4 v. u. read: "an epigram, which is written at Eisenach early in bed".

We arrived here, for which God would give His blessing, by the grace of God, healthy and safe, last October. We met some of our own who had preceded us. In the meantime, the others have also followed, and there is a large gathering of the opponents, although not all of them are here yet, and it seems that the Convention will be well-attended and numerous. God would that something worthy of such great expectation would also be acted upon. The list of those who are already present here will be sent to you. They have not yet begun to act, and perhaps in a few days they will not even begin. For they are waiting for the Emperor's envoy, Granvella, who is now held in the highest esteem by the Emperor and governs everything. It is known that he is on a journey, but he is making I know not what detours because of his affairs. This will be the arbiter of these actions for which this Convention is appointed. But what is to be hoped from the conversation we do not yet see. The beginnings, or rather the preparations, show that the adversaries do not come with such an attitude that they counsel in a godly and right way of harmony, but they have other plans. First of all, after the judgment of the Court of Appeal (*Camerae*), the eight has been proclaimed against those at Goslar, and now they continue to aim similar projectiles against others as well. Then, contrary to what had been agreed upon before, for the [bishop] of Trier the Mainzer has been put in the place among the presidents, who has brought with him the most impudent and unclean monsters of men, the most poisonous enemies of right doctrine. The others are of the same ilk, among whom the most distinguished and the leader is Eck. Confidently
he already promises himself I don't know what kind of victories. He boasts that he is so equipped to defend the papal teachings and to refute our doctrine that we should not even snatch from them the holy water that is consecrated with sharp salt. It is easy to see how this is consistent with the right and godly actions of the discussion that has taken place. Therefore, there can hardly be any hope on the part of the opposing side, so that I fear that time may be spent in vain as the day approaches when the Diet of Regensburg is scheduled for the month of January. If anything can be done by the adversaries, there is no doubt that they will condemn us, who are crushed by the number of votes. But if any
what actions are taken, we will write to you afterward. In the meantime, we entrust ourselves and this whole matter to your prayers. The Lord Philip, by the grace of God, has been in good health and good and cheerful spirits both on the journey and here until now. I entrust my house and my family to you. Greet in my name all of ours, the most reverend Lord (*M[agnificum] D[ominum*]).
Rector, the Doctors August, Milich, Bleikard, if he is there, the Magisters Veit, Paulus, Erasmus, the elders of the church, and all other friends. Be well with your husbands, wives, and children. Worms, November 4, 1) 1540.

Casp. Cruciger.

No. 2724.

(Worms.) 6 November 1540.

Cruciger to Luther.

Cruciger reports the arrival of Alexander Alesius and the Archbishop of Feltre, Thomas Campegius. The latter has orders to begin negotiations immediately. It is not expected that one has to argue long with the opponents.

Handwritten in *Cod. Mehn*. III, p. 127 d. and in *Cod Lips. ep.* 102. Printed in *Corp. ref.* vol. III, 1135.

To Dr. Martin Luther.

Before letters are sent to you by postmen, the fourth day passes. Yesterday Alexander Alesius 2) arrived with your letter, dearest father, which has cheered up both Philip and me. But now we are already expecting other, more recent letters from you, which will give us news of all your conditions. No trial has yet begun here. Two days ago the pope's legate arrived, the archbishop of Feltre (*Velitrensis*), the brother of Cardinal Campegius. With him the adversaries are now conferring, no doubt about the beginning and progress of the actions. For he has orders to begin the business, though not all are yet there who will preside at the parley, and perhaps Granvella also will not be present so shortly. But it seems that those will not be in much haste. We do not think that it will be necessary to argue long with the opponents. For the popes will scarcely suffer the authority of the bishops to be shaken by us,

1) The original should read *Octobris.*

2) Doctor of Theology at the University of Frankfurt, sent to the Convent by the Elector of Brandenburg.

although they indicate that they will grant some things, both to bind the princes of their party more firmly to themselves, and to make us the more hateful if we do not accept what they grant. But God will govern this, whom you may continue to pray, as you do, that He may help us and tread Satan under our feet. I also commend to your prayer my family, about whose well-being I am most concerned, for I bear other hardships more easily. May the Lord keep you and your esteemed wife, the children and the whole church, amen. I wish that all yours may be well, Dr. Jonas, Dr. Pommer and the other church servants who are in charge of the church. Be well. November 6 (1540).

Caspar Cruciger.

No. 2725.

Worms. 8 November 1540.

Bucer to Luther.

(Regest.)

Approximately the same content as the two previous letters (No. 2722 and 2723) to which Bucer refers. He also reports that the bishop of Feltre boasts that he has orders from the pope to concede very many and very great things. But this would be handled in such a way that the Antichrist would retain his tyranny. The Bishop of Seckau 1) had arrived. Those of Cologne and Trier 2c. were expected. In the postscript, he indicates that the Landgrave had given strict orders not to let up on necessary doctrines of religion, but only to give an explanation.

From Bucer's autograph in *Vol. Epist. Opin. ep. 144*, printed in *Corp. fol.* vol. III, 1141.

No. 2726.

(Wittenberg.) November 10, 1540.

To Spalatin.

An economic matter.

The original is in the archives at Weimar. Printed by Schütze, vol. III, p. 147 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 312. The latter says that the original did not come to him, but he has *Cod. chart. Goth*. 452. dead. compared.

To the highly placed man, Mr. M. Georg Spalatin 2c.

Grace and peace! What she [Luther's wife] spoke to you, my dear Spalatin, when you were here recently, that, she asks, may you

1) Instead of *Sixonienum* in the *Corp. ref.* is to be read *Seccaviensem.* Bucer wrote extraordinarily unclearly.

now carry it out. For she asks that you deliver this letter of the prince, which is addressed to your treasurer, and at the same time also urge him, as she has asked, that he may also graciously give usable, especially strong oak trunks, so that there will not be (as often happens) displeasure over the gift obtained from the benevolent prince, which one must receive, corrupted by the malice of the officials. GOD wants without a doubt that everything, especially the servants of the Word, be given to us in the most gracious manner. At the same time, she asked that, if it would please the shepherd, she would like him to buy the sections of the trees, "not the little rice" (Reisseln) or branches, but the stronger branches, which, as they say, belong to the shepherd. She wanted to use these as firewood in her new kingdom of "Zülsdorf". But since you know everything better than I do, you will do everything very faithfully. There will be given what must be given, so that we may install the new queen in her kingdom. Farewell. I send the writing of the raging Cyclops against the Brunswicker as news. We have no other news yet, not even from Worms. Again, farewell with your own in Christ. Wednesday after Leonhard [Nov. 10] 1540. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2727.

Wittenberg. 11 November 1540.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna, together with Bugenhagen.

Recommendation of Joh. Götz as schoolmaster.

The original is in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden, written by Bugenhagen, signed by him and Luther, and sealed by the former. Printed by Schütze, Vol. III, p. 173 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 313. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1479 (as from 1541); also by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 409 (duplicate) and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 55, p. 336.

To the highly venerable man and gentleman, M. Anton, the exceedingly worthy pastor of the church in Pirna, his highly famous lord and brother.

The grace of God and peace through Christ for eternity! We hope, dearest Anton, that everything will be right there; we live here...

by the grace of God, quite comfortable. Our people have not yet written to us about the gathering.

It has been made known to us that your schoolmaster has resigned from his office, therefore we ask that you appoint this John Goetz, who has recently been awarded a doctorate in liberal arts, a man who has been recommended to us by M. Georg Rörer, that he is godly and learned. Georg Rörer, the eldest of our church, that he is godly and learned, and that he is also not unknown to your people there, since he was also schoolmaster there in the past, that you recommend him, I say, to your highly esteemed council and to the heads of the church arsenal, so that he may become schoolmaster with you at the next Easter. We hope that this man will not be unsuitable for you and your children. We pray for you and do not doubt that you also pray for us. Christ be with you, with your wife and children 1) for ever and ever. From Wittenberg, 1540, Martinmas [Nov. 11]. Martin Luther.

Joh. Bugenhagen. Pommer.

No. 2728.

(Worms.) 14. November 1540.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Melanchthon reports that Granvella, who has not yet arrived, will negotiate peace, even if he cannot bring about an agreement. He complains about the presence of various opponents, from whom nothing can be hoped for an agreement, speaks of the unanimity of the Protestants among themselves, of the presence of Vergerius, and sends the confession of the Englishman Antonius (Barnes).

From a copy in Cod. Lips. ep. 90, published by *Luntzius* in *Ephemerid. litter. Lips. anno* 1809. intelligence sheet, No. 29, and in *Corp. ref.* vol. III, 1154. -Luther's reply to this letter was made Nov. 24.

To the highly famous and valuable man, Mr. Martin Luther, Doctor of Theology, the restorer of the pure doctrine of the Gospel, his father.

Hail! So far we have been waiting idly for 14 days for the arrival of Granvella, of whom, however, one can

1) In the text: *filiis*, if correct, by an oversight of Bugenhagen. because Lauterbach had only one child, the Elisabeth. The wife of the same was called Agnes. Cf. No. 2658. 2840. 2855. 2860.2891 2c.

says that he will be fine in a short time. His good will in this matter is especially praised, and it is hoped that he will take pains to ensure that, even if concord cannot be established, peace will be negotiated. For what hope of concord can there be, if the voices of those of the Sorbonne and the supporters of Eck will have any validity? And many good men here already complain that such intriguers are murderers brought here. But we will ask God to help us. By the grace of God, there is still some harmony among us. During this idle time we have met several times and have talked amiably about the main articles, about righteousness and about the Lord's Supper. 2) Right and godly opinions have been expressed with great unanimity. I believe that the endeavors and wills of those who are present are godly. I will write about the meeting with the opponents after the trial has begun. I fear that there will be a wide-ranging quarrel, unless the prefaces of the papal legate will give occasion to break off the matter. Vergerius is also present, whom Jakob Sturm the other day at the noon banquet with those of Jülich plagued with very witty mockery, in that he rebuked the cruelty which is now being exercised against ours. Farewell. November 14.

Greetings to you and your honored wife from our jurist Kilian, who, now that he reads the Canons, has often thrown the book away with displeasure. We send you the confession of the Englishman Antonius. 3) Phil. Mel.

No. S729.

(Wittenberg.) November 18, 1540.

To Melanchthon.

Short answer to a letter written by Melanchthon from Eisenach. Luther expects his return, and bad things from Duke Henry of Brunswick and the Emperor.

Handwritten at Gotha in *Cod. chart.* 451, col. 185.4. Printed by Schütze, vol. III, p. 148 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 314.

2) Bretschneider, who has compared the codex anew, reads: xxxxxxxxxx. *Luntzius* offers: xxxxxxxxxxx (evening mahl), which seems to fit us better. We guess: xx xxxxxxxxxx.

3) This writing is printed in this volume, at the end of the year 1540.

Grace and peace! The last letter has arrived from Eisenach, so we assume that you either intend to return or that very grave things have happened. For here, too, as they say, the wicked Nero 1) of Wolfenbüttel threatens us with great things, the Emperor and the Frenchman promising each other impossible things. We know that the Emperor, the idolater of the Roman idol, has lost all his fortune eternally, having kissed, not the hand, but also the foot of the last monster, as this day testifies, and a later one will still more make known. November 18, 1540.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2730.

(Wittenberg.) November 21, 1540.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 406, no. 1316.

No. 2731.

21 November 1540.

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

(Regest.)

The duke reports that the chapter, the canons and the whole countryside are pressing hard for his brother, Margrave Wilhelm, coadjutor at Riga, to take the consecration, and that he does not know where it will end 2c.

A detailed regest in Voigt, p. II; above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 369.

No. 2732.

(Wittenberg.) November 24, 1540.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 408, no. 1317.

No. 2733.

(Wittenberg.) November 27, 1540.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

Thanks for a gift in the name of his wife; about the convent at Worms.

1) Duke Henry of Brunswick.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 323. From the Ludwig Collection at Halle in Schütze, vol. III, p. 152; in *Strobel-Ranner, p.* 290 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 318. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1475.

To the man to be highly honoured in the Lord, M. Anton Lauterbach, Bishop of Pirna and the neighbouring churches, his brother who is extremely dear in the Lord.

Grace and peace! My Lord Käthe was absent in her new kingdom, my dear Anton, when your letter was delivered, but I say thanks in her stead for the pressed (*succulato*) cheese. But I do not care for such artists and am content with our cheeses of simple material and ordinary form. Yes, it is not necessary that you be much concerned, as you do us good. It is enough that we are sure of your very good will, of which we can avail ourselves if it should be necessary, as we have availed ourselves of it more than enough so far.

We have not yet received anything from Worms, except that such a large number of learned people gathered there from Italy, France, Spain and Germany that Philip himself writes that even in some papist synod there would not have been so great a preparation. God knows what will happen. If the Emperor's mind is right, as one suspects, then this Convention will undoubtedly be a true Provincial Convention without the name of a Concilium, namely under the name of a private conversation. So that the pope would not be offended and could complain, they would meet there without the name of a provincial council, without his authority. He certainly has there as his legate the bishop of Feltre, but ours will not admit him as judge, nor as arbitrator, nor as presiding officer, even if the pope himself were there. For they have been commanded to do so. Let us pray, let you pray, let all pray, for there seems to be an extraordinary crisis here. Farewell, and greet thy vine and thy grape. In haste and among much business. On the Saturday after Catharine [Nov. 27]. Mart. Luther.

2) We have leftened with Schütze twice *sine* instead of *sive.*

No. 2734.

(Worms.) 2. December 1540.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Short news from the Worms Convention. Of the hostile appearance of two monks in Florence against the pope, but not for doctrine, but for money.

From a copy in *Cod. Lips. ep.* 68, communicated by *Luntzius* in the *Ephemerid. litt. Lips. ann*. 1809. intelligence sheet, No. 29, and in the *Corp.* ref. vol. III, 1187. - Luther's reply was made Dec. 7.

To Martin Luther.

The Convention has not yet given us a subject worthy of discussion, although Granvella is here, who has exhorted us to unity in a long speech 1). All answered him in a common speech, which was held by the Doctor of Cologne 2) who wrote the so-called Cologne Reformation. After that, they began to discuss the order of the disputation. And if my dreams do not deceive me, we may have some quarrels today. In the Belgians an exceedingly frightening edict has been published, in which even the reading of Eoban's writings is forbidden, and they would have forbidden all the writings of Erasmus if Granvella had not advised against it. Meanwhile our great ones think that the authors of such edicts will grant us much. I commend ourselves and the common cause to GOtte and your prayers. In Florence two Augustinian monks preach against the tyranny of the pope. But the dispute is over money, not doctrine. We commend our families to you. Be well and live happily. On the second of December.

I wish your honored wife and lovely children well.

Phil. Mel.

No. 2735

(Wittenberg.) Early December 1540.

To Justus Jonas.

(Fragment.)

About a book against the Lutherans, supposedly printed in Brabant, for whose place of printing Luther considers Wolfenbüttel.

Alls dem Staatsarchiv zu Zerbst gedruckt bei Kolde, p. 369.

Meanwhile, while you were absent, there came hither one under the name of the emperor in

1) Cf. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 412.

2) Gropper.

The book against the Lutherans, published in Brabant (Dr. Brück sent it as a true one), of such suspicious words and apparently spurious content, then also full of obvious, evil-veiled errors, that it is almost certain to me that it was printed by H[archduke] Heinzen von Wolfenbüttel (wolfenbott) in his castle, in order to confuse the minds of the people, especially in Worms. These devils fear that the wrath of God is upon them. This the adversaries must believe, whether they speak good or evil. Believing the bitter papists is the same as believing Satan himself as the one who promises and threatens Christ. 4) Greet reverently in my name the noble and very good princes, 5) and urge them to be of cheerful and unconcerned courage. Meanwhile, let us learn the first commandment: I am your God, I am your Lord and Savior, and it will be well with us.

No. 2736.

(Wittenberg.) December 6, 1540.

To Jakob Stratner, court preacher in Berlin.

Luther speaks out against him about Agricola who had been called to Berlin.

Manuscript at Gotha in *Cod.* 185. 4. and in Aurifaber, Vol. III, p. 314. Printed in Riederers Nachrichten, Vol. I, p. 352; from the Börnersche Sammlung at Leipzig in Schütze, Vol. III, p. 154; in *Strobel-Ranner, p.* 291 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 319 f.

To the man to be highly honored in the Lord, Jakob Stratner, Christ's faithful and fair messenger in the Mark, his brother who is exceedingly dear in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. My most esteemed Jacob! Dr. Cordatus has forced this letter to you from me, and he has indeed forced it from me, who would also otherwise have written to you with great pleasure, if I knew that it was either necessary or pleasant for you. For although you have been known to me only through a single meeting

3) Instead of *eadem* we have assumed *ejusdem.*

4) The text: *est idem quod ipsi Satane credere quam christum promittenti et minanti* seems to us to be out of order.

5) Probably the princes of Anhalt.

I have been so taken in by your gentle manners and mild character, which, however, is faithful through the spirit of Christ, that I have always mentioned you in the most friendly manner when the opportunity presented itself. Yes, this also drew me to you in a special way, that I see that through your walk under the leadership of Christ so much fruit has come forth in the Gospel. I give thanks to God, and ask that He who began the work of His grace and glory in you may complete it to the end, in which we shall rejoice (as Peter says) with joy unspeakable. Wherefore I exhort thee to continue, and to wax stronger every day by the power of the Spirit of Christ which dwelleth in thee. Furthermore, since I have understood that you are not a little moved by the arrival of "Master Grickel" from Eisleben with you, I indeed grieve with you, but again I admonish you that you despise Satan, even if he should become annoying to you in this piece, with a Christian mind. It is not "Master Grickel" the man he would seem, or what the Margrave thinks him, and never will be. For if you want to know what vanity itself is, you can learn it from no more certain image than that of Eisleben. You can perceive it in his gesture, his voice, his loud laughter, yes, in all the movements and ways of his mind and body, so that he could surpass any buffoon. My advice is that he should abstain from the administration of the word forever and take up some amusing profession; he is not at all suited for teaching. And even if everything else were bearable, the senseless desire for fame is so great in him that he can do GOtte no good in his work, but much harm. But the new 1) affection of the Margrave does not yet suffer a memory, but this will occur when this affection makes him regretful. We are glad that we are freed from this trustworthy and foolish man, as we are sorry that you are burdened with him, but bear with him a little, because we too have suffered him much and

1) Instead of *novi tut* we read *novitius* with Strobel.

have endured so long. However it may be, you may be convinced of this by me: even if "Master Grickel" is raised to heaven by himself or by his own, he will not be less unclean in my heart compared to you than the devil is compared to an angel. He certainly asks pardon for his sins, and the marquis will believe that he asks earnestly, and we will grant him pardon, though we suspect, nay, are certain, that he deals in deceit. But as he says, Thou wilt not deceive me, the Teacher, but thyself. But this I write, that thou mayest not doubt my hearty disposition toward thee, and bear him the more patiently, nor for his sake forsake thy office. His vanity will not endure. Fare well in the Lord, and in my name greet the Lord Weinlaub 2) most humbly. For I hear that he is earnestly favorable to the gospel, and not of the kind of Grickel. May God multiply and preserve him to the end, amen. Greet all of ours reverently. Given on Monday after St. Andrew's Day [Dec. 6], Anno 1540.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2737.

(Wittenberg.) December 7, 1540.

To Melanchthon.

Answer to No. 2734. About the Course of the Convention at Worms. News from Wittenberg.
Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 316; incomplete in *Cod. Goth*. 4. printed by Schlitze, vol. III, p. 156 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 321 f.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I beg very indignantly, my dear Philip, because I have perceived from your letter that our letters have not been delivered. But you germinate the customs and ways of the court, yea, even Satan. I had certainly believed that you had received the four, namely, after you had been idle at Worms, which are also written with my hand, only that I am wont to send them to you alone and marked with your name. This is the fault of my bearers

2) Cf. no. 2716.

and cold old age, that I do not like to write to each and every one of you. We received the last letters from you yesterday, in which you write of the speech of Granvella (*Granfelli*), which we have also seen, and of the articles requested by you, which are Christian and could possibly be obtained, and of your answer. I rejoiced at the foolishness of the devil, that is, at the power of Christ, which makes them do and desire foolish things. If there was any hope of this conversation (because the preparation was so great), it has entirely fallen away with me. What do you want? What shall we do? It must be either something deceitful or violent, what these people undertake and say, who are possessed by Satan, though they pretend to majesty, I will not say, a eugelian light. The Lord will, as he hath promised, give you his Spirit, for, "Ye are not they that speak" [Matt. 10:20.]. We pray and hope here that this conversation will be nothing. We have seen the emperor's edict here and are having it printed, so that the emperor's will may also be made known to the world. Of course, at the first sight of it I thought, as others did, that it was invented to disturb this discussion, but the hatred of Satan is more satanic than that he could invent other things than those which he knows to be harmful to us. For he perceiveth that they shall not be devised against him, but that all things shall be truly, assuredly, and eternally acted and spoken. Come, Lord Jesus, amen. Since the spirit of thy mouth terrifieth the adversary, come also with the glorious appearing of thy future, Amen.

Here one does not stop with the execution of the arsonists. And Heinz of Wolfenbüttel (*a Lupo Marsupio*) becomes more hateful day by day by the grace of God. All is well in your houses, be not anxious. We send the printed confession of Robert Barns in England. 1) May the Lord bring you back in a short time and in good health, because you do nothing there, you who are omnipotent in Christ; because there is desert and emptiness (*Thohu et Bohu* [Gen. 1, 2.]), you will not leave the land.

1) In this volume, at the end of the year 1540.

make it fruitful. Let them be Thohu and Bohu. In Christ we are able to do all things and greater things than he himself does; in the devil we are able to do nothing, therefore let us leave him. I hope that you and Caspar have gone through the New Testament. For without you we have dared to submit Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Isaiah, and Jeremiah to print. 2) You will hardly find the Ezekiel, with which, as you know, I had to be ill in the first time; perhaps the same will happen now, if you do not return soon. Farewell and greet all of us. My mistress Käthe greets you respectfully. She brews Wittenberg beer, which will receive you when you have returned home. The Lord be with you, amen. On Tuesday after Nicolai [7 Dec.] 1540.

Your Martin Luther.

Note by Schütze: In some copies, with which this letter and the one of November 24 were compared, the following additions were found:

1st I have begun to suspect myself in something a very violent catarrh, for it also interrupted my sleep; today it has subsided again.

2 All things are well in your houses; be not anxious in this matter. God is with you. Above all, tell Doctor Cruciger not to be troubled, to turn back to his house; I will absolve him. But whatever you do, seek first the kingdom of God; this will be yours.

My Lord Käthe sends you her greetings, but she is absent in her new kingdom and is wasting this year what she has earned. Greet, I pray you, all and sundry reverently. That I write not to her, thou knowest, the coldness of my idle old age and other things hinder me. Fare well in Christ.

004 We have sent our letters to Nuremberg, as thou hast desired, that they may be sent by Vitus to all thee, seeing that the indolence and negligence of the court is so great.

2) He speaks of the edition of 1541, Wittenberg, by Hans Luft. It has on the title the distinction: "aufs neue zugericht". (De Wette.)

No. 2738.

(Wittenberg.) December 11, 1540.

To the widowed Electress Elisabeth of Brandenburg.

Luther recommends Erasmus Alber to her as a preacher.

The original is at Freiberg in Saxony. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 365.

[Grace and peace in Christ our Lord. Most noble, highborn princess, gn. Lady! It seems to me that E. F. G. should lack and desire a preacher. If this were the case, and if I were not concerned that E. F. G. might be precipitated by M. Eisleben's practices with one who would be his own thing, which I would not like to see at all, for the longer the more he appears to be our enemy in Wittenberg, as I complain about him every day. But since Dr. Erasmus Alber has just come to Wittenberg and is free, Ew. F. G. would be well provided for with such a man, since they are in need of a preacher. I have informed E. F. G. of this, before we arrange the said doctor elsewhere, for he is a learned, pious, fine man. Herewith I command E. F. G. the dear God in his kingdom's grace, Amen. Saturday after Nicolai [11 Dec.] 1540.

E. F. G. williger
Mart. Luther.

No. 2739.

Worms. 17 December 1540.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 487 f., no. 1349.

No. 2740.

Worms. 28 December 1540.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 490, no. 1350.

No, 2741.

(Wittenberg.) No date 1540.

To Justus Jonas.

Comfort Spells in Controversy.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p.292. Printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 158 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 324.

To the highly famous man, Doctor Justus Jonas, who is down with a fever and is in a state of conflict.

Grace and peace! I hold that against the challenge of our unworthiness the devil must be answered thus:

I am unworthy, but I have been worthy to be created by GOtte, my Creator.

I have been worthy to be taught about the Son of GOD and the Holy Spirit.

I have been worthy to be entrusted with the ministry of the word.

I have been worthy to live in so many misfortunes.

I have been worthy that I was commanded to believe this.

I have been worthy that under the curse of eternal wrath I was threatened that I should in no way doubt this.

Therefore "I remember thy works, and say of the deeds of thy hands" [Ps. 143:5.] "Cast thy cause upon the LORD, and he shall supply thee." [Ps. 55, 23.] "Be ye manly, and let your heart be confident, all ye that hope in GOD." [Ps. 31, 25.] 1540.

No. 2742.

Without date 1540.

Written in a book.

Before the "First Part of the Books of *Dr. Mart. Luth.* on some Epistles of the Apostles. Wittemberg MDr. XXXIX.", printed by Hans Luft. —. The copy is in the possession of Senator Culemann in Hanover. Printed by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 278.

Joh. 11, 25.

"I pray the resurrection and the life. He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live."

Ps. 118, 17. 18.

"I will not die, but live, and declare the work of the Lord. He punisheth me, and chasteneth me, but giveth me not unto death."

That is:

Behold, death, thou hast become a rod, and not a ruin; a distemper, but not a

"Death, where is your spit?"
1 Cor. 15, 55.

Martinus Luther, D.

1540.

No. 2743.

History of the martyrdom of Dr. Robert Barnes in London, England. With a preface by Dr. Martin Luther.

Completed in print in early December 1540.

This history, which Melanchthon had sent to Luther on Nov. 14 (see No. 2728), appeared at the beginning of December (see No. 2757) in a single edition under the title: "Confession of Faith, which Robertus Barns, Doctor of the Holy Scriptures (in German lands called Dr. Antonius), made at Lunden in England. Anno 1540, on the 30th day of the month of Julyi, when he was led to the fire without judgment and right, innocent, ""interrogated matter, and burned." Germanized from the English language. With a preface by Luther. Wittenberg 1540." In the editions: in the Wittenberg (1553), vol. VI, p. 417; in the Altenburg, vol. VII, p. 422; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 367, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 186*. The preface alone in the Jena edition (1568), vol. VII, p. 391, and in the Erlanger, vol. 63, p. 396. We give the text according to the Wittenberg edition. - On Barnes, compare St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 370, note.

Preface Doct. Martini Luther.

This Doctor Robertus Barns, who, out of special humility, did not want to be called a doctor in our country, called himself Antonius, for he had reasons, because he had previously been imprisoned in England by the holy bishops, Saint Papists, and had been redeemed with great difficulty, - This doctor, I say, we know well, and it is a special joy to me to hear that our good pious table companion and housemate is so graciously called by God to shed his blood for the sake of his dear Son, and to become a holy martyr. Thanks, praise and glory be to your Father of our dear Lord Jesus Christ, who has let us see the time again, as in the beginning, in which his Christians have passed away before our eyes and from our eyes and from our sides to the torture, that is, to heaven, and have become saints who have eaten and drunk with us (as the apostles say of Christ Act. 10, 1) 41) and have rejoiced in honor. Who would have believed it twenty years ago, that Christ our Lord would be so near us, eating, drinking, talking, and living over tables and at home, through his dear martyrs and dear saints? What a shameful, desolate

1) In the editions: "Act. 4".

The wretched, flattened papacy has been, and still is, the thing that has left us no saint on earth, except that he has called himself the Holy of Holies and has charged us with self-chosen saints, knowing full well that it would be just as true as if he called the devil the Holy of Holies. No more of this.

Now when this holy martyr, Saint Robert, heard at that time that his king (with leave) Heinz of Engeland was hostile to the pope, he came again to Engeland, with hope to plant the gospel in his fatherland, and at last brought it to pass. To speak briefly of it, Heinz of Engeland let him like it, as is his way, until he sent him out, also to us to Wittenberg, in the marriage matter, about which thirteen universities had judged (as they said), and all of them gave Heinzen the right that he should put away his queen, Mrs. Katherin, Emperor Karel's wife, and take another (which he had done long before).

But since we had acted for a long time, and our most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, had incurred great expenses, it turned out in the end that Heinze of England had not auditioned his message because he wanted to become a Protestant, but that we should agree to his repudiation or marriage at Wittenberg, and I became exceedingly unhappy that I, together with our theologians, had worked so many weeks with them in the matter of religion, and when we came to the end, they said that their king would not suffer both forms of sacrament, priestly marriage and monasticism: Their king would not suffer the four things to be done away with, both forms of the sacrament, priestly marriage, the mass, and monasticism. Yea, said I, now we have been so long well abominated; we ought to have had that known first. Your king takes the pope's money, and keeps his regiment, so Heinz is pope, and pope is Heinz in Engeland.

He himself, Doctor Robertus Barns, often said to me: *Rex meus non curat religionem, sed est etc*.. Yet he loved his king and fatherland so fiercely that he gladly bore all these things and always thought of helping the country; and it is true that it would have to be a shameful rogue who did not want to be favorable to his fatherland and did not wish his prince every good, as not only Scripture but also all rights teach. Therefore had he ever

the word in the mouth: *Rex meus, regem meum,* as his confession indicates that he meant the *regem meum* until his death with all love and loyalty, which is nevertheless badly rewarded by the king. Hope deceived him, for he always hoped that his king would ultimately be good.

Among other things, we often discussed why the king should have the abominable title: *Defensor fidei, et in terris caput supremum et immediatum post Christain ecclesiae Anglicanae*. But there was an answer, which read as much as this: *they volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas,* that one also sees now more well that Junker Heinze wants to be God, and do what he desires.

But the reason why he was martyred is still hidden, for Heinze must be ashamed of himself. But it is nevertheless similar to what many honest people testify orally, namely, that Doctor Barns (like Saint John the Baptist against Herod) spoke against Heinze, and did not want to consent to the blasphemous deed, that he rejected the Lady of Jülich and took another; for what Junker Heinz wants, that shall be an article of faith, both to life and death. For Doctor Barns himself told me here that Morus and the bishop of Rossen (Roffen) were also almost executed by Heinzen because they did not want to consent to Heinz's article, which he had written.

But we let Heinzen go to his Heinzen, with his Heinzen, where they belong. We should thank God, the Father of all mercy, that He can use such devils and devil larvae so masterfully for our and all Christians' salvation, and for the punishment of both of them and of all who do not want to know God, as He has always done through the great tyrants. (As St. Paul says Rom. 8, 28.) [To those who love God,] 1) everything that is, happens, is done, and is suffered, must come to good. And again, all that is done is most grievous to those who persecute God's children, just as it is now happening to our murderer Heinzen, who does so much good by doing harm that I think, even if he were to go to Paradise, that his wickedness should nevertheless bring him all

1) Inserted by us.

to hell, that what he willed was not done. Of this another time more and better. Let us praise and thank God: It is a blessed time of Christ's chosen saints, and an unholy, sorrowful time of the devil, blasphemers, and enemies, and it shall become worse, amen.

[Confession of Faith of Dr. Robert Barnes.]

Anno 1540 in the month of July Robertus Barns, who for the sake of the Gospel of Jesus Christ had been placed in the tower 2) of Lunden in England, was taken to the place called Schmidfelde to be burned there.

On the way he spoke kindly to many people in both English and German, comforted and blessed them, and went to his torture with such great joy that he never once changed his color.

When he had come to the fire, where he was to conclude his life with a blessed end, he began to confess his faith, wherein he thought to die, and to suffer the great torment, and began to speak, as follows:

That he believes that there is an eternal, almighty, living God, who created heaven and earth and all that is in them for our benefit by his almighty wisdom and power.

That there is One God, and three Persons of the one Divine Being, of equal power and glory.

That Adam was created righteously godly, and that by his fall he and we all became sinners, and thereby subject to death, corruption, the devil, and hell.

That God has taken care of the human race from the beginning out of pure mercy and has promised it salvation and blessedness.

That the Son of God became man for our redemption and salvation, and that he was conceived by the Holy Spirit and born of Mary, the virgin who gave birth and who remains forever.

That Mary, the virgin, conceived and bare Jesus Christ, without the knowledge and will of any man.

He also completely rejected the Anabaptist opinion which taught that the Lord Christ should have received neither flesh nor blood from Mary, but confessed that he believed that Jesus Christ was truly God and man, who lived among us, yet without sin, in the world as another man, preached and proclaimed the will of his Father.

2) Wittenberger: "into the door"; Walch: "into the thur".

That he was finally condemned to death and suffered death on the cross.

That the Lord Jesus Christ, by his death, reconciled the human race to God the Father, and that by his precious blood, shed for our sins, he took away all our guilt and punishment; that all the merits of the Lord Christ are to our credit, and that in him we have done all that he has done for our righteousness and redemption.

He also said and confessed that there is nothing in this world by which we can be justified and saved, except through the one suffering of Jesus Christ the Lord, who alone can suffice before God and stand blameless. And he testified that he would rely solely on the merit of Jesus Christ the Lord, not doubting that he would thereby, by God's grace and mercy, receive forgiveness of sin and eternal life.

But since he and his kind, who praise God's grace and the righteousness of faith, are said to reject good works, he called God to witness that he had always taught, in addition to the doctrine of the forgiveness of sin, that one must do good works and practice faith in them and thereby prove it.

When the blessed Dr. Barns thus confessed his faith, one of them went up to him and asked what he thought Our Lady was and what he said about her. To this he answered, that she was a pure virgin, who had conceived and given birth to Jesus Christ.

When he thus spake, the judge that stood by the fire commanded him to hold his peace, saying, Master Barns, speak no more. Then answered Dr. Barns, and said, Oh, good judge, hear me this time without vexation; ye shall hear me no more henceforth. If I say anything that you do not want me to say, wave your hand at me, and I will let it go.

And straightway another of the servants came near, and said, Barns, what say ye of baptism and the sacrament of the altar? To which he answered:

Of baptism I say that it is God's order, and is necessary for the salvation of souls, and called God to witness that he had never kept it with the Anabaptists, and was innocently declared to be an Anabaptist.

Concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, he gave this answer: "I have always taught, and I still say, that through the holy and sacrificial power of the order, command, and word of Christ, the true body of Christ is miraculously formed,
Who was conceived and born of Mary the Virgin, if it be rightly used after the order of Christ. And he called to witness these two things one, called Master Poppe, who was there to meet him, and who had heard his doctrine of this, when he had spoken and disputed against the Anabaptists. The same Poppe also gave him testimony to this at the fire there and said yes to it.

And the servant came out again, and asked what he thought of the saints. To which he replied:

Of the saints I say that all who believe the holy Scriptures and the promise of God, have kept them true, have obeyed the word of God, and have died in such faith, to the praise, honor, and glory of God, with greater and higher thanksgiving than my senses can comprehend and my tongue can utter. But whether they pray for us or not, we have no certain report from the Scriptures. If I had found it in the Scriptures, I would not have told you. There is no need to ask, argue, or preach much about this; there is nothing certain about it in Scripture. But this is certain and certain, that Jesus Christ died for us, ascended into heaven, sitteth on the right hand of God, and prayeth for us.

But when he saw that he was burdened with unnecessary questions, and that the end was hastening, he turned to prayer, and spake these words:

O eternal, justifiable, blameless GOD, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, of the divine Trinity three Persons and One GOD, be merciful to me a sinner for the sake of JEsus Christ, your dear Son.

O eternal, living God, I poor sinner humbly beseech thee, be merciful to me, O Lord, do not enter into judgment with me, for I cannot stand before thy face. If I had nothing else to keep me blessed but my own righteousness, I should go to the devil.

God has given me two commandments, neither of which I have fulfilled before God. One is that I should love God. The other is love, so that I may be obligated to my neighbor, of which two commandments I am obligated to keep and fulfill both the one and the other.

With this he went to the judges and those who were in the king's court and spoke to them:

I request of you that you commend me to the Lord King, for whose welfare and long life I have prayed daily in the prison, and still ask that God the Lord may preserve his life for a long time.

I also beseech you to tell him, first, that I, Barns, desire of him, and beseech by the name of JESUS CHRIST, that he may maintain and continue the true Christian religion and the holy gospel, as he began in his kingdom, and that he may take diligent care that he be not drawn away from it by anyone's persuasion.

Secondly, that his majesty may have regard to the holy matrimony, and may make an understanding that henceforth no man may be permitted to leave or cast out his wife without just cause and sufficient fault, contrary to the commandment of God; since at the present time some presume to leave their wives, either because they are enraged by them, or because they otherwise have a displeasure with them, for Christ saith, "What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

That also the marriage state may be freely permitted to those to whom God and His Word permits and releases it.

Thirdly, tell him that I desire from his royal majesty in the name of JESUS Christ that he may be concerned that the damned swearing be forbidden and punished, for all my life I have neither seen nor heard such swearing as is practiced in England. Therefore I beseech your royal Majesty to have an understanding, for God Almighty will punish it. And I addressed one of them and said: Master Popp, I ask you to greet Master Erhard and to tell him that I desire of him by the name of God that he cease his great swearing, or God will punish him and all the others.

Fourth, tell him: "After the Lord Christ and we poor, miserable, despised people, among whom I am one, have led him to the knowledge of the truth through our preaching, by which he has learned to recognize, reject, and destroy the papal and monastic superstition and hypocrisy, and thus have made him from half a king to a whole, because he came to it through our preaching, to which neither he nor his father had never come. And he has received no small benefit, nor any common wealth from the devastation of the abbeys and other spiritual goods, but he has neglected to do anything that God has commanded him to do with these goods.

When the blessed Doctor Barns continued to speak of this, he was ordered to be silent; but he said: "I do not want to say anything bad, but I ask that His Royal Majesty would help the poor, needy people. Maj. would help the poor, needy people.

not forget, and help them from the spiritual goods and jewels subjected to them.

May Jesus Christ keep his graces, and let him live long, even the young prince, his son. May the Lord Christ graciously preserve him, and grant that he may live long after his father, and give him grace to finish in religion the work which his father began, amen.

When he had finished speaking, he began to speak to the judge and addressed him thus: Judge! Let me see the articles you have against me; let me hear them, that I may know the cause of my death.

To which the judge answered, We in the court have no articles against you. To this said Dr. Antonius: Since you have no articles against me, I can well think that I am condemned by the previous Acta and Sentention of the Parliament. And thereupon said: I am ready and willing to die. O Lord Jesus, have mercy on me.

And he besought the people to pray for him while he yet lived, and no longer, because it was too late afterward.

And said unto the judge, Judge, pray for me. As the saints pray for us, so will I pray for you.

If I have ever offended anyone in my sermons or otherwise, I pray that they will forgive me.

Again, if any man have interpreted my sermon differently from what I spake and meant, I forgive him also.

If any man also be, which hath heard my sermon, and hath found any thing therein in which he hath doubted, let him come near: I will tell him my opinion, and shew him my faith.

But because no one brought anything forward, he said again, "Lord Jesus, have mercy on me and on all those who have condemned me unknowingly; I beseech you, my God, do not count it a sin to them.

I also beseech thee, O my God, that thou wouldest make known their sin unto them that have condemned me in wickedness, and forgive them, and grant them grace, that they may know the truth and what they have done, and amend their ways.

I also ask that you greet Stephen, the Bishop of Winchester, whom I forgive everything in which he may have offended me, as completely as I want God to forgive my sin. I cannot forgive as completely as God forgives, but I forgive him as clearly and completely as one man can forgive another.

Thereupon, blessedly consummating his speech with life, he said, O Lord, heavenly Father,

Into thy holy hands I commend my spirit, O Lord, my heavenly Father, into thy holy hands I commend my spirit. And one, named Gerhard, who was burned with him, said to this: Amen.

And with him the fire was kindled, and that he might save himself from the torment, he gave himself up to the fire with all his desire, and turned his face to the vapour and fire, and in a short time was asphyxiated.

No 2744.

(Wittenberg.) Early January, 1541.

Luther, Jonas and Bugenhagen to the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Concerns about the position of the Elector on the election of the bishop of Naumburg and the reformation of the Naumburg chapter.
The original in Bugenhagen's handwriting with original signatures is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. B*, *fol.* 190. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 367.

Most illustrious, highborn Prince! Ew. ch. G. our obedient, completely submissive, willing services are ready beforehand. Most gracious Prince and Lord! After the Bishop of Naumburg recently died according to the will of God, we have received from Doctor Brücken, E. ch. F. G. Rathe, the articles and partly received and read them in writings, therein E. ch. F. G. graciously desires our concern. Although we are now not reported everywhere or completely on the occasion of this trade or on the diocese and monastery of Naumburg, even now we do not really know what E. ch. F. G. has to say about the law and the law of the diocese. F. G. have for *jus* and justice to the bishopric and monastery, however, so E. ch. F. G. report in the writings sent over next, that it is E. ch. F. G. to be authorized to do so, as the Electors and Princes of Saxony did in former times, that the canons without prior knowledge of E. ch. F. G. as the sovereign and patron prince, shall not elect any person as bishop whom E. ch. F. G., then in this matter, according to our simplicity, this is our submissive concern: First, where it is certain and can stand for a reason, that E. ch. F. G. are authorized before age, the canons, if they are not rightly the Election

1) this advice is brief, that E. ch. F. G. proceed, and not permit the canons to make a papist election, but compel them to elect a bishop who is able to exercise the episcopate in a Christian manner, as St. Paul writes in Tito and Timothy, and who is also zealous for pure doctrine in confession and apology, and in sum is not contrary to the Gospel and divine truth. In the event, even where E. ch. F. G. is certainly authorized to do so, E. ch. F. G. should have saved the monastery and the churches from papal idolatries and abominations, their ch. F. G. to reform them according to Christian conscience and by the word of God. And truly it is in the day that the canons would be well worthy, and with their defiance, also with their manifold blasphemies and Pharisaic bitterness and quarrels against the Gospel, would have deserved such a serious compulsion. The poor subjects, so many souls, are groaning for salvation, and it would be necessary for the poor citizens to come to their aid and salvation through this occasion. On the other hand, if it is public, and we all know that the canons and priests are now and then blinded and obdurate, they will whimsically seek evasion and remedy, that they will not grant E. ch. F. G. such a thing. And in the event that E. ch. F. G. could not or would not base themselves on a *jus* brought here, the way to be taken would be that E. ch. F. G. should appoint a person who would please E. ch. F. G. to be a prince, or as it may please E. ch. F. G. to petition the chapter, and with such petition to be called *preces* potentes or *armatae, in* which they shall be noted by E. ch. F. G. in earnest. F. G. earnestly that E. ch. F. G. were not pleased with their *idolatry,* and that in future they intended to carry out reformation, as E. ch. F. G. know better than we can consider or indicate. If, however, the canons will not grant the gracious intercession, but continue with their *electio* as hardened, then it is to be advised that E. ch. F. G. expect another occasion through patience, which occasion God will give. For that E. ch.

1) Here Burkhardt offers: "befugt sind, vor alters die tumherrn, ob sie mit recht die election furzunemen zuzwingen" 2c. - Instead of "with" is to be read "nit".

F. G. should, in these dwindling times and tempers, when everything is almost carefree and dangerous, take the diocese and the monastery, in which the nobility is also secretly hard against the princes, for a ride and do something by force, we would not in conscience be able to advise ourselves now, and there would also be a complaint against the conscience, if we had given cause for such a ride.

In the meantime it would be enough that the souls of the sighing would be saved by the word 1) and the preaching ministry. Where one could also direct this trade with the election so that it comes into a dilation, and the invasion of a papist bishop is thus prevented, until more convenient, *absente Caesare*, change and reformation can be made, should also be useful here. This is, most gracious Elector and Lord, our submissive concern, and E. ch. F. G. obedient, completely submissive, and willing services, we are willing and always completely willing. May the Lord Christ strengthen E. ch. F. G. by his grace always. Date.

E. C. F. G.

willing, subservient servants Justus Jonas, D.
Martinus Luther.
Johannes Bugenhagen, Pomer., D.

No. 2745.

(Wittenberg.) January 9, 1541.

To Friedrich Myconius, pastor in Gotha.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1790.

No. 2746.

(Wittenberg.) January 11, 1541.

To Jakob Stratner, court preacher in Berlin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1616.

No. 2747.

(Wittenberg.) January 12, 1541.

To Spalatin.

Luther reassures him about the newly established Consistory, by which he fears to be rebuked.

1) Burkhardt: "was" and immediately following: "errer" instead of "erret" (saved).

The original is at Gotha in *Cod. chart. 122. fol.* Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 270; by *Schlegel, vita Spalatini,* p. 247 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 329. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1306 ff. - Köstlin, M. Luther (3rd), vol. II, p. 675 *ad* p. 452, note 1, remarks that the letter is "probably from the year 1539," but places it again in the year 1541, p. 585.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, the extremely faithful archbishop of the churches of Meissen, his very dear brother.

Grace and peace! That I, my dear Spalatin, have been a little late in answering your many letters is because I thought you were vainly concerned that you might be rebuked. For although here in Wittenberg they have begun to establish a consistory, when it is completed it will not concern the visitators, but will have to do with matrimonial matters (which we neither want to nor can carry here any longer) and will serve to force the peasants into a certain order of discipline, and that they pay their income to the pastors, which will perhaps here and there also concern the nobility and the authorities by reason of necessity. Furthermore, you know that you are exempt by a special *privilege if* (which I do not yet believe will happen) such a correction should take place. Therefore I beg you to dispense with this concern. For here we suspect or fear nothing less than that. Only this one thing I ask of you for the sake of our friendship, that you in no way think anything evil if I do not write as often as you would like. I know that in the most friendly spirit you desire and want me to write, but you know my constant business, which is unceasing and very great. Therefore, I beg you to remember this rule: as often as I do not answer you, let it be quite certain that I consider that a letter is not necessary, but that you grieve in vain, or ask for such things as I have either already arranged and performed, or want to arrange as soon as possible. For when I have recognized that a letter is necessary, do not doubt that I will put everything aside rather than let you be in even a faintly suspected distress.

...let him. For I want you to think much better of your old and very sincere friend.

Say thank you to Messrs. Einsiedel (*Heremitis*) for their extremely benevolent attitude, for they are a rare and peculiar light in the very dense darkness of the nobility at this time. My Lord Käthe greets you respectfully and asks you to lay it on me that I have not written, since she has reminded me so diligently; I confess that this is true. Fare well with your own in the Lord. Wednesday after Epiphany [12 Jan.] 1541.

Your M. Luther.

No. 2748.

(Wittenberg.) January 24, 1541.

To den Churfürsten Johann Friedrich.

Luther had been called to the Elector because of the election of the bishop of Naümburg, but he excuses himself that he could not come because of his sickness.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. B, fol.* 199 b. Printed by De Wette, vol. V, p. 330 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 295.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg. Röm. Reichs Erzmarschalk and Churfürsten, Landgraves in Thuringia, Margraves of Meissen and Burgraves of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

Yours sincerely in Christ. Most illustrious, high-born Prince, most gracious Lord! In response to the letter of E. C. F. G. to come to me at this hour, I most humbly inform you that yesterday and this night my neck has become worse than before, and almost broke me at two o'clock this morning (with leave), so that I, indeed weak, cannot come as I am obliged to, and would also like to do so humbly. E. C. F. G. would most graciously grant me that. I notice and am disturbed by how the priests are hurrying with the Election and also hiding the death of the bishop, no doubt worried that ECFG would like to prove something to the Election. They are desperate men, the devil's servants. But methinks Dr. Brück will advise E. C. F. G. well in this, and E. C. F. G. himself better by God's grace. What you can't run for, you can...

God will send it right into the hands of E. C. F. G. one day, and catch the devil's smarties in their cleverness. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befehlt. Amen. Monday at eleven o'clock after [24 Jan.] 1541.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

N. S. Martinus Luther.

But if E. C. F. G. wants Dr. Jonas and Pomer to come, they will be at Lochau tomorrow at E. C. F. G.'s call.

No. 2749.

Cöln an der Spree (Berlin). 4 February 1541.

Prince Joachim of Brandenburg to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Elector considers further settlement in the disputed religious matter, as happened at Worms, to be urgently necessary, and asks Luther to read the document compiled about it, which he communicates to him "confidentially," and to give a verdict on it. He asks him not to add glosses to the Edict published by the Emperor in Brabant, at least not yet. - The document sent by the Elector is the so-called "Regensburg Interim," St. Louis edition, Vol. XVII, 581, No. 1369.

From a copy in *Cod. Galli* I, p. 4, in *Corp. Ref.,* Vol. IV, 92 f. and in Neudecker's "Merkwürdige Actenstücke", Abtheilung I, p. 255.

No. 2750.

(Wittenberg.) February, 1541.

Behenken on Bucer's "Verzeichniß".

This concern is placed over the aforementioned writing of Bucer, which contains comparative proposals for the unification of Protestants and Catholics.

Luther's own handwritten original is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. H, fol. 41. Printed in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 279.

To the directory of Dr. Buceri this is my discretion:

Because they confess and admit the chief things, as of justification, of both forms, of the abjuration of the sacerdotal masses, of priestly marriage, of monasticism, it may well be called a comparison with us. For these are our chief things, and have especially

the common people herewith enough besides the ordinary ceremonies, which are not *cultus*, of it otherwise and elsewhere. For these two things, *justificatio* and the sacrament, have hindered everything hitherto, because the people ask nothing about the marriage of priests and the celebration of masses, or what concerns the clergy. But the two new ceremonies with the daily parish mass without communicants and the public punishments may be left on the conscience of those who want to use them until the time comes. The people can well do without them and be saved by Word and Sacrament without them, and are not obliged to accept the new way with them. So neither can we take it upon ourselves or our churches, nor confirm it.

It would also be advisable to them that such new ways of parish masses and public punishments were not written down or sealed, but began beforehand by verbal command or permission, so that it could be tried beforehand how and whether it would be suitable or not. For there is a great difference between imagining something and putting it into execution. And it might happen that one would not find priests who would say such masses, nor people who would suffer such punishment. For essays are easily made. But if there are not people first who accept it or have the will to do it, then the effort both with seals and letters would be in vain, and the last would be worse than the first. [One would have to change it afterwards, hear it with scorn and derision, that we have given things inconstantly and uncertainly, especially because such ceremonies, both now and before, have never been in use in such a way. Therefore let them try it first, but on their conscience, if it comes to pass, it may be put in writing.

For this is one of the graces of our confession, that it tells how things went and stood before and after in our church, as if one were hearing a history and not an essay or commandment. And where it was set before, before it was in the work, who knows when and how much of it would have come into the work? So they also (who want it) may bring it into work beforehand, and try how it will turn out, and afterward write, set, and place it, but nevertheless let the glory go, that they have with us

Because the pope does not want to do anything about the matter, and they would be forced to deliberate on this themselves. For the comparison is not made in the ceremonies, but in the substantials and principal parts.

But above all, the best advice would be to raise up good preachers, who would diligently bring such principal things to the people. Then the ceremonies would have to be directed. Because if the man stands well, the dress also stands well. Otherwise, if the preachers and sermons are not appointed first, it is not fruitful to start the ceremonies behind; the cornerstone must first be laid and then built upon.

No. 2751.

(Wittenberg.) February 9, 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for a pastor gone mad.

The original is in the Coburg House and State Archives. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 369 - The pastor in need of help (name unknown) stayed with Andreas Siegmann, pastor on the mountain before Eilenburg. By order of the Elector the latter received through the sequestrators the support of 10 fl. annually, which Luther had asked for. (dated Wittenberg, Wednesday after Valentini [Feb. 16] 1541). (Burkhardt.)

G. u. F. in Christo. Most illustrious, highborn prince, most gracious lord ! A case has arisen in which no one can advise us except E. C. F. G. A poor priest has become mad (as I think) because of poverty; for he has been expelled from his parish without cause, and is said to have had more accidents that one must wait for him so that he does not harm himself or others; he has a wife and six children, which is fine with me. He is with the priest in front of the castle at Eulenburg, who contains him with wife and children, difficult enough, as E. C. F. G. may inquire about it with the said priest. He came to see me and told me that there is an old schoolhouse there, if he could get it and have a talk with him until it would be better. E. C. F. G., as a father of the poor, wanted to help, advise and have a gracious understanding. For the devil, who seeks us all, would like to see where the fence is lowest and climb over it to help the poor man.

harm. So we do not know when Christ will come nearest to us, or in which he will greet us the most, or else he will lie at our door in poor Lazaro. E. C. F. G. will well know how to keep Christian in this, for it is a great need. Hiemit dem lieben HErrn Christo befohlen, Amen. Wednesday after Dorothea [9 Feb] 1541.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2752.

(Wittenberg.) ' 13 February 1541.

To the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg.

Luther wants to read the "Regensburg Book" sent to him by the Elector in secret and soon report his misgivings. He does not want to gloss over the imperial edict from Brabant; he is writing his book "Wider Hans Wurst". - This letter is the first, provisional answer to the Prince Chur's letter of February 4 (No. 2749).

From a copy in the archives at Kassel in Neudecker, Merkwürdige Aktenstücke, first part, p. 260 and in De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 280.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I want to read over the received writing in secret very soon, and E. C. F. G. my concern. I have no objection to the imperial edict 1) because it is far too obscene for me to bother with it or to want to gloss over it 2). But the murderer in Wolfenbüttel has published a blasphemous book against my lord. Lord, in which I was also called by name, and we were all heretics. Whereupon I write a short and gentle booklet 3) of our cause, not that it should please him, nor the papists, but that pious people may see their lies and our truth, and them also, if they will. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Sunday after Scholasticä [13 Feb] 1541.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther.

1) Cf. no. 2735. It was issued on Sept. 1, 1540, in which Luther's writings and the translation of the New Testament were banned.
2) Seidemann: "darein".
3) "Wider Hans Wurst," St. Louis ed. vol. X VII, 1311, no. 1436.

No. 2753.

Wittenberg. 20 February 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, jointly with Jonas, Bugenhagen and Ammerbach.

Intercession for the scholarship holder Kilian Windisch.

From the Weimar archives, *Reg. Mm, fol.* 94, *No.* 21, printed by Burkhardt, p. 370. - The whole letter is Canzlei hand, even the signatures are not personal, > but the four preserved seals of the letter are originals.

Most illustrious, highborn prince and lord! Your ch. Gn. are to God Almighty, our prayer together with submissive, obedient service always ready beforehand with diligence. Most gracious lord! The pastor and council of Leisnig, around Martinmas, next to several others, have informed us by a letter how they have asked Gregor Windisch', their mayor's son, named Chilianum, for a scholarship because of his skill, since his father is not able to move him to the studio. G. for a scholarship. To which Ew. chf. G. has graciously replied that the same E. ch. G. has granted a scholarship to this and other young fellows who are expected to preach in the future in E. ch. G.'s lands for preaching and other Christian offices; but that E. ch. G. may have good witness of this, the same E. ch. G. would not award a scholarship for this, unless he had first been interrogated at the University here in Wittenberg on account of his conduct and skill, and had produced a good testimony. Now the said council has sent for the said young journeyman and asked us diligently to interrogate him now or in future examinations. We have diligently interrogated him, and find him to be so competent that, if he were to continue, he should be usable for Christian offices in time; he has had to make a *scriptum about* this and hand it over to us together with several *carminibus* 4), which we are sending to E. ch. G. herewith send sealed.

4) The poem sent has the superscription: *De religione cum sermonis elegantia conjungenda ad puerum admonitio*. - The prescription for 30 fl. is dated: Torgau, September 1. (Burkhardt.)

For this reason we humbly request that Ew. ch. G. will graciously provide the poor journeyman, for whom there is good hope, with a scholarship, so that he may not neglect his studies, which he has begun, out of poverty and incapacity, in gracious consideration that his father shall be an honest, pious man, and otherwise graced by God with many children, E. ch. G. will graciously show himself in this. That for the same E. ch. G. we ask God for the blessed regiment and welfare of the same and are always willing to earn it in humble obedience. Date Wittenberg, on Sunday Sexagesimä [20 February] Anno 1541.

E. chfl. and F. G.

subservient, obedient Martinus Luther, Ecclesiast, Justus Jonas, Provost, Joannes Bugenhagen, Pastor, Doctores, and Vitus Ammerbach, M.

No. 2754.

(Wittenberg.) February 21, 1541.

To the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg.

Second answer to the letter of the Elector of February 4, concerning the "Regensburg Interim".

From a copy in the Kassel archives in Neudecker, Merkwürdige Aktenstücke, first part, p. 261 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 281.

To my most gracious lord, the Elector of Brandenburg, Joachim 2c.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most illustrious, high-born Prince, most gracious Lord! I have read over the writing with diligence, and at E. C. F. 1) G.'s request I say this, that these people, whoever they are, mean very well. But they are impossible proposals, which the pope, cardinals, bishops, canons cannot now accept. For who wants to force them, because the pope wants to be unconstrained and above everything, it is called new or old canons. They would or could rather suffer our reformation, neither these of the old canons and conciliarities, as the bishop

1) With Seidemann here and at the end of the letter: "E. s. G."

at Mainz itself said by Duke Georgen of Saxony before the Reformation, which was just made on this Reformation blow. Truly, most gracious lord, it is in vain that one undertakes such means and comparisons. There is nowhere to go before the pope and his followers. God must be left to do with him as he has begun, for it is the unanimous opinion of all that they do not want to slacken anything, but rather to remain and preserve what they are and what they have. Moreover, there are many things in them that we will not, nor can we, raise among our own. The best thing would be to take pious, learned men and let them judge what and where the word of God is. If this were done, God's kingdom and his righteousness would be sought first, and the other things would be put off until God's word had taken root. Then one could also act differently from the other. Otherwise, if both are done at the same time, one will hinder the other. Such is my concern. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befehlt, Amen. Monday after Valentine [21 Feb] 1541.

E. C. F. G.

willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 2755.

(Wittenberg.) March 9, 1541.

To M. Michael Cölius in Mansseld.

Luther asks him to admonish the Counts of Mansfeld that they do not weigh down their subjects so much.

A copy from the end of the 16th century is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N, pag.* 108. 41. z. 15 a. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 371.

My dear Lord and friend! If you then come justly with my gracious lords, especially with M. G. H. Count Hans Georgen, then you should make petitions and appeal to God's word that they should not give themselves so obviously in people's speech with such a burdening of their subjects, for they will certainly do them [themselves] the greatest harm, that I truly know, and I am sorry that my fatherland should so miserably play a game of joy to the devil.

2) Burkhardt: "mine".

be. God is about to withdraw the blessing, and this damage, where the mine should decrease, should not be good for all of Germany. But woe to him who causes so much misfortune and damage, who saddens so many people! Whoever they are, they have certainly already cursed themselves. Let us pray that God will give M. G. Herren strength, spirit, and justice against such devilish or rather against God's wrathful plague. If this does not help, it will not work at last, which is what the devil wants. The last day says no to it. Otherwise you shall report my faithful prayer and willing service to my Lord. Date the 9th of March, 1541. Martin Luther, D.

No. 2756.

(Wittenberg.) March 12, 1541.

To Prince Wolfgang zu Anhalt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 559, no. 1359.

No. 2757.

Torgau. 13 March 1541.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector acknowledges receipt of Luther's letter, 1) according to which he wants Melanchthon and Cruciger to be spared the journey to the Diet of Regensburg for the sake of the university, but still wishes them to make this journey (for political and religious reasons) and to arrive in Altenburg on March 16.

From the original concept in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. L, fol.* 48. vol. V, 20, in *Corp. ref.* vol. IV, 118.

To Doct. Martin Luther.

Johanns Friedrich, Churfürst 2c.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have received your letter concerning the attendance at the above Imperial Diet, in addition to your concern as to why the also revered, dear faithful, Magister Philippus Melanchthon and Doctor Creutzinger, should be spared such a journey or be spared it for a time, and read further contents, and note such your report from you to our gracious favor, can also consider the causes, so you in touched your writing, with ourselves of importance, that it would be useful, and for the sake of our university necessary and good, that said Mag. Philippus and Doct.

1) This letter cannot be found (Burkhardt).

Creutzinger remained at Wittenberg and would be spared with such a journey.

But since you know that much is at stake in this Imperial Diet, and before that in matters of religion: if we should not attend the same in our own person, nor provide it with theologians, it might be suggested to us as if we, with our true Christian religion, were shying away from coming to light, because the Emperor's Majesty himself would be there. Majesty would be there himself, to come to light. Therefore, we consider it necessary to send the aforementioned two persons, which you will undoubtedly put up with, and will graciously provide for them, they will keep to our previous letter for the sake of such a journey, and take care that they will certainly arrive and arrive at Altenburg next Wednesday [March 16] in the evening, which you shall inform them of and report to them.

Thus we also want to keep our university in gracious and diligent order no less than before, and also want 2) with the grant of God Almighty, to stand by the once recognized truth and pure doctrine of the divine word, which by special providence and grace of God brought to light by you against the papal idolatry, will remain steadfast to our end, of the same opinion and mind as other members of our religion, and will also firmly stand beside us at the touched Diet for that which is for God's glory and the spreading of His holy Word. Which we, in our gracious opinion, do not wish to hold against you, and are graciously inclined to you. Date Torgau, Sunday Reminiscere [3 March] Anno Dom, 1541.

No. 2758.

(Wittenberg.) March 20, 1541.

Alt den Churfürsten Johann Friedrich.

Luther asks for the employment of a musician under use of a settled fief.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Mm, fol. 94 b, No.* 22. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 372.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I am sending this letter to E. C. F. G., partly at your request, partly also from myself; E. C. F. G. would graciously understand it. So far we have had a great lack of a musico,

2) "want" put by us instead of: "have".

but because nothing was available, we did not like to trouble E. C. F. G. with much supplicating. Now, however, the income of Licentiate Blancken 1) has been settled, it seems to me good that a handsome musician should be kept from it. For at that time we still had a supply from the papists (like other parishes) who could sing. But now we are to raise our own, there is a lack of them. Now, however, I am well aware that E. C. F. G. wants to use the church goods for the church's needs and best, and thus proves by deed that such parishes improve E. C. F. G.'s own land and remain in the country, I hope that E. C. F. G. will graciously move our concern and humble request and know how to show themselves Christian in this. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befohlen, Amen. Sunday Oculi [March 20] 1541.

E. C. F. G.

subservient Martinus Luther.

No. 2759.

(Wittenberg.) 25, March 1541.

To Jnstus Menius, pastor in Eisenach.

An economic order; of Myconius' recovery.

From a Wolfenbüttel manuscript, formerly Gudische Sammlung, tot. 214, by Schütze, vol. III, p. 136 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 334.

To the man to be highly honoured in your Lord, Justus Menius, Metropolitan Bishop of Eisenach, his exceedingly dear brother.

Nothing, my dear Justus, I have wanted to write now, except that you may see to it that the annual 40 florins given to my George by the princes are squeezed out if they cannot be set in motion, and that they are brought here by our booksellers returning from Frankfurt. Likewise I ask that you henceforth relieve me of the complaint.

1) Licentiate Christoph Blank died Saturday before Oculi [March 19], whose income the University of Wittenberg wanted to be used for the appointment of a musician, who should teach music to the pastors, caplains, schoolmasters and church servants. The Elector did not agree immediately, but took time to think it over. (Burkhardt.)

free. A year ago, when I myself was present with Philip at Eisenach, I enforced the payment that had been postponed until that time. I see that they do this unwillingly, and that they have raised a new extortion concerning those 40 florins: they even make a right for themselves out of the gifts, and extort the gift as a right.

We have not yet received anything from the Imperial Diet; indeed, I believe that those who were sent from here have hardly arrived in Regensburg. I am very glad that Frederick (Myconius) is returned to us. God hears the prayers of His Church, so that we must grasp it with our hands. I too, as much as old age permits, am breathing out to some extent in this spring air, while I had prepared myself to die, since I was plagued by such violent rivers of the head. Give my love to your wife and children, especially to my little Timothy, the nut reader. Greet all yours. On the day of the *Incarnation* of the Son of God, March 25, 1541, your Martin Luther.

No. 2760.

Regensburg. 29 March 1541.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Melanchthon apologizes for not having written in his own hand. The negotiations of the Diet have not yet begun. Help against the Turk is urgently needed. One returns to the Frankfurt formula. The Emperor was not hostile, but mild. Cruciger had preached several times on the journey before a large audience 2c.

Handwritten in *Cod. Bav.* II, p. 627; printed in *Mel. Select. epist. p.* 266; in the latter's *Epist. lib. I, p*. 215 (in the London edition, *lib. I, ep*. 72) and in the 6orr>. Heck. vol. IV, 142.

To the venerable and worthy man, Mr. Martin Luther, Doctor of Theology and restorer of the pure doctrine of the Gospel, his exceedingly dear father.

Hail! Against my custom, I am sending a letter written by a foreign hand. For since the carriage was overturned on entering Bavaria, my right hand, struck by a beam, is so badly injured that I have not yet been able to use it.

2) Instead of *Crimitzsch* we have assumed *Comitiis.* Also Seidemann (Vol. VI, p. 655) has been helpless towards this word.

The shock to my nerves has been followed by no small amount of pain, but I will not fail in my duty to send letters. About the Diet I cannot yet write anything but the uncertain suspicions of some people, for the public deliberations have not yet begun, and I believe that the cause of the delay is not both that some princes are still expected, but that the very one whose voice is to precede the others, and, as Homer says: xxxxxxxx xxxxxx [the deliberations are to be held], is not yet ready.

open], the council is lacking. The situation demands that the Turks, who are raging in Hungary, be confronted by an army that does not challenge them with a right, but rather with the sword, *mage ferro*, as Ennius says. And to a certain city, having recently taken it, they have inflicted an ignominious defeat; but in order that they may be opposed, the unity of the Germans is necessary, of which the Bavarian and Mezentius 1) think that it is to be established in such a way that ours may first be exterminated. The Emperor does not agree with them, but forbids them to do violence to the fatherland, and he wishes to settle the disputes of the citizens in a friendly manner, if he could be shown a way to accomplish this. They say that the formula of Worms is disagreeable. For they admit that the opponents have used men who are not skilled in investigating the truth, nor do they strive for common tranquillity. Again, the Frankfurt formula is discussed, that people who are chosen according to the judgment of the emperor and the parties are to talk amicably with each other, and that the deliberations are to be brought to the emperor and the princes. One also tells of other wise men. But of the whole matter we shall have a more certain report a little later. If, as I hope, the consensus of our people will be firm, we shall have less difficulty. I do not doubt that the opinions and the will of the scholars are in agreement with each other. The Macedonian 2) preachers also promise good things from their Lord. Nidamus told us yesterday that the Macedonian, on his journey here, said that he would not depart from the Confession, nor suffer himself to be drawn away by the allies. We shall certainly endeavour to maintain the confession. And yet we will not forget this warning cry (xxxxxxxxx): Remember it,

1) Duke Henry of Brunswick.
2) That is, the preachers of Macedo, the landgrave Philip of Hesse.

that you can't trust too much (xxxxxxx xxxxxxxx),

so that we will not be too compliant. But we want to ask God to guide these actions, which are full of dangers and persecutions, and to govern our minds for the glorification of the glory of the Gospel. Publicly, the Emperor shows no hostility, just as his modesty in all his preparations is admirable, and his cunning in answering. Yesterday the Macedonian was with him, not for a secret parley, but which was conducted in the presence of many people. The emperor's courtiers were astonished at his joyful confidence (xxxxxxxxx). For the Macedonian had attacked Mezentius in a very sharp speech, and nothing else had been done there. There you have that which, at least now, seemed most worth talking about at the beginning of the Convention; God grant that it may be for the best. On the journey, Father Caspar preached several times in Bavarian cities before a large audience, and the innkeepers were especially friendly toward us out of love for the Gospel. For we have touched only those cities which are subject to our Count Palatine and the sons of Ruprecht. Count Palatine Philip led the hitchhiker into his castle with his entire retinue and treated him kindly. Be well, and may it go well with you. God keep you and your honored wife and your exceedingly lovely children. On the 29th day of March. From the old colony of the Rhaetians (*Ex veteri Rhetorum Colonio* == Regensburg) 1541.

Phil. Mel.

No. 2761.

(Wittenberg.) March 31, 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 560, no. 1360.

No. 2762.

(Wittenberg.) Before the 4th of April, 1541.

To Melanchthon.

News from home and consolations.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 354. Printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 178 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 336.

Grace and peace! Although there was nothing I could have written to you, my dear Philip, I have sent this messenger to you.

I did not want you to come to you without a letter from me, so that you would know, perhaps through this testimony of my hand, that we are still alive; but today, since the sun was bright, the air quite spring-like, the earth lovelier than usual, I noticed that I am much better. But all is well in your house, and your dream about this son is especially wrong. For 1) I believe Sebald's 2) Aennchen and your niece (*neptis)* were seized with a slight fever (*calore),* but there is no danger. About our Blank the others will write to you; he died sooner than I learned anything. It is said that he was not careful, in that he did not avoid the baths during the fever, and at the same time wanted to quench his thirst with much drinking, by which he killed himself. In the meantime, we ask the Prince 3) to order music from a portion of his salary. We do not yet know what will happen at court. In the meantime, a letter from Bucer has reached us, written to you, which we have read: about the arrival of Cardinal Contarenus and other histories, which you have certainly long since heard from him yourself. I wish these monsters luck to this contempt. May God add many thousands more to the vengeance on the arsons and on all blasphemies, amen. Satan, however, has invented a new art to kill us: poison is mixed with wine. Plaster under the milk. Again, in Jena twelve have died from poisoned wine; but we attribute it to the wine itself, to excess. But it is said that in Magdeburg and in Nordhausen it was discovered that the milk offered for sale was poisoned. But all things are put under Christ's feet; as long as he wills and as much as he wills, we shall suffer. Meanwhile we reign, and they perish: whether they will or no, they shall cause the earth to be founded on his ground, [Ps. 104:5] and the ground to be prepared for the waters. But much less will they snatch the heavens from the LORD of heaven. But if He

1) Instead of *non we* have assumed *enim.*
2) Dr. Sebald Münsterer. Cf. No. 2591.
3) In letter no. 2758.

is unharmed and alive, and reigns, we also will remain unharmed, alive, and kings, after the enemies have been thrown under our feet, amen. Greetings to you and to all of you from our Church, which also faithfully prays for you. Fear not: you are angels, rather messengers, namely of the great angel, whom I call archangels, 4) not ours, but of the Church, yes, of God Himself, whose cause it is that you act; this even the gates of hell cannot deny, and though they resist, yet they will not prevail. The lion of the tribe of Judah has long since gained the victory from the beginning of the world, but before the world was created, so that all this is nothing, whatever the vile lion and dragon may bite, undertake, and accomplish. Farewell. Greet all of us in my name reverently. Anno 1541. yours Martin Luther, D.

No. 2763.

(Wittenberg.) E4. April 1541.

To Melanchthon.

Luther expresses his dissatisfaction with the Regensburg negotiations and especially with the attitudes of the Landgrave of Hesse.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 319, printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 137 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 337.

Grace and peace! This is the second letter which I write to you, my dear Philip, for we hope that your letters to us are on their way. I pray the Lord that he may rule you and keep you from the wiles of Satan, and especially keep us from Jason, 5) and his like. For our very good prince has given me today through Dr. Brück to read his advice about making peace with the Emperor and the opposing party. I see that they think this matter is a kind of comedy between men, while the matter shows that it is a tragedy between God and Satan, where Satan's things are in bloom, but God's are held in low esteem. But the outcome will be as it has been from the beginning, and the poet of this play will also tell us.

4) We have adopted De Wette's conjecture, *voco* instead of *vos.*
5) The Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

Tragedy, the Almighty, himself deliver. I write in anger and suffer with displeasure the play of these people in so great a cause. But so it must be done, that we may be found conformed to St. Paul, yea, to the whole Church, that is, subjected to the dangers of false brethren, that the seal of GOD may be sure upon us. God knows His own. I would write more if I did not know that you also hate such people and such things. What is the use of our discussing neutral things, 1) as they call them, and neglecting the main articles, namely, the Word and the sacraments, which God requires, and in which He Himself is at the same time neglected, even tempted, and taken for a spectacle? Admittedly, there will be a beautiful peace in neutral things, where meanwhile the serious and fundamental things will be put on the back burner because of impenitence! But of these things, when we have seen your letters.

By the grace of God, everything is well in your families. The licentiate Blank died of a fever, which, as they say, was aggravated by too much bathing and drinking without distinction. Dr. Augustin lies gravely ill. All else is as you left it. The Margrave comes with those of Anhalt to the Imperial Diet full of good and great hopes with respect to the Emperor, yes, also to the whole papacy. Would God that they were not mistaken in half. Farewell and greet all of us. On Monday after Judica [April 4] 1541. I am building alone on Ezekiel, but little by little, because of weakness of the head, for the printers are pressing. Martin Luther.

No. 2764.

Regensburg. 4 April 1541.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Melanchthon reports that the public hearings have not yet begun, and that the Emperor has not yet appeared in public. About Faber's death.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. 191, p.90; in *Cod. Lips. ep.* 8. and in *Ms. Manl. p*. 171. printed in *Corp. Ref.* , vol. IV, 148.

1) *de neutralibus*. This expression had been used by the landgrave, which was very much resented. Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth. lib. III*, p. 354 (De Wette).

To Dr. Martin Luther.

Hail! Today, the day of Ambrose, it was said, would be the beginning of the public deliberations, but I am told that a delay has occurred because it has not yet been possible to determine, since the two princes, the Macedonian and Mezentius, are at odds, in what manner they might be brought together in the assembly, lest one of them should seem ignominiously excluded. Such great matters, worthy of heroic men, are being discussed here.

You remember: since our prince had read the Odyssey, he laughed (as he himself spoke) at the Homeric sillinesses; but it is really so: the sillinesses of these convents are still much greater, in fact worth that for their sake I have now almost lost my right hand and often suffered other misfortunes.

Your writing against Mezentius 2) is read here with great eagerness. Although he undertakes many things and secretly sets them in motion against our people, yet by the grace of God the good will of all understanding men seems to be turned away from him. The disciplinarian rules him artfully; let us pray that God will destroy his attempts. The Macedonian surpasses the other princes in retinue and other courtly trappings. The emperor has not yet appeared in public as long as we have been here. Be well and live happily. I wish your very honored wife well, also your exceedingly lovely children and your whole family. On the day of Ambrosius [April 4], from the old colony of the Rhaetians [Regensburg]. Caspar [Cruciger], who wrote this letter, greets you.

I am horrified when I think of the wickedness and scheming of the great ones. Therefore I would that thou shouldest think that I would much rather dwell with thee than with these monsters, who have the name of superiors (xxxxxxxx).

It is certain that Faber of Vienna is dead, who wrote so many tasteless books and had so many godly people cruelly martyred, like the smith (*faber*) Berillus, and already the investigator Minos is shaking the urn for him [*Virg. Aen. lib. VI.* 432]. Again, be well.

No. 2765.

(Wittenberg.) Between the 4th and 7th of April, 1541.

To Chancellor Brück.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 666, no. 1370.

2) St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 1311, no. 1436.

No. 2766.

Torgau. 8 April 1541.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

Luther is to suggest a pastor for Gera, since the there desired pastor to Pansa cannot be dispensed with.

The original concept (with very illegible corrections) is in the archives at Weimar, *Reg*. D 4. 16. printed by Burkhardt, p. 374.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! As the noble, our dear special one, Anna, née Countess of Beichlingen, wife of Gerau, widow, has requested of us at the request of her subjects of Gerau, to have her provided with the pastor of Pansa 1), you will find enclosed. Since the people of Pansa 1) cannot do without a priest, as we also have reservations about having the same 2) taken from them, our gracious request is that you seek an experienced man who is skilled and suitable to be appointed priest and superintendent 3) in Gerau, and indicate him to us, so that we then have something to earn against the above-mentioned widow, the Countess of Gerau. You do us a gracious favor. Given at Torgau, Friday after Judica [April 8] 1541.

No. 2767.

(Wittenberg.) April 10, 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther's answer to the previous letter. Proposals for the filling of the pastorate in Gera.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji, fol.* 1566. 1541. D 4. 16a. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 374 s.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Sir! To E. C. F. G.'s letter to take a pastor to Gera, I give my humble answer that I do not know of one in the hurry now, or that one would have to be found. For we have indeed almost exhausted our school until now, and the boys who are now growing up are not yet ready, so that our Consistory itself now needs four pastors in Brehna (Preen),

1) Our conjecture. Burkhardt reads: "Pausa".
2) Burkhardt offers: "the same".
3) Here we have deleted "and".

gen Plötzka (Plotzig) 2c., and have nothing yet. But I will indicate my thoughts to E. C. F. G..

First of all, there is a priest in Barby (Barbey), Johann von Milckow, who will not be able to stay, and our priest, Dr. Pomer, has almost thought of accepting him as a chaplain here. For the people of Brandenburg have wrestled one of his chaplains from us with a high request, except for two years. So the fourth is also leaving. But as the one at Barby is worthless, and as he complains about his cause, he has taken the parish goods to the court, he may be sent to Gera.

On the other hand, there is a schoolmaster at Altenburg, Andreas, who would be very capable if he wanted to do it, or if the parish at Gera were also so stately, because the market is sucking 4) the priests, who have to live full of string 5) up to the ridge in these dwindling times.

Thirdly, the priest at Prettin is also there, who could be transferred [to] where it would be better, because he is overloaded with children) but a fine man.

Fourth, so that I do not omit anything: if Gera were so stately that it could hold a pious, learned doctor, or I would have to know how many it has, there is a man in Alsfeld 6) in Hesse, Doctor Thilomannus Schnabel, who recently wrote to me that he would like to be transferred (how old he is), because he sees that [it] goes for the Gospel in Hesse like Christ in Herod's house. The same was my schoolboy in Erfurt in the monastery and here in Wittenberg, and the first creature I created, since one young doctor made another. But a very reasonable, conscripted man. But unfortunately I did not know that he would be left there by the landgrave. For he would have been more useful in a school in Marburg, otherwise I would have taken him out ten or more years ago. I thought he would be very well. But he has been so shy for the sake of his dear fatherland.

4) Burkhardt: "steüget".
5) That is, from their fixed income, which they cannot increase.
6) Burkhart offers: "Alneld". Compare Col. 663 in this volume, note 2, where also about Tilemann Schnabel is to be looked up.

That's all I know to show E. C. F. G. this time. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. On Palm Day [April 10] 1541.

E. C. F. G. subservient Martinus Luther.

No. 2768.

Regensburg. 11 April 1541.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Melanchthon reports that public negotiations have begun, and that the emperor is to appoint those who are to negotiate the union.

From a copy in *Ms. Manl. p.* 172, printed in *Corp. Ref.* vol. IV, 167 (with the wrong date: "April 13").

To Martin Luther.

God grant happiness and blessing! The public negotiations have begun. The Emperor Carl has indicated that he will choose several princes and others to deliberate on the common concord. Our people have answered approvingly that they thought it would be a useful way to settle the disputes if the matters were first presented and the Worms hearing continued, and they have asked that it be continued.1) After that, if he would choose suitable men who, after seeing the result of the deliberation, should select the right opinions, there would be no lack of ours in the performance of their duty. But they asked that those to be chosen be made known to them. The other part of the princes answered after us. 2) They are silent about the trial. They allow the Emperor to choose, but in such a way that he first names those to be chosen. The Bavarian William fights that the emperor should not order these negotiations about the doctrines. He even confesses that he will keep the holy water. So far only this has been acted upon. Again, we await the answer of the Emperor.3) Since we have given the Emperor the

1) Cf. St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 572, Z XVI.

2) According to this, it seems that the first answer of the Catholics, which is dated April 12 in the *Corp. fol.,* vol. IV, 163 and in the St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 575, no. 1365 (according to Walch), is to be placed before April 11. The imperial proposition had already been made on April 5. The Protestants had replied on April 8. Should the Catholics have moved by April 12?

3) This was done on the same day, April 11, on which Melanchthon wrote this. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 573, no. 1363.

the Palatine Counts of Zweibrücken (*Zweprück*) and the cities of Nördlingen and Dinkelsbühl (*Dinckelspiegel*) and several Counts have joined with ours. I have received the letter in which you write about Blank. God keep Dr. Augustin and all of you. Be well. On the day after Palmarum [April 11] Anno 1541. at Regensburg.

Ph. M.

No. 2769.

(Wittenberg.) April 12, 1541.

To Melanchthon.

Luther encourages him to take courage in the cause of the Gospel; about his writing against Duke Henry of Brunswick; about his severe head and ear ailment.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 322 and in *Cod. Goth*. Printed by Schütze, vol. III, p. 198 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 341. Only the first half by *Buddeus,* p. 271 and German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1309.

To the Lord Philip Melanchthon, the disciple and messenger of Christ at Regensburg.

Grace and peace! We have now received your second letters, my dear Philip, and although your broken 4) right hand grieves me, I believe neither your nor my premonitions. 5) Our affairs are not directed by chance, but by a certain counsel, not by ours, that is, in so fortunate a way, 6) but by God's alone. The word runs, prayer is fervent, hope endures, faith triumphs, so that we must grasp it with our hands, and if we were not flesh, we could sleep and sit still, namely, mindful of that word of Moses [Ex. 14:14.], "Ye shall be still, the LORD will fight for you." 7) For even if we wanted to be exceedingly vigilant in counseling, saying, and doing everything else, if God did not fight for us, we would have watched in vain; but if He 8) fights, who will fight for us?

4) As it turned out later, a dislocation had taken place. Cf. No. 2770.

5) *omina* is De Wette's conjecture instead of: *omnia*.

6) These words are somewhat dark. The text here is rather in a mess; *modo is* missing in *Cod. Goth*.; in Aurifaber *nostro is* missing.

7) With the Cod. *Goth*. and the Vulgate we have read *pugnabit* instead of *pugnat*.

8) Instead of *vere,* we have assumed *vero.*

Whom we sleep not in vain. And it is certain that he fights and gradually descends from his throne to the eagerly awaited judgment. There are many, exceedingly great signs which convince me of this.

In your houses, by the grace of God, you are well. Do not be afraid; be strong and joyful; do not worry about anything. The Lord is near. The Heinzen (*Henrici*), the bishops and even the Turk, even Satan himself, they may do everything they can. We are children of the kingdom, who worship and wait for the Saviour, who has been eaten and killed anew by these henchmen, 1).

I have reread my book against that devil Mezentius, and wonder what may have happened to me that I have been so moderate. I attribute this to the condition of my head, which has not suffered my mind to have been carried away by a more unreserved and powerful impetuosity. But he may come again only if the Lord will. But it pleases me that I have acted the matter of the church a little. My health has improved. From that which thou didst prophesy, that it was a river of the head, I have indeed known what a river of the head is. For so much mucus, flow, and secretion has gone out of the throat and nose that I wonder very much how a head that is already old and broken by work can carry these monstrosities inside with it, and not rather at every hour flux of strokes, dizziness, falling sickness, and the like have suddenly thrown me down. Yes, on the day of the palm tree, the rivers, which had come into the left ear, having been turned into pus by accumulated forces, so attacked my head, yes, my life, that with unbearable pain and an outburst of tears (which does not easily happen with me, although they flowed less than I wanted) I said to the Lord: Either this must stop, or I must stop. For two days this very violent struggle of nature was not to be borne, but on the

1) Here Buddeus and Walch conclude with the wrong date: "Den 21. April."

The next day, when the ulcer in my ear opened, a very disgusting, yellowish, bloody pus came out, and up to this hour it does not stop flowing. Meanwhile the winds of all seas and trees find in my head, so that I hear nothing unless someone shouts at me strongly. The physicians make good and cheerful promises: it is a healing cleansing; that is what I expect. May the Lord do what is good. This is indeed a gain, that I read and write quite safely, disregarding the discomfort of dizziness, though I cannot yet enjoy sleep as I should. This I write, not that thou mightest make any premonition of me, but that thou mightest know that the Lord is life in death. I attribute this cleansing to the prayers of the church, for it would have been impossible for me to bear this torment of my head so long. Fare well, and pray for us, as we do for you. Of other things perhaps the others will write. Tuesday after Palmarum [12. Aprils Anno 1541.

yours Martin Luther.

No. 2770.

(Regensburg.) April 14, 1541.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Short report of the negotiations concerning the Emperor's choice of negotiators. .Of the concord of the Protestant scholars; of the Landgrave's assurances; of Melanchthon's wounded hand.

Manuscript in *Ms. Manl., p.* 174. Printed in *Mel. Epist. lid.* III, p. 143 and in *Corp.* vol. IV, 169 (not "190" as Burkhardt states).

To Dr. Martin Luther.

Hail! There was a long discussion among our adversaries as to whether they should allow Emperor Carl to choose the princes and teachers who were to discuss the points of contention in a friendly manner according to his judgment. At last they found a shrewd answer. They allow it in such a way that they are free to reject those who are not agreeable to them. I hear that the Emperor was displeased when he heard this decision. They are looking for an opportunity to dismiss the whole settlement, which I do not dislike that it should be done by them. There you have the short history, but the whole, of the things that are hitherto done in the Convention.

2) Here habeli we assumed *omina* instead of *omnia*.

We *scholastici* have spoken to each other several times in confidence, and I hope that the will and the judgment of all will agree.

I suspect that some of my words have been passed on to the Macedonian; therefore he has testified in many words that he will not separate his opinion from ours, not even from the Confession. The Elector of Mark is present, and has been amicably excepted and heard by the Emperor. Thus the beginning of these meetings is calmer and gentler than at a banquet.

My right hand is causing me great pain. At last they judge that a dislocation has taken place. But public affairs trouble my mind more. Be well and happy. April 14. I wish your dear wife well, and also your lovely children and the whole family.

No. 2771. 15 April 1541.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

Answer to No. 2767: The Elector sends to Luther a copy of the income list of the parish of Gera, so that he could negotiate further with Tilemann Schnabel.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji, fol.* 156b. D 4. 16 a. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 376.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have received your answer and concerns about transferring half of a pastor to Gerau, and after you have informed us, among others, about Doctor Tiloman Schnabel, who wanted to be transferred from Alsfeld (Alueld) in Hesse for a number of reasons, but you would first like to know whether the parish would also be so suitable, We will send you a copy of how the income, use and interest of the parish of Gerau has been determined in the visitation held, and if there should be a lack of this, we will ensure that the parish of Gerau will also show itself with a considerable allowance. Therefore you will know how to give them your instructions on their request, as we therefore want to direct them further to you, and otherwise, to the aforementioned doctors' support. We are pleased with this, and we are graciously inclined to you. Given on Friday after Palmarum [April 15] in 1541.

1) The copy of the income is missing from the acts (Burkhardt).

No. 2772.

(Wittenberg.) April 18, 1541.

To Melanchthon.

Answer to No. 2768. Luther wishes that the negotiations have good progress, which can only happen, however, if fervent prayers are made to God. He shares some news, but also refers to Amsdorf, who will come to Regensburg.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 323. From the Schmid collection in Helmstädt in Schütze, vol. I, p. 140 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 343.

To Phil. Melanchthon, the messenger of the Son of God and the faithful.

Grace and peace! We received your letter on Easter Day [April 17], in which you write that the deliberations of the Diet have begun. The deliberations of the Diet have begun, my dear Philip. May the Lord grant that they may progress happily. For what can we hope, who have so often been deceived and hindered, if the unspeakable groaning of the churches does not finally accomplish something. May the Lord who called you and sent you, whose messengers, disciples, and martyrs you are in this holy cause, keep you and govern you blamelessly to the end, that you may bear much fruit. With these sighs we are with you and among you and in the midst of wolves, and this our Lord, for whom this our desire stands, to him the sighing is not hidden, who knows what the Spirit asks for us, namely, that the name, the kingdom, and the work of God may be promoted forever. When this 2) is attained, Christ will again provide for our bread, for our guilt, for our temptations, for our evil, as the Psalmist says [Ps. 40, 18.]: "The Lord provides for me."

Of our affairs I write less for the sake of it, because Amsdorf himself comes, though unwillingly, yet not so full of the greatest hopes as the Margrave. A book 3) has been published under the name of Satan to Mezentius, who rebukes him,

2) that is, the first three petitions, Christ will see to it that the last four petitions are fulfilled. - Since this is the sense, a comma must be placed both before and after *tentationibus.*

3) "Ein lustig gesprech der Teufel vnd etlicher Kriegsleute von der flucht des grossen Scharrhansen H. Heinrichs von Brunschwig 1542." 12 quarto leaves. Dramatic, in verse. Extremely rare (Burkhardt).

that he does not lie and rage more hypocritically and covertly. But a very beautiful poem 1) begins to act that it publicly boasts that the landgrave's cause known to you, if it were to take place, could be defended, but meanwhile he [the landgrave] may remain in denial. That Melsingen, the unworthy man, 2) keeps fire in his mouth more easily than his so good 3) assertions. Other things will be told by Mr. Amsdorf himself. I still sit there, extraordinarily deaf and impure through the flow of my ear, and not without the suspicion of a longer or worse evil. Christ lives; may he mercifully take away my soul in the peace of the Lord. By the grace of God I am ready and eager to be resolved. I have lived and accomplished the course that God Himself instructed me to take, and now may my weary shadow go to heaven, 4) Amen. Be well in the Lord, whose spirit be with you. Greet all of us respectfully. Greetings to you from all of us, men and women, who are all well, 5) and all is well, thanks be to God. Easter Monday [April 18].

Martin Luther, D.

No. 2773.

(Wittenberg.) April 20, 1541.

To Duke Albrecht of Prussia.

Luther recommends M. Johannes Dotschel to him. News from the Diet of Regensburg, from Henry of Brunswick, and from the Turk.

From Faber's collection of letters, p.35, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 344 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 301.

Most Serene, Most Reverend Prince, Most Gracious Lord! After M. Johannes Dot

1) The book "Dialogus" 2c. published by Johann Lening, pastor at Melsingen, under the pseudonym Huldrichus Neobulus towards the end of March 1541, in which he defends double marriage. See No. 2712.

2) *Nebulo*, so Luther calls him with reference to the name *Neobulus* chosen by the latter.

3) This is to be taken ironically, if otherwise the reading is correct. Aurifaber reads *horrenda* (terrifying) instead of: *bona*.

4) *Virgil. Aen. lib*. IV, V. 653 8H., modified by Luther.

5) Luther here plays with the words in a way that cannot be rendered in German: *Salutant vos omnes nostri et nostrae, salvi, salvae etc.*.

I have committed myself to serve your F. G. for two years, as he has set out and is coming to fulfill his promise. But humbly ask that E. F. G. graciously command him; 6) for there is a lack of persons with us as well. As it stands out here, E. F. G. will well hear from him. The Emperor is so gracious at the Imperial Diet in Regensburg that it may break the hearts of the papists. The Emperor is to name several princes and doctors who are to negotiate all articles of religion in a friendly manner, whereupon the papists reserve the right to reject those that do not please them, which the Emperor is to disdain. 7) The Emperor knows what will happen. What will become, the dear God knows, he makes it all good, amen.

Heinz von Braunschweig is now convinced that he is an arch-assassin and the greatest villain that the sun has shone upon. God grant the bloodhound and bearwolf his reward, amen.

The Turk comes with force over Austria, his advance has already torn a spot in Hungary to Ferdinand's miserable, and strangled everything.

Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. Wednesday in Easter [20 April] 1541.

E.F.G.

willing Martinus Luther.

No. 2774.

(Wittenberg.) April 20, 1541.

To Melanchthon.

Luther warns him against attending banquets because many poison murders occur. A tale of poisoners.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 185. 4. and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 324. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p.(238) and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 345.

Grace and peace! Today, April 20, I received your letter, my dear Philip, which you wrote on April 14, which reports very good and happy things about the very good will of Carl. GOD

6) In the editions: "him".

7) The sense is: "that shall vex the emperor". The editions offer: "the" instead of "the." Melanchthon had written this (in No. 2770): *Audio stomachatum esse imperatorem*.

Accomplish what he has begun, and do not cease to persecute those light-shy bats, until the sun of justice rises, which will publicly condemn them, Amen.

I have so often forgotten to warn you to beware of banquets. In the meantime, the atrocities of poisoners have become frequent here. In Erfurt, spices and spicy medicines were discovered in trade, mixed with poison. In Altenburg, at one table, 12 people took poison in the spices and died; so also in Jena and elsewhere. The devil sends his poisoners. I wonder what it is with the great ones that they are not vigilant in the face of so great a rage of Satan. Henceforth nothing shall be safe that can be bought or used. Yes, I will tell a story which Jakob Walch, the clerk of our court, told yesterday. Two men, apparently clergymen (*religiosos*), had come to a certain town, I don't know which, as if they were seeking the service of the word in our churches. Each had his little box, 1) which, as often as they went out, they ordered the innkeeper to keep most diligently. At last the innkeeper, moved by this excessive care, began to be curious (*sciturire*) what was in these boxes, and after one after another had been opened, he found that they were full of small hosts, with which the laity are communicated, And perhaps suspecting no evil, as if to mock their *viaticum,* he took one of them, and mixed it with the food which was to be set before them at breakfast, in order to excite some laughter. But they died immediately at the table after having eaten the food. This may be a tale, but it is certain that poisoners are prowling about. Therefore we are very anxious for you, but we comfort ourselves with the word [Ps. 91:11.], "He hath commanded His angels concerning thee," 2c., and He will do it [Matt. 10:26.], "that there be nothing hid, which shall not be revealed," as He did with Mezentius, the child of the devil.

1) Instead of *sicam* (dagger) we have adopted *arcam* and soon following *arcis* instead of *sicus*.

All is well here, thanks be to God. Dr. Jonas preaches in these holy Easter holidays at Halle, where the castle foams with rage, but the people and the council like to see it. I sit still under Moses unclean by the river of the ear, and at times I think of life, at times of death. The will of the Lord be done, amen. Fare well in the Lord for ever and ever. The 20th of April, 1541.

Martin Luther.

No. 2775.

Regensburg. 22 April 1541.

Cruciger to Luther and Bugenhagen.

Cruciger announces the names of the persons proposed by the Emperor as negotiators. Of the articles to be discussed (which he appends in the postscript). About the improvement of Melanchthon's hand. On the Duke Henry of Brunswick.

A copy is found in *Cod. Lips. ep.* 12, and (of recent origin and defective) in *Cod. Goth*. 189, ep. 53. printed in *Corp. Ref*, vol. IV, 182.

To the highly famous and worthy men, Mr. Martin Luther and Mr. Johann Bugenhagen, Pomeranian, doctors of theology, leaders of the church at Wittenberg, his exceedingly dear fathers, Caspar Cruciger wishes

Hail! This Convention has not yet brought to light any events which are either significant enough to be written about, or by which we ourselves would be amused, or in which you would be much interested to learn. But nevertheless you have seen the beginnings of the public acts from the letters of the Lord Philip. The Emperor has requested that the princes and the other estates of the empire leave to him the selection of a few whom he would deem suitable to confer with each other on the articles in dispute and to prepare ways for unification. Our people agreed that the Emperor should make the selection, because it seemed that nothing else could be obtained. After that, the other part also gave its consent, although some argued vehemently that nothing at all should be negotiated with us about entering into a union. Yesterday the Emperor presented the names of those elected: Dr. Eck, Mr. Julius Pflug, Mr. Johann Gropper, Canon of Cologne; of ours: Mr. Philippus, Mart. Bucer, and Johann Pistorius [Becker], of Hesse.

Preachers.1) These have received orders personally from the Emperor today. The Emperor has indicated that he will also add an arbitrator to preside over the discussion, but our people have asked that several be called in who will be present on both sides as listeners and witnesses. The Emperor has replied that he will consider it. One doubts very much that they will obtain this. The elect of the other party, separated from ours, have asked that the Emperor also determine the order which he wishes to be observed in the disputation on the Articles. We have seen the note 2) in which a quite different order of the Articles is established than in the Confession. In quite the wrong order, they put the one which ought to have been the first in the last place, and the most hateful they list in the first line of battle. But it is enough in the day that the whole thing is carried on with deceit and trickery, and that some have been the artists of these counsels and actions, who long before had thus devised everything. And would God that certain people, who should do it least of all, were not silent accomplices! But we want to pray to God that He will nullify all of Ahitophel's counsels, and that He will help and deliver us in these repercussions and dangers. This, we hope, he will do for the glory of his name and for the salvation of the churches, with which, as we know, you daily make fervent prayers. The Lord Philip, by the grace of God, uses his right hand better every day through the cure of a certain Burgundian surgeon who follows the court of the Emperor because of this one skill, that he restores and heals dislocated limbs. The healing would have progressed still more, if it were not for the complaints and indignation at such unworthy and inconsistent actions in such great matters, in respect of which no reasonable person can entertain any good hope, but must recognise that it is obvious that these consultations about the union will all shortly fall away as futile, and that the conversation will be concluded in the end.

1) The names of these negotiators would be found in verses found in *Cod. Galli* I, p. 45b, and are printed in *Corp. Ref.* vol. IV, 197. We give here one of the three different redactions:

One ploughs, one harrows, one digs, one cultivates, *) one mills, one bakes the noble grain; and these people do, whose name means an actual word.

2) The postscript to this letter.

*) Incorrect in *Corp. ref*: "Buchts".

between the elect will last barely three days, as at Worms. We have become very happy about your state of health, my dearest father, because you have shown us good hope. May God strengthen you and keep you alive for a long time for the Church. It is said that Mezentius is trying to cause great mourning here with the Emperor because of the books that have been written against him, and I do not know what he has done against you and sought that it should be printed here, which the Emperor will not permit. Be well and happy. The Lord Philip was not there when the mail went out, or he would have written to you himself. Time did not permit me to write to Dr. Jonas, and I believe that he has not yet returned to you from the salt works [in Halle]. At Regensburg, April 22, 41.

Fifteen articles which are to be examined and decided by the doctors and theologians at the present Diet of Regensburg.

1541.

(1) Of the reverend sacrament of the Lord's Supper.
2. of the power of the church and of the pope.
3. from the sacrifice of the Mass.
4. from the private masses.
5. of the monastic vows.
6. of the married state of priests.
(7) Of communion under both forms.
8) Of the worship of the saints; among which is, that the images should not be removed.
9. of the restoration of monasteries and ecclesiastical estates.
10. of the statutes concerning ecclesiastical customs.
11. of fasting; among which, difference of food is forbidden.
(12) Of penance in general; of repentance, satisfaction, and confession.
(13) Of the use of the sacraments both in general and in particular.
14. about human statutes.
(15) On justifying faith, and on merits, and on good works.

No. 2776.

(Wittenberg.) April 25, 1541.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Luther gives his opinion on the distribution of Holy Communion in Halle.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 332 and in *Cod. Goth*. 187. 4. from the. Original in Schütze, vol. I, p. 141 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 347.

Your highly famous man, Mr. Justus Jonas, Doctor of Theology and exceedingly faithful messenger of Christ at Halle, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! The counsel which you desire concerning the restoration of the administration of the Sacrament, my dear Jonas, you could better give yourself, seeing the customs of the people and of the Church before your eyes. I judge thus: that it is not enough that the people be well instructed to receive communion, but that they also be encouraged against a future prohibition of the tyrant, lest then they eat again in shameful manner what they have eaten [2 Pet. 2:22], and the last become worse than the first. When therefore thou hast found out in them that they will be firm in their confession, thou mayest continue with them in the name of the Lord to perform as soon as possible that which thou hast begun. For the sacrament belongs neither to the bishop as his own, nor even to the council, but to the congregation itself, which requires it, and which must not be denied what Christ has instituted for it and given it. Now since thou art appointed there in lawful appointment of the word by the congregation, who art compelled to present and administer the word to them, much more to administer the sacrament, especially to those who will willingly go, thou shalt surely pass through the midst, saying: You do not order communion for the whole city of Halle, and do not compel that all should receive it, but at this time you are a debtor to the persons who desire it; the others are of no concern to you if they do not want it or want something else; you have administered your office according to time, place, and persons. If another afterwards changes, or does another thing, let him do it at his peril. Only urge strongly that the word and gift of God be free, and not bound, and that neither the pope nor the emperor nor any creature have the right to forbid it in any place, therefore despise the threats, laws, and commandments, as those of the devil himself, and obey God. Who strengthen thee and put to shame the adversaries, Amen. On the day of St. Marci [April 25] 1541. Martin Luther.

No. 2777.

(Wittenberg.) April 25, 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther thanks for the medical help sent to him during his illness, and asks (in the postscript) for an increase of the income of Dr. Curio.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N, fol. 108. n.* 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 93, no. 170; in Walch, vol. XXI, 441; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 348, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 302.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Mr. Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg. Reichs Erzmarschall und Churfürst, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

G. and F. in Christo and my poor *pater noster*. Most illustrious, high-born Prince, most gracious Lord! That E. C. F. G. has so cordially taken care of my old, bad skin, and out of such gracious care of your C. F. G. has sent your own body and wound physician to me with such faithful orders, I thank E. C. F. G. most humbly, and is more than too much. I would gladly have seen that the dear Lord Jesus would have taken me away with grace, for I am now of little use on earth. But the Pomeranian, with his persistence and intercession in the church, has prevented such a thing (in my opinion), and [it] has become better, praise God. Truly Dr. Curio and M. Andres 1) have done their utmost, I must confess. Well, what God wills, let it be done, amen. Hereby commanded to the dear Lord, Amen. Monday after Quasimodogeniti [April 25] 1541. E. C. F. G. submissive

M. L.

I also humbly ask G. H., E. C. F. G. to graciously remember Dr. Curio once, that he may receive one of the scholarships he has received. He attended the school diligently and with great benefit, for they are now accustomed to his language, for he is very learned, and also practices anatomy finely, which remained after Dr. Caspar's death. So it is all expensive, the practical training with the sick enough, but poor and meager, and for landmarks I have

1) Engelhard.

I never gave him nothing myself for the many services, without a drink of beer. Herewith do I command the same in E. C. ...F.G.'s gracious concern...

No. 2778.

(Wittenberg.) April 25, 1541.

To Dr. George Major.

Luther instructs him how he should write to the pastor at Joachimsthal because of the Waldensians, who, referring to Luther, teach that the body of Christ is not really present in the Lord's Supper.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 325; in *Cod, Goth.* 185 (this has gaps); in *Cod. Goth*. 187. 4. and in *Cod. Jen. B 24. n. fol.* 160. Printed by Schütze, vol. 111, p. 203 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 349.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Dr. Georg Major, Rector of the school at Wittenberg, his friend.

Grace and peace. My dear Rector! Thus you will write to the pastor of Jáchymov (*Valle*) concerning the Waldensian brethren: that I do not yet believe that they are in earnest in asserting the opinion in my name concerning the sacrament of the altar, that the body of Christ is not 1) really there, and you may order, also in my name, I request, that the pastor of Jáchymov sharply confront them, how they can so sacrilegiously presume to undertake this? Whether they do not remember how many years I have already traded with them about this word: the body of Christ is sacramental in the bread, since this "sacramental" was suspicious to me, until they openly and freely confessed to me that they held it completely with me, namely, that the body of Christ is truly in the bread in a sacramental way, that is, in an invisible way and for our use, besides, it is the true body as it was born of the Virgin, as it was given for us 2c. Now if I should be assured of this, that they have deceived and deceived me with their deceitful words, I will again in a public writing accuse them of being deceivers, liars, hypocrites, noxious people, and

1) De Wette wants *non* erased and makes other suggestions to change the text because he did not understand the letter.

with others of their worthy names, and deliver my good name and my integrity from their deceit. Be well. On Monday after Quasimodogeniti [April 25] 1541. Mart. Luther, D.

No. 2779.

(Wittenberg.) April 29, 1541.

To Melanchthon in Regensburg.

Luther recommends his tutor to him. He proposes a worthy increase of the 15 articles. Of his health.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 326. From the Schmid collection in Helmstädt in Schütze, vol. I, p. 143 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 350.

Grace and peace! The teacher of my children, M. Franz, is coming, 2) who wants to go back to his fatherland and to his parents, but before that he wants to take a look at the upper Germany. That is why he also wanted to see this Reichstag. I have answered Caspar Cruciger's second letter, dated April 22, 3) and have wished that among the 15 articles they would also treat these greatest sacraments of the papists, namely the holy censer, the holy sprinkling [with holy water] and the holy wooden cross. But, "what matter?" "GOD will mock the mockers," as Solomon says [Proverbs 3:34.]. Now I am concerned that you let Franz be commanded to you. Other things at another time by others. I have begun to lose a little of my deafness, only I see that I am a cold and useless corpse, for whom alone the grave is left, which Christ will grant me soon and in grace, amen. Greetings to all our people. April 29, 1541.

Martin Luther.

No. 2780.

Regensburg. 30 April 1541.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Melanchthon reports the election of the six negotiators and the names of the assessors. Of the moderate, but thereby all the more dangerous conduct of Eck.

2) Franz Groß from Oschatz.

3) Luther's answer to Cruciger, however, did not take place until on May 1st.

The original, in Melanchthon's handwriting, is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, fol.* 329, no. 133. Printed in *Corp. Ref.* vol. IV, 238.

To the highly famous and valuable man, Mr. Martin Luther, Doctor of Theology, the restorer of the pure doctrine of the Gospel, his extremely dear father.

Hail! At last six have been chosen to discuss the doctrine: Julius, Eck, Gropper of Cologne, Bucer, the pastor of Nidda, and myself. There are: the Count Palatine Friedrich, Granvella, the Count of Manderscheid, the Chancellor of the Elector Palatine, the Chancellor of the Duke of Saxony, Elector, the Chancellor of Hesse 1) and Jakob Sturm. We would already be relieved of all this arduousness if Eck fought in his usual way, but either his colleagues or others temper his impetuosity. He does not quarrel about the article of justification, he only looks for loopholes in words. He is afraid to accept our formulas, and now we are arguing about his formula. Yesterday I had rejected their whole formula, but they improve it in such a way that they will not let us break off the bargain. Today, again, will be new disputes. Pray God that He may reign in these exceedingly dangerous actions. If I had to answer privately for my part, I would speak my mind and not let myself be entangled in such ropes. Be well and happy. April 30th.

Philip Melanthon.

No. 2781.

Torgau. 30 April 1541.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther, Bugenhagen and the other members of the Consistory.

Order to deliver a judgement in the matter of the engagement of Duke Ernst of Brunswick with the daughter of Ernst von Starschedel.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. D, fol. 49. 42* [3]. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 378.

Our greetings first. Venerable, reverend, dear devotees, councillors and faithful. It has come to pass that the highborn Prince, Lord Ernst, Duke of Brunswick, our dear Oheim,

1) The names of the three chancellors are: Heinrich Haß, Franz Burkhard and Johann Feige.

of our also dear uncle, Duke Philipsen of Brunswick, son, to a virgin, our liegeman and subject, Ernsten von Starschedel, daughter, who has been in our friendly dear husband's wife for some time, to have taken a marriage vow with prayer, as you will hear this from the enclosed document, so that the said von Starschedel will reach us at length. Since we know then how Duke Philip, as the Lord Father, has spoken against this and has not wanted to give his fatherly will to such a deal, for which reason we have sent him von Starschedel's writing, and S. L. has again asked for his previous objection and for his permission. has also ordered attorneys against von Starschedel and his daughter to present such paternal objection and contradiction to us or to our ordered commanders, and to request the non-admission of touched marriage vows or marriage, and now the same von Starschedel, content of his several letters to us and herein also lying, humbly asks that we want to inform him at what time and day, also before whom our uncle H[archduke] Philipps wants to be vindicated: That we may summon both parties, namely the attorneys of our uncle, Duke Philippe of Brunswick, and von Starschedel together with his daughter, to appear before you on Monday after Jubilate [9.May] to appear before you at Wittenberg at the proper time. Therefore we order you and hereby request that you file a complaint or report with Ernsten von Starschedel and his daughter, and against this with the attorneys of our uncle, Duke Philip, causes, by which S. L. to have such marriage vows unbonded, and to have their son free, notwithstanding the prayer made, to speak before you from mouth to pen, and, when the part is resolved therewith, then to compare yourselves to a judgment, and by virtue of this our order to let it pass, whether such action without and against Duke Philipsen, as Duke Ernsten Herr Vater's father, will be valid or not, and send the parties, at their request, credible copies or *vidimus of* such judgement, under your penning, and signed by our Consistory Notaries; and you shall have our favorable opinion. Date Torgau, Saturday after Quasimodogeniti [30 April] 1541.

2) Burkhardt: "to the pen wolle". For our correction compare the letter of July 12 in the same matter.

No. 2782.

(Wittenberg.) 1 May 1541.

To Caspar Cruciger in Regensburg.

Reply to No. 2775. the opponents would gain nothing by the wrong arrangement of the 15 articles. Proposal to increase these articles. Good news from Regensburg. About his state of health and the activity of Dr. Jonas at Halle.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 326. From the original in Schütze, vol. I, p. 144 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 351.

Mr. Caspar Creuziger, Doctor of Theology.

Grace and peace! I see from the fifteen articles, which you have sent to me, my dear Doctor Caspar, what Satan is up to. But let him turn and turn again, let him be seven times a Vertumnus and Proteus, the truth holds him fast as one conquered and bound. Act ye, because ye are ambassadors of Christ. "It is all the same, if they cover themselves, if they hide 1) or if they drive up, it is the infernal devil and lying spirit." To Dr. Amsdorf you shall say that he should add to these articles that of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, that of the rosaries and the golden chains of the doctors, that of the censer and the holy-water vessel, and of the trousers 2) of St. Francis, and he may desire that these also be disputed. But still, who knows what God wants to do on the occasion of these exceedingly foolish articles, so I would like M. Philip to be moved all the more by this baseness. They mock GOD, who will mock His mockers altogether gloriously. Amen. Be therefore lively, and make mockery of them that make mockery, and these mockeries also shall bring about great serious things.

Today some very good things have been said about the Emperor from a letter, if I am not mistaken, from your Prince of Anhalt to our Prince, 3) namely, that the Emperor has sent you, the Theo

1) "beecken" put by us instead of: "heecken", which we think is a misprint.
2) Instead of: "*brata* (?)" is to be read *braca.* Compare St. Louis edition, vol. II, 907, § 17; ibid. vol. XVI, 961, § 32.
3) It is the letter of Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, the deputy of the Churfürst, dated April 26, *Corp. Ref.,* Vol. IV, 188.

I have called the theologians of both parties into his room, and commanded and asked that they [the theologians] abandon their [own] inclinations and their zeal for serving their princes, and have only God before their eyes, 4) and seek the truth for the salvation of the churches and the commonwealth. 5) May God confirm this holy work, amen. I cannot and must not write more, and what I write to you is primarily for the Lord Philip. I am gradually regaining my hearing, but my head remains quite persistently useless, full, I know not, of what clouds and winds, enclosed as it were in the cave of Aeolus, and murmuring and unwilling. Christ liveth, in whom also we, though dead, live. Yet I sleep the ordinary hours and eat in the ordinary way. Perhaps Satan is in his bath for a time. Jonas has already preached Christ successfully for three weeks in Halle, to the great delight of the people and the council, but against the will of Querhammer and one and another, and even the coadjutor does not achieve anything with his raging and his threats. The council acts steadily; the monks and the papists gnash their teeth and rage; more about this at another time or by another. Be at ease in the Lord. All is well in your houses. On the 1st of May, namely, Philippi and Jacobi, 1541.

Martin Luther.

No. 2783.

(Wittenberg.) 3. May 1541.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Luther cannot send preachers to Halle, which Jonas desired. Of his state of health.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 327. From the original in Schütze, vol. I, p. 145 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 352.

Grace and peace! I have unwillingly withheld your Hallic messenger, my dear Jonas, whether I might have these two Magisters at the same time

4) Instead of *habeatis* is to be read *habeant*. See *Corp. Ref*., vol. IV, 188 f.
5) The meeting of the Emperor with the negotiators took place on Saturday, April 23 (*Corp. Ref.,* vol. IV, 188), not the 27th, as Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth., lib*. III, p. 396 b, states, and after him De Wette.

But after a long negotiation I have achieved nothing, they have very important causes, which I could not refute. Therefore I am compelled to send back the messenger empty. Our church (as you know) now has the service of Pomeranus and Froeschel alone, 1) but the school of Pomeranus alone, so that it can no longer be run down (*exhausto*). M. Johann 2) has gone away, Peter has gone away, and we are even deserted. How? if you called several pastors from the neighborhood? I would have sent my Georg Schnell, 3) but I did not know what to do. I will send the other things you write to the Prince as soon as possible, and hope for a good answer. I am ill and almost sullen from weariness of things and sickness. Would that the Lord would mercifully call me to Himself. I have seen enough evil, and have suffered exceeding evil. 4) Be at ease in the Lord. Thy house and all things stand well. Tuesday after Philippi and Jacobi [3 May] 1541.

Martin Luther.

No. 2784.

(Wittenberg.) Probably 6 May s) 1541.

To Melanchthon.

Luther expresses his disapproval of the Regensburg Interim that was the basis for the negotiations.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 333 and in *Cod. Goth. chart*. 451, fol. 185. 4. printed by Schütze, vol. I, p. 134 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 332 f.-

1) Instead of *Troschelio,* read Fröschelio. M. Sebastian Fröschel was Caplan in Wittenberg from the year 1525 to 1570.

2) Johann Mantel; immediately following "Peter" is Peter Hesse.

3) M. Georg Schnell from Rothenburg an der Tauber was Luther's tutor. About him compare No. 1956. 2654. 2696. 2759.

4) Here we have the text published by Lindner in the Theol. Studien und Kritiken 1835, p. 83, from the copy in *Cod. Dessav. A*. we have adopted the reading given by Lindner in Cod: *Satis malorum vidi, passus sum pessima*. De Wette offers: *Satis malorum feci, vidi pessima*.

5) In this determination of the time we followed Köstlin, M. Luther (3.), Vol. II, p. 681 *ad* p. 547, who, against the date given by De Wette: "March 16", rightly asserts that our letter is to be set after April 27, since he reports that the Regensburg Interim had already been handed over by the Emperor to the Collocutors, which had happened on the aforementioned day.

Grace and peace! From your letters, my dear Philip, I see how much you hate these false corners, but God will also put an end to this challenge and put the liars to shame. I also hear that the Emperor has delivered to you that book which the Marquis sent to me under the seal of secrecy, 6) in which everything that the papists taught before is stripped of the false sense and adorned with a sorry sense. When this is done, then it is evident that their whole plot is set up to make up and keep all their idols. In this they are to be praised, first, in that they condemn themselves with their own mouths, confessing that these things were said in a harmful mind, which no doubt can later be brought back to the same mind with easy effort, if it ever happens otherwise, that they can be cleansed from the former, actual ungodly mind in the whole world. Then [they are to be commended in this,] that they confess these things may be understood in a godly sense, that is, while they are very good, yet they are ambiguous and doubtful; since they are defended under these! names they are defended, they cannot be more sharply condemned. Why, then, are doctrines upheld in the Church which, first, are neither commanded by God nor necessary, and second, where they are best, are by their nature ambiguous and dangerous, very bad and exceedingly damnable? The holy Scriptures, which are also commanded by God, are not ambiguous by their nature, but by the unworthiness of doubting, that is, of unstable and unbelieving men. But the Lord will be with you far from treading under foot the raging devil. Since it is a fact that their doctrines have been, and still are, abused and ungodly, to the infinite evil of souls, it is not to be suffered that they should now be adorned with a good understanding and a convenient interpretation, but rather, for the punishment of the authors of the offences and the lords of the inflicted evils, they should be abolished from the bottom up.

6) Compare No. 2749.

and be destroyed, not only as superfluous and useless and not necessary, but also as easily restorable for the former abuse, just as the bronze serpent was destroyed because of the abuse of Hezekiah, since it was not necessary, but only dangerous. He who loves danger will perish in it, because he tempts God in his wickedness. But what does the sow teach Minerva? By the way, all that is yours is well. I hope that you will return safely soon. Give my regards to all of us. Thank God, I am getting well all the time. 1) Farewell. March 16 (?) 2) 1541. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2785.

From Schneeberg. 9 May 1541.

Prince John Frederick to Luther and the other theologians.

The Elector demands an expert opinion on the article of justification for the religious negotiations in Regensburg. - The envoys' report on this of May 5 (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. IV, 253) had arrived at Schneeberg on May 8, evening; on the 9th the Elector dispatched this letter to the Wittenbergers by a messenger on horseback and received their answer (the second following number) on May 12, evening. According to this the correction of the date of No. 2787.

The original concept is in *Cod. chart. Goth* 1048, *pag.* 154. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 380.

Our greetings first. Venerable, reverend, dear devotees! Letters arrived to us late in the night 3) from the von Anhalt and our councillors of Regensburg on the Schneeberg, with a Latin and German list of what the councillors at Regensburg had put forward for discussion in matters of religion and especially of justification and necessity (note) for an article that would please the deputies of both parties until the approval of the Emperor's Majesty and the estates of both parts. Maj. and also of the estates of both parties. And although we note from the further report of ours that furthermore little settlement is to be hoped for, as you will hear from the copy of our letters, we might well have suffered that ours of this part would not have consented to the article in question.

1) Instead of *senesco* we have adopted *sanesco.*
2) See above.
3) This is at night.
4) Instead of: "with" we have assumed "nit".

For in our opinion there are two kinds of deceit and danger behind this: one, that because some of the scholastics use words in it, they would hardly refrain from dragging the whole article into a misunderstanding and into their opinion, even as if it had escaped them, and [as if] it had hitherto been erred from this part. The other, that we allow ourselves to be fooled into making unnecessary use of so many circumlocutory words in the article, happens only to the exclusion of the words *sola fide*; and though in the end it is not disputed that some want to say that one is justified by faith alone, that it may come to pass: we see, however, that the latter point is set *adversatively* against the former, as indicated by the words: *qui autem, qui autem, qui autem, qui autem, qui autem, qui autem, qui autem, qui autem, qui autem, qui autem, qui autem, qui autem, qui autem, and qui autem.*
dicunt, from which it can well be heard that those of the opposite part do not mean *sola,* but have challenged it, and since they *toleratively* let it happen in the first place, they have from the very beginning had a must that the word *sola should* not remain *sola*, nor should it apply in style. For they want the aforementioned teachers to attach to it the doctrine of repentance, also of good works, which in our opinion is therefore attached by those of the other part in such a way that they want to attach to our confession a rag of shame, as if our part had gone too far with the word *sola,* and would now have to confess that works also belonged to justification, as they of the other part would not refrain from proclaiming this in the worst and most evil way, where the article should thus be granted. For this reason, we are not a little disconcerted by what those who have been ordered to do so by our means have done, 5) that they have allowed themselves to be placed in such a position with the others, while your books and those of Philippi, as well as all those who have taught and written on this subject up to now, have been admonished to teach with proper measure and order about repentance and the judgment of God and about good works. Although our chancellor, Magister Franz, Doctor Bridges, has written to us, when he informs us that the members of this section are to have a condition, where in the other disputed articles there is also no settlement, that the reported notel and article should be nothing, we still did not want to refrain from sending you the same position immediately, and to hear your report and concerns, also your mind and will, and how you like the article and suffer (sufferably) or not. Have for this reason presently sent our riding messenger with this

5) "to draw out" == to take out.

of our writing to you, and graciously request that you see, read, and diligently move such notes as have come to us in German and Latin, and which you find here, and also, if you need someone to read and rewrite, that you call Magister Jörgen Maier 1) to you for this purpose, and let us know your mind and concerns as much as possible, and your, first of all Doctoris Martini, opportunity to suffer with kindness, again, for which our messenger shall also wait, so that we may understand the said your will and concerns in this, and let us be heard according to the same against the 2) ours, whom we have at Regensburg. You should also not let these things become known at Wittenberg or elsewhere at this time, for we are told that some spies are to be appointed there, who will tell the people of Mainz and others of the opposite party against Regensburg how and what is being said about the action there, and also what Magister Philippus in particular is writing to you and others. And we would like the Rector and the University to issue a warning by public mandate that such people should not be allowed to stay there any longer, so that they will not be burdened by this. Thus we order our bailiff or castle officer at Wittenberg to pay good attention to such suspicious spies and to take action against them, whether they consider themselves students or not. We have not wished to restrain you in your gracious opinion, and do us a gracious favor, to which we are graciously inclined. Date on 3) Schneeberg, Monday after Jubilate [May 9] 1541.

(Wittenberg.) **No. 2786.** 9 May 1541.

To the captain and council of the city of Breslau.

Luther recommends LI. Force for further support.

The original is in the Schweidnitz school library. Printed in a supplement of the Schlesische Provinzialblätter. 1806; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 357 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 308.

To the strict, honourable, honourable, prudent gentlemen, chiefs and councillors of the town of Preslau, my favourable dear gentlemen and friends.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Strict, honorable, honorable, prudent, dear sirs

1) George Major.
2) Burkhardt: "dem unsern".
3) Burkhardt: "aufen".

and friends! Magister Johannes Kraft has enabled me to write this letter to your strictest and most honourable friends. After he received from you 20 fl. for the tax in a fine studio, now with six trips, with such a duty that he should not go elsewhere without your leave, but should serve your city, of which he thanked you very much, and acknowledged it justly. Now, however, he has grown very well with such scholarship, and has become a fine, learned man, who is now to continue in the higher faculty. But I, if his complexion were not too weak for preaching, would not at all like to see him outside of theology; for he is very well versed in the Scriptures, sedate and chaste, who should be a good man for me in the church. Therefore I counsel him to the Medicina. Now you can think for yourselves, dear sirs, that nothing can be done in the high faculties with 20 fl. Therefore, it is my friendly request that your nobles and honorable friends improve his scholarship; if that is too difficult, then release him from the duty, so that he may meanwhile be content with other work or school service until he may come higher. May such my request be granted, and let the same M. Kraft enjoy comforting, because such charity is so very well invested; and yet otherwise such great good is invested badly in all the world. Your strict and honorable friends will know how to show themselves Christian and favorable. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt besohlen, Amen. Monday after Jubilate [9 May] 1541.

Martinus Luthrus, D.

No. 2787.

(Wittenberg.) May 10 or 11, 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Bugenhagen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 668, no. 1371. - This letter is the answer to no. 2785, where the necessary is said about the dating. The original in Luther's hand is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, fol.* 329. n. 133. According to Burkhardt, this letter has the following postscript:

4) We have also been warned beforehand of the Archbishop's spies at Mainz; we want to do right by him, if God wills it.

4) "Before" put by us instead of: "Of".

No. 2788.

(Wittenberg.) 16 May 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Bugenhagen and the deputies of the Consistory.

About the consideration of an appointment in the matter of the engagement of Duke Ernst of Brunswick.
The original (but not signed by his own hand) is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. D, fol.* 49. 42^. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 382.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince! Ew. churf. G. are our subservient, guilty and completely willing services always ready beforehand. Most gracious lord! By order of Your Lordship, received humbly, in the matter of Ernsten von Starschedel, we have requested and cited the said Starschedel on Wednesday after Vocem Jucunditatis [May 25], which we therefore humbly report to Your Lordship. because Doctor Melchior Kling, as attorney appointed in this matter, is not at home at present, and we are also not aware whether he will be at home again at the same time or not, so that in his absence another would be appointed in his place. We hereby humbly command ourselves to serve your lordship to the best of our ability with submissive obedience. Date Monday after Cantate [May 16] Anno 1541.

E. churf. G. unterthänige Martinus Luther, Joannes Bugenhagen, Doctores 2c.

No. 2789.

Regensburg. 19 May 1541.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Melanchthon reports on the negotiations of the Diet after receiving Luther's and Bugenhagen's report (No. 2787) 1) and on the Turkish War.
Ans of a copy in *Cod. Rehd.*, *vol*. III, at Breslau, printed in *Corp. Ref. vol.* IV, 302. The outer inscription reads, "To Herr Doctor Johann Heß, his patron, as his dear father." Melanchthon thus sent it to Hess.
1) The Elector sent it already on May 13 to Regensburg, although he had received it only on the evening of May 12 (see No. 2785).

To Martin Luther.

Hail! The most illustrious prince has sent here your judgment on the formula in the matter of justification. If an agreement were subsequently reached in the other articles, this formula could easily be improved. For it will again be submitted for consultation, and among the princes everything is still undecided. I also disliked the word "active" (*efficax*) in this passage 2). But there was a very violent dispute about many pieces, and Contarenus had sent a quite inconsistent formula, which has been entirely rejected. Thus, since I do not want to cite everything, this piece was left lying. After this we have been much more violently put to the test about the [doctrine of the] Church. It has been asserted that legitimate conciliarities cannot err. The article has been set aside because I do not yield. A dispute has followed about the enumeration of sins] in confession. They defend this, not because they disagree, but so that they do not lose the rule of confession. Yesterday I set forth the reasons why we disapprove of the law on enumeration. Now we go to the rule of the pope, the invocation of the saints, and the masses. Here, if I can, I will leave these disputes pending, and apologize to the Emperor. For the latter accuses me of having become harder by your commandments and by the admonition of the French king. All this action here is done with extraordinary artifice. But because Emperor Carl still assures this, that he *strives for* an improvement of the infirmities in the church, and insists that the trial not be broken off, I have not been able to wriggle out of it. What he will do I cannot guess, for he conceals his counsels exceedingly; but those nearest him indicate that they are peaceful ones. It is said that he will settle those disputes which cannot be settled, and some have better hopes than others. It is difficult to say anything with so great a difference of opinion as to his will. I also find this hiddenness difficult to negotiate.

The army of King Ferdinand is besieging Buda. They say that Turkish troops will be there to relieve Buda of the siege, but I believe that there is a greater silence about Hungarian affairs here than among you.

2) See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVII, 595: "that the sinner is justified by living and active faith."

Be well and happy. The 19th of May. At Regensburg.

I wish your honored wife, your lovely children, and the Rev. Pommer well. Phil. Mel.

No. 2790.

(Wittenberg.) May 20, 1541.

To Ehrenfried vom Ende zu Wolkenburg.

An economic matter.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 331. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 93, no. 172; in Walch, vol. XXI, 442; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 358, and in the Erlanger Ausg. vol. 55, p. 309.

To the strict and honourable Ehrenfried vom Ende zu Wolkenburg.

Grace and peace. Kind, honorable, dear sir and friend! My dear Käthe asks you, and I ask for her, because she has become a new housekeeper in Zülsdorf, and is far away from us, that you do this neighborly friendship for her, and lend her 12 bushels of grain and 24 oats, which she will give back to you honestly after the threshing, in the near future. I do not want to make such a request, nor do I want to burden you with it, since I do not neglect to do you good and to do it willingly, because you have previously shown yourselves to be so kind to me without being asked. Our dear Lord Jesus Christ strengthen and comfort you in all your afflictions, as he promised. It is said, as Christ saith, If we were of the world, that is, of the devil, the world, that is, the devil, would love us. But because we are not full of the world, the world is hostile to us, so our flesh is weak. But Christ is the stronger above all things, and will not leave us at last, if we abide in him, and go not to them that curse and blaspheme him. The same dear Lord be with you for ever and ever. Amen. Friday after Cantate [20 May] 1541. Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2791.

(Wittenbetg.) May 22, 1541.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

About Luther's state of health. About the burgrave of the Elector in Halle. About the election of a syndicus for Halle and the filling of the parish in Herzberg.

Handwritten in Aurifaber. From the original in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 146 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 359.

Mr. Justus Jonas, Doctor of Sacred Theology.

Grace and peace! First of all, I think I have easily obtained this from you, my dear Jonas, that you bear it with equanimity when I answer you either too slowly or too seldom. I certainly do not have such a solid health that I could read or talk for an hour safely and with great effort. I have often been guilty of this, for I am very eager to speak, to write, to read again; so great was the severity of the illness, whatever it may have been. And even now I do not hear completely, as before. God will do what is good. For the rest, thank God, I am quite well.

Regarding the burgrave's feud 1) you yourself sufficiently indicate that it is written to you from the court. It is not doubtful that the prince will sell nothing, so great is the constancy, only that he will henceforth take nothing for himself of rule in Halle, which does not concern the burgrave's dower. For who should advise him to do so? since we teach that to each his own is due 2). And it is a very great thing that the gates of hell are forced by this title and the shadow of the burgrave alone to suffer you, Jonas, the enemy of Satan and the Cardinal, in their midst, for which thanks must be given to Christ, the Lord over all lords (*Dominatori*). Therefore, you will tell those fearful people not to be anxious about the sale of this title; God, who calls to that which is not that it is [Rom. 4:17], will also call forth from this little title great things which are not that they are, making everything out of nothing.

1) This refers to the Burgraviate of Magdeburg and Halle, which had been given to the Dukes of Saxony by imperial enfeoffment ages ago. Duke Heinrich von Braunschweig, however, claimed in his Streitschrift Wider den Churfürsten (St. Louiser Ausg., Vol. XVII, 1287, § 152 ff.) that the enfeoffment was null and void, but the Archbishop of Mainz seems to have considered the claims to be well-founded, since he set out to buy his rights from the Elector.

2) Instead of *sua suis* we have assumed *sua cuique.*

The rest of what you demand, I would also have done of my own free will and with great pleasure, indeed I am forced to do it out of a sense of duty, that I pray for the church in Halle, and also for Balthasar. May God make him alive, as we all desire.

As a syndicus to be procured for you, Schneidewein seems to me to be appointed. For with regard to the others I have neither hope nor desire. If Schneidewein, if he be called, should not come (which I do not think), I think of Doctor Rosenecker. But why do you, who are a lawyer, consult me in these matters? About the church at Seida (*Zidoniensi*) and the Diaconus at Herzberg hear this: Since the pastor at Seida must be removed, and the one at Herzberg seems too young to the commissioners, Pommer is inclined and inclined to call him here to Wittenberg to the office of a captain, if he wants, which, as it seems to me, is more honorable, and will be more of a disgrace to those people, to speak so in a carnal way. Whatever may be, all desire that he may be provided for in an honourable manner. Fare well in Christ, and be of good cheer. Salute, I beseech thee, from me reverently the venerable gray hairs of the gray head of Doctor Middensis 1) and all that is covered by those godly hairs. All is well in thy house.

By the way, you should not expect such long and detailed letters or epistles. For tomorrow I will set to work to survey the New Testament, since our lords the printers so command. Let no man therefore trouble me. I will bear the marks of our lords printers in my weakness. May the Lord be with you, my dear Jonas, and greet all of us in Christ. On the Sunday Vocem Jucunditatis 2) [22 May] Anno 1541. Yours Martin Luther.

1) *Middensis*; on the other hand, in the letter to Jonas of July 16, at the end: *Mildensis*. The latter name is found in the Album, x>. 56 f.

2) A copy in *Cod*. *Dessav*. A has as date: *Dorn. Vozem Gokontidadis*, which is either a joke by the copyist or by Luther himself (Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 521, note 2).

No. 2792.

(Wittenberg.) May 25, 1541.

To George, Prince of Anhalt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1306.

No. 2793.

Stockholm. I. June 1541.

King Gustav of Sweden to Luther.

On the Protestant position of the King of Sweden and his admission into the Schmalkaldic League.

A copy is found in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H* 389. 147. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 383.

Our greetings and gracious will beforehand. Venerable and esteemed, dear special one! As, in addition to your recent letter 3) the honorable, our dear faithful, Balthasar Funck, has brought us in his arrival to the most submissive instruction, how that with you it will be put to us, as well as 4) *in praejudicium of* all religious comrades, we have come to an agreement with the Roman Emperor. Maj. and the Burgundians in an unseemly relationship, and contrary to the great prince, our friendly dear brother-in-law, brother and neighbor, Mr. Christian of Denmark, King, by a Burgundian, 5) who would have intruded upon us: In all of which we, with the dear almighty God and the truth, testify our innocence, and can also well suffer that you, together with all evangelical religious comrades, potentates, chiefs and estates, should be informed of every previous event and dealings between us and the two kingdoms (which were brought to you by our dear faithful, Balthasarn Funcken, who will report the] 6) contents of his instruction for legitimate reasons) had recently been 7) reported to you, there is no doubt that you and your male counterparts, contrary to such unfounded statements and murmurings, would yourself 8) Christianly excused

3) In any case, the letter is lost. Also in the Imperial Archives in Stockholm no trace can be found. (Burkhardt.)

4) "sam" == as if. Burkhardt: "as it were".

5) Cf. no. 3121. This matter leads us to the assumption that this letter is to be placed in the year 1544.

6) Added by us. Without this addition, instead of "show" it would have to read: "be shown", which might be better.

7) Burkhardt: "would have"; immediately following: "were" instead of: "would".

8) After "itself" Burkhardt has a comma by mistake.

digtigt nehmen. However, dear Doctor, when out of special well-meaning affection you recommended to the above-mentioned Balthasarn Funcken that we should (? zwir) answer again orally that you would like to know us in the evangelical alliance whether it would be convenient for us to accept it, and we graciously informed you in our minds, then 1) you wanted to act for our sake; which your Christian and humble offer we have understood to be of such good pleasure and gracious thanksgiving at this time, and we also wish to consider this towards you in but graciousness, and also not to hold you back in entirely confidential gracious good opinion, that we have indeed from part 2) of our covenant relatives of the highly thought of religious community with inherited conditions long ago kindly requested to know a reason, for the sake of the 3) cause indicated afterwards: because our realm and principality are almost remote in the outermost places, whether perhaps the same conditions and means might be tolerable to our realms for that reason, [so that we] 4) would know how to decide on it with good mutual consideration. When we, from the time of our government onwards, have preached the Gospel quite obviously for the praise of God his holy word, for the acceptance and increase of the Christian religious community, also for the prosperity, welfare, peace and unity of our kingdoms, have had every unchristian superstition and all original church ceremonies 5) seriously abolished according to your doctrine among all our subjects: Nevertheless, we have not been able to enjoy this, especially [we have been] 6) forgotten about our confidence in the religious community and unfortunately remained excluded through no fault of our own. And because in the meantime no suitable occasion has arisen for us to ask for it, we have therefore had to patiently keep quiet about this matter until the appropriate time for rest (rowgh) and remain silent. Although at this time our gracious request to be reported by you quite confidentially for the sake of the highly thought of religious fellowship conditions and the points that have been incorporated, and what you in such a way first of all have to say to God, his holy word and teachings, we are not obliged to do so.

1) Burkhardt: "wollet".
2) "von teils" == from sides. Following immediately, we have assumed "our" instead of "ours" in Burkhardt.
3) Burkhardt: "vmb nach angezaigter vrsach willen".
4) Inserted by us.
5) Thus set by us. Burkhardt offers: "and all Christian churches, ceremonien your year after" 2c.
6) Inserted by us.

(lhar) to receive us, our young sovereigns, princes and rich 7) to prosperity and welfare with the religious community and the other evangelical potentates, heads and estates, that shall be considered by us, our young sovereigns and rich 8) against (gein) you, and yours in highest graces with fully effective thanksgiving, as we have also in special confidence dispatched the honorable, our dear faithful, Balthasarn Funcken, to you again, whom you may for our sake believe in his verbal request, and to convey him again as soon as possible with answer to us. For (when) we are also willing and inclined to serve you and yours in all graces. Date on our royal house Stockholm, *prima Junii anno* 1541, under our Secret. *Gustauus*.

No. 2794.

(Wittenberg.) 1. June 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Bugenhagen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 673, no. 1372.

No. 2795.

(Wittenberg.) June 6, 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X VII, 675, no. 1374.

No. 2796. 10 June 1541.

Advertisement of several princes, especially those of Anhalt, to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 676, no. 1375.

No. 2797.

(Wittenberg.) 12(?) June 1541.

To Prince George or John of Anhalt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1302, no. t51. - According to Luther's own handwriting in the *Codex Seidel*. of the Dresden Library, p. 69, No. 12, at.

7) "Reichen" is our conjecture instead of: "rethen".
8) This confirms the preceding Conjecture.
9) Burkhardt: "the".

De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 283. Seidemann says: Presumably Luther spoke this, when he was in the days from June 10 to 12, 1541, together with Johann and Georg von Anhalt, Matthias von Schulenburg and Alesius Scotus (De Wette, V, p. X VI) in Wittenberg in the Goldschmidtin house.

No. 2798.

(Wittenberg.) June 12, 1541.

To the princes Johann and Georg von Anhalt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 678, no. 1376. - There also the difference of this letter from Luther's first draft (Burkhardt, p. 385) is exactly stated.

No. 2798a.

June 12 (1541). 1)

Kili to Windisch from Leisnig to Luther.

Request for Luther's assistance in obtaining the scholarship promised to him.

In the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Mm, fol*. 94. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 413.

Hail! Since before Christmas, venerable Doctor, I had delivered to your dignities 2) a letter by which the council of my father city recommended me to E. W., so that my studies would be approved both by your and by other learned men's [testimony] 3) at the most illustrious Prince, the Duke of Saxony;

1) This letter has only the date, and no year. Burkhardt, p. 413, has placed it, in our opinion incorrectly, in the year 1542, because the facts stated in No. 2753 and in this letter seem to us to be compatible only with the year 1541. Already around Martinmas [Nov. 11] 1540, the people of Leisnig had received the promise of a scholarship for Windisch from the Elector, under the condition that a good report be made for him by the members of the University of Wittenberg. Before Christmas 1540, Kilian delivered a letter to Luther, in which the Council requested that Kilian be examined by him and other learned men and recommended to the Elector. This was done, and on February 20, 1541, Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen, and Ammerbach made a favorable report of the examination to the Elector, who, through Caspar von Teutleben, promised a stipend of thirty gold florins annually, after he had seen letter No. 2753, that is, in February, 1541. Luther placed this matter in the hands of Dr. Jonas, who left about April, 1541, for Halle, where he remained several years. Furthermore Kilian says in this letter, that he was here one year before Michaelmas. - According to all this, can the letter be placed in the year 1542?

2) Instead of: observantter t. we have assumed *observantiae t[uae]*.

3) We have added *testimonio.*

if this happened, he [the Elector] had promised, he would give me a scholarship: so E. W. handed this whole matter over to the respectable man and gentleman, Doctor Justus Jonas. After my studies had been examined by him, although they are small 4) and meager, he issued me a very strong certificate, with the signature of both of your names and seals printed on it, then also of Doctor Johann Bugenhagen, Pomeranus, and my preceptor M. Veit Ammerbach, 5) who otherwise would have given me a special recommendation to the Prince. When the most illustrious Prince had seen this, he promised me thirty gold florins annually, as the letter of Doctor Caspar von Teutleben shows. But I do not know through what negligence it may have happened that I am not also listed among others who apply for this fief. For when I afterwards returned to Torgau to ask for a letter indicating where I should claim the money, I was unable to obtain any, while others had obtained it to whom nothing had previously been promised by the most illustrious Prince, and more abundantly than I had. In the meantime, however, I have often sent letters to Doctor von Teutleben and spoken to him orally, but I have been unable to obtain anything, except that I had to wait until here (as will be clear from this letter, which was written before the departure of Doctor Justus Jonas); this delay greatly annoyed Dr. J. Jonas. For the seventh time, therefore, I am now, on Friday [10. June], I returned to Torgau (I will say no more of the expenses that should have been spent elsewhere, and of the damage to our studies); Yesterday I spoke to Doctor von Teutleben before he travelled here with the most illustrious Prince, who said that I could not obtain anything now, but would have to wait until Michaelmas 6) (when that comes, I will have been here for a year), although 7) the most illustrious Prince had promised that I should not stay here longer than half a year at my father's and the Council's expense. In worries and uncertain what I should do, since the respectable Doctor Jonas is away from here, who has helped me a great deal in this matter, I thought that I would finally have to beg E. W. to plead my case with the most illustrious Prince.

4) Instead of *tenuina, tenuia* will be read.

5) This is letter no. 2753.

6) This is what happened. Cf. No. 2753.

7) Here Burkhardt has filled in a defective spot with *cum.*

would like to act. For I have no money left with which I could pay my debts, nor are my parents of such fortune that they could continue 1) to pay the costs for me, since they have already given about ten gold florins or more this time, then also the council is burdened to grant me something, who gave me five gold florins. But it would be the greatest pity for me if I were forced either to sell my books or to leave here altogether for other regions. But because, as is known, there were many so-called endowments (*beneficia*) from my father's town in the Buch monastery, I would not doubt that E. W. could therefore obtain something for me, if not in another way, by which I would like to maintain myself here until this time 2). Therefore I ask and implore your godliness and righteousness, so that it may assist wretched people, to come to my aid in this extreme need. For I know how much your standing with the most illustrious prince is capable of, that I have no doubt that she will be able to obtain this boon for me, or if it were something greater, for which, as I owe, I will give eternal thanks. Farewell. June 12.

Kilian Windisch
from Leisnig.

No. 2799.

(Wittenberg.) June 17, 1541.

To Melanchthon.

Luther expresses his displeasure about the emperor and the settlement negotiations at Regensburg and advises to break them off.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 335. From the original in Schütze, vol. I, p. 148 and in De Wette, vol.V, p.369.

Grace and peace! You have seen from the last letter what I also think of this Carl. I hope that you will be recalled by the Prince, for that is what I have advised. Let the will of the Lord be done; for though we sing or lament, they dance not, neither do they grieve. "The first wrath of the best." We have heard that the emperor was sprinkled with the accursed water by the Mainzer, and communicated according to the papist custom, and that nothing was wanting that Christ might be mocked and laughed at,

1) Instead of *alterius* we have assumed *ulterius.*

2) That will probably mean: until Michaelmas.

not even the [Matt. 26:49.], "Hail, Rabbi," and [v. 68.], "Prophesy unto us, Christe." Yea, he kissed him. Be mindful of this, and hasten to get out of this Sodom, the final wrath of GOD is coming upon them. In regard to us, this is my opinion: whatever may come, every fate must be overcome by forbearance, and I doubt not that it can be overcome if we let uus be found in forbearance, for He has said [John 14:13.], "Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be honored in the Son." His business, not ours, is done; he will watch whether, if we fall, if he will, he will also fall; but, this is true and certain, that he will fall sooner than he should fall, 3) to the great and eternal misfortune of those people, but to our great and eternal salvation. Enough has been prayed for the Emperor; if he will not have the blessing, he may suffer the curse. It cannot be the fault of the devil of Mainz alone, [it would not be so.] if he were not himself a loud hypocrite. So many complaints he has heard with a deaf ear, pretending that he goes there for the sake of religion, while he never intends to hear them [the complaints], just as if, for the sake of religion, he were not meanwhile also compelled to eat or to empty himself (*cacare*). How much more could he, setting aside the cause of religion, hear these complaints, indeed, while you are arguing uselessly and in vain, have long since settled them. It occurs to me how he acted; how he made peace at the invasion of the Turks before Vienna, but which he broke soon after, and many other things. Meanwhile he devours Utrecht, Liege, 4) as Heinz, his comrade, devours Hildesheim. He will devour the whole Rhine with its bishoprics, as his comrade did the whole of Saxony. But of this orally. Break off as you may most conveniently. For of the four compared articles I have seen nothing, save the one of justification.

3) A play on words: *irruet-ruet*.

4) *Trajectum*, *leodium*. Cf. Tischreden, Cap. 27, § 134. *vine*, vol. I, fol. 179b. De Wette has no comma between the two words and confesses his perplexity in a note.

The only word that I did not dislike about the Emperor was 'non-binding, non-prejudicial'. Although they have used it for their party, it will not be of no use to us. If you cannot break off now, send Caspar [Cruciger] if you can. His wife has taken on the care of the house 1) and the buildings not without harm, not to mention his other duties and work, which the church and the school must do without in the meantime. The prince has ordered him to be dismissed, if you consent; you have Mr. Amsdorf in his place, whom I believe will not be tormented to death by what upsets you, for we often remember him, since his character is well known to us. But the Lord will repay you abundantly, because for his sake you are suffering so many punishments of purgatory, not of the papist, but of the truly Christian, yea, the punishments of hell. Therefore be strong and cheerful, and, if you can, ridicule the plots of Satan. For right fortitude has its purpose more in suffering than in action. GOD will put an end to these things as well. I pray and will pray, who am a very wicked sinner, yet do not despair. He will hear me at last, who hears the inexpressible groaning of those of whom he knows that they groan not for gold, honor, and pleasure, but for his name, his kingdom, and his glory. He be, yea, he be with you. Be at ease in him, and return as soon as possible. For there you are wasting toil, time, and expense on the devil. Friday after Trinity [17 June] 1541.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2800. 18 June 1541.

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

(Regest.)

The duke recommends the Magister Jakob Metius, who is moving to Wittenberg.

A detailed regest can be found in J. Voigt, p. 12. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 376.

1s We have deleted the comma between *domus* and *curas.*
2) Instead of *nobis* we have assumed *vobis.*

No. 2801.

(Wittenberg.) June 21, 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Bugenhagen.

On the engagement affair of Duke Ernst of Brunswick. (Cf. No. 2781 and 2788.)
The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. D, fol. 49. 42*[1] (but without personal signatures). Printed by Burkhardt, p. 387.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince! E. ch. G. are our subservient, quite willing services in constant diligence beforehand. Most gracious lord! At the next appointed day between the attorneys of our gracious lord, Duke Philipsen of Brunswick, and Ernsten von Starschedel, 3) after none of the attorneys appeared (from the fact that perhaps E. churf. G.'s order did not understand neither Doctor Melchiorn [Kling] nor Doctor Zochen), we could not have rejected von Starschedel more effectively than that we gave him a copy of the previous submission and set a time to turn his need against it again. However, when von Starschedel sent us a sentence on the next Friday after Trinity [June 17], we had it handed over to Doctor Melchiorn, and as he departed from Regensburg today, according to his report, he sent such a sentence to our protonotary again with a boy, without any avoidance as to whether anything further should be submitted on it. And although we did not refrain from sending such sentence to Doctor Zochen at his residence, he did not want to accept it either, but indicated that his order did not extend further than to attend the next court day. Since (When) he did not understand the order before such a day, he would not get involved in any laws. So that nevertheless now to highly thought of our gn. Lord, Duke Philipsen, nothing is missed [so] E. ch. G. we hereby send the copy of von Starschedel's sentence, in humble confidence that [E. ch. G.] will graciously decree how it is to be handled.

3) "Starschiedel" is written throughout this letter.

Presentation and responsibility of the same shall be held, and have E. ch. G. we do not want to let this go unreported, are willing to serve the same in all ways. Date Tuesday after Corporis Christi [June 21] Anno 1541.

E. ch. G. Martinas Luther, Johann Bugenhagen, the Holy Scripture Doctors and ordered Commissarien of the Consistorii at Wittenberg.

No. 2802.

(Wittenberg.) June 22, 1541.

To Melanchthon.

Luther expresses himself about the advertisement of the princes (No. 2796), is very indignant about the emperor, and hopes for an early end of the Diet.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 351. From the original in Schütze, vol. I, p. 150 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 371.

Grace and peace! I did not believe your letter, namely, that of those, the greatest (xxxx xxxxxxxxx), as you write, Ge.
would come to me, but they have come and received my answer with joy; they have added the brother [of Prince John of Anhalt] George, the provost.1) But it is certain that those neither understand the intention of those who sent them, nor my answer. For they assumed that I should approve the toleration in those ten articles on both sides. I hope that this venomous plot of the Satan of Mainz is destroyed. Our Elector was annoyed that they had attacked me alone, bypassing him. He hurried over together with Brück, and they shaped my answer in their own way by adding a few words. It is to be wondered at how suspicious he is of the proceedings of the entire imperial party: he scarcely allows the justification to be presented in words other than those in the Confession, and I like this attitude.

1) The envoys were: Prince Johann von Anhalt, Matthias von Schulenburg and Alesius Scotus.

permanence. But you will see everything, or Scotus will report everything. I hope you will return shortly. For you have been there in vain, and have had all to do with these villainous people. To Dr. Caspar the Prince has given leave to return, if you will; there will be the end of this Convention, if the Turk does not force something else. Greater disturbance than before and more violent plagues will also the murderers cause. For 25 have been deputized anew against our prince, of whom [some] are imprisoned in the castle of Leuchtenburg. These testify openly against the Mainzian monster, this ruin of Germany. If the Emperor should not punish Heinzen and Mainzen seriously, it is possible that he, too, will become suspicious and lose obedience and reverence, that is, the rule over Germany. For to what does his hypocrisy, so atrocious and pernicious, aim but to excite a revolt among the common people or to open war? For the people will not be able to stand this inactivity of the Emperor and the princes in the face of such great misfortune. In fact, I have completely grown to hate the Emperor, who, trusting in our praises and prayers, sins against us all the more cruelly. And I will act against him, if I can, as much as I have acted for him. For he pretends that he can take no matter in hand unless that of religion is first settled, - why does he not let the Turk first lay waste everything? Turks to devastate everything first? "I think the clergy all want to be put to death," without our wanting it, because the rumor breaks out that they are the authors and servants of the pope in carrying out arsons, after the Mainzer, their head, is lost. May the Lord grant that no uproar arise, that the Macedonian may fulfill the other part of the Schmalkaldic dream, amen. All is well in your house. The other day Philip's son has happily escaped the persecutions of Satan, which you will hear orally. Other things, if there be any, thou may'st have heard of others. Given on the day of the solar equinox [22 June] 1541.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2803.

(Wittenberg.) 24 June 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Bugenhagen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 683, no. 1377.

No. 2804.

(Wittenberg.) June 25, 1541.

To Melanchthon.

Luther writes about presumed events in Regensburg and shares some news, also about his condition,
Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 335. From the original in Schütze, vol. I, p. 152 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 374.

Grace and peace! I want to anticipate your letter, which I hope will come soon, or rather every hour, and predict to you what will be done at Regeusburg, namely: that you have been summoned to the emperor, and he has spoken to you that you should be careful in the conversation about what serves peace. But you answered in Latin that you would do what you could, but that you were not equal to so great a task. Eck, however, had cried out in his usual manner, "Most gracious emperor, I will defend that our part is right, and that the pope is the head of the church." There you have the history that happened with you. From the last letter that Caspar wrote to M. George, I have learned that you will fight with each other on the following day. That Mezeutius 1) is in contempt, I am glad of that.

Here the rumour boasts that five thousand Turks have been slain at Buda. I have nothing of news to write, so everything is as usual. I am gradually beginning to hear again, although in the meantime my dead ear prevents me from hearing, and the flow of my head or the dampness from my head weighs me down. But I am full of moisture, mucus and rivers and will remain so. My Käthe greets you reverently. Greetings to all of us. On the Saturday after St. John the Baptist's Day, June 25, 1541, your Martin Luther.

1) Henry of Brunswick.

No. 2805.

(Wittenberg.) June 29, 1541.

To Melanchthon.

Luther speaks courage to the dejected Melanchthon, and hopes that he will soon be called away from Regensburg.
Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 333, printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 153 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 375.

Grace and peace! I beseech thee, my dear Philip, that thou keep thy equanimity, for it is written unto me that thou art struggling with I know not what temptations. Thou knowest that these servants of infidelity and of the devil can do nothing but what they do. Who art thou that thou shouldest amend those whom God hath forsaken as incorrigible men, yea, given them over to a hardened mind? I am animated by great hope that it will come to pass that this strife will glorify the Son of God, as He says John 11:4: "This sickness is not unto death," and Paul [2 Cor. 12:9]: "My power," that is, Christ's, "is mighty in the weak." Not alone doth this impropriety torment thee, but almost puts me in a rage; but let it go, that that may come which GOD hath decreed,-forsooth! 2) Himself has hungered exceedingly and greatly for so cunning, so shrewd, so wise, so holy a work, - and that in a short time, God willing. Therefore do not fear and do not grieve with your own. They think they have laid ropes for you, but they themselves will fall into the same," as David teaches.

Other things you may learn from the court, and that sooner than ours reaches you. We beseech the prince to call you away as soon as possible, and this we have done.

2) The originally given reading is: *ne ipse egregie et luculenter esurivit operam etc.*. which De Wette did not understand, and changed it to: *ut ipsi egregie et luculenter esuriant*, which seems to us to be quite inappropriate to the context. Luther says: "The treacheries and intrigues of the adversaries shall, according to God's counsel, serve that Christ may obtain His glory, which I hope will soon happen, for God desires most of all to do such a work, in which He will show Himself more cunning and wise than they with all their snares. They will fall into the pit they have dug. The offence which De Wette took at the given reading is removed by resolving *ne by nae*. For this (besides the fact that it is so in Sallust) many analogies are found, e. g. *ve* for *vae;* *pene* for *paene* 2c.

we did almost a fortnight before this letter, so that we wondered why you had not already returned here. Greet all of us, and may you instruct Amsdorf to be angry with these monsters and to be indignant against them (as much as he can), and that he should pray for the Cardinal the 109th Psalm 1) against Judas, or rather that the so holy bishop should become pope; and may Amsdorf laugh at Satan, since he is sure that Satan laughs when he notices that Amsdorf is grieving. Be at ease, and rejoice in him that overcame the world: for since it is overcome, we have overcome, as he saith [John 16:33], "Be of good cheer; I have overcome the world:" because the prayer of the church, and ours, which is the same, suffereth with you, and shall reign with you. Again, farewell. Wednesday after John [29 June] 1541. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

No. 2806.

(Wittenberg.) June 29, 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 684, no. 1378.

No. 2807.

(Wittenberg.) June or July, 1541.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther excuses his rare writing. News.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 346. From the Kraft collection in Husum in Schütze, vol. I p. 155 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 378.

To the excellent and worthy man, Wenceslaus Link, the faithful servant of the Word in Nuremberg, his exceedingly dear brother in your Lord.

Mercy and peace! I have had nothing, my dear Wenceslaus, to write, except that I wished to forestall you, and take away your complaints beforehand, with which you are wont to scourge me, that I write to you exceedingly seldom. But thou knowest that I am now old and weary, and indolent to write letters, which are not necessary, since I am

1) In Latin: Ps. CXVIII instead of: CVIII according to the Vulgate.

must also refrain from the necessary many times, which are demanded of me from many and various places and causes. Therefore, according to your kindness, you will easily forgive my silence, my laziness, and, if you want to call it that, also my negligence.

About the harmony of Christ with Belial in Regensburg I hear nothing new; I have predicted that it will be such a harmony, for the wrath of God has come upon the papacy, and the hour of its judgment is here. Therefore no one will be able to help it, as Daniel prophesied. With us the raging of the murderers does not cease, but rather increases. In Prussia 170 are imprisoned, in Pomerania not a few, more than 60, and there is a cry that these evils are caused by the pope and the canons. It would be surprising if they did not bring misfortune upon themselves, in order to fulfill the old word: "One must strike the clergy to death (todt)." Praise be to God, who has not willed that we should remain longer in the company of those people, but has brought us out in time from this Egypt and Sodom, which the Red Sea has drowned with moisture, and the fire of heaven has consumed with heat. Farewell and pray for me. Anno 1541.

Your M. Luther.

No. 2808.

(Wittenberg.) About the beginning of July, 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with the other theologians.

(Missing letter.)

Intercession for the Greek Franzinus Mageras for support. - —

Burkhardt, p. 388, says: The letter was present after a decree of the Elector, dated Torgau, July 19, according to which the chamber clerk Christoph Heynebolh had to give 20 florins to the Greek. In the Weimar Archives, *Reg. p.* 137. 2.

No. 2809.

(Wittenberg.) 4. July 1541.

To Hieronymus Weller at Freiberg.

Luther answers the question whether the clergyman must communicate with him, and exhorts him to patience.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 394 and in *Cod. Goth*. From the Wernsdorf collection at Wittenberg in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 154 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 379.

Your excellent man, Mr. Hieronymus Weller, Doctor of Theology, servant of Christ at Freiberg, his exceedingly dear brother in your Lord.

Grace and peace! Concerning the question submitted to me, my dear Jerome, this is my opinion: in this matter one must follow clearly what is just and good, that the preachers are free not to 1) communicate if they do not feel inclined; again, so that they do not make a law out of this freedom, they should sometimes communicate in order not to give the church any trouble. Thus, since both are done, there will be no offence on either side, since the former cannot demand that they should communicate, and the latter cannot assert that freedom is a cloak of security and contempt. So much about public communion. For I know nothing of the private communion of your church. But I believe that this is understood in such a way that he who performs a public service in the so-called mass should certainly communicate with it. For I have understood your question about the deacons who also administer.

I grieve with you over your circumstances, that *it* is so difficult to succeed. But so does Satan, who hinders all things utterly, and in all things until he is trodden under the feet of the Son of God. Therefore we have need of patience, that, doing the will of God, we may receive the promise in return. Hereby commanded by God. Fare well in the Lord. Monday after the Visitation [of Mary] [July 4] 1541.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2810.

(Wittenberg.) July 5, 1541.

To the City Council of Görlitz.

Recommendation of a student from Görlitz for support.

1) *non* is added by us because we consider it necessary.

The original is in the church library at Landshut in Silesia. Printed in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 380 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 55, p. 323. - We give the letter here with the improvements noted by Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 500, note 6.

To the honorable, prudent gentlemen, mayor and council of the city of Görlitz, my favorable gentlemen and friends.

G. u. F. im HErrn 2c. Honorable, prudent, dear gentlemen! Andreas Hinderthür, your city child, has asked me to write to you and ask that you be helpful to him in his studio, for he is unable to complete it because of his poverty. Because you are well aware of how much it is needed now everywhere for persons who are capable and useful for church office and other offices, I want to provide myself with comforting hope for you, as they gladly help to promote God's honor and otherwise the worldly state's welfare and prosperity, as befits true Christians. Without my request, you will not only willingly show yourselves to this Andrew, but to many others as well, with help and taxation, since God has given you the ability to do so easily. But because the good journeyman needs testimony, I give you to know that he is a very fine, skillful and industrious journeyman, that he has many honest people, both of the university and of the honorable council, all here witnesses, that you are well assured what you turn to him, that all this will be given to God for a pleasing sacrifice, who must (what his dear son tells us) have laborers in his harvest, which is now truly great, and the laborers few. If you know no such thing, your heart will teach you well to do this good work with air and love. Hereby commanded to the dear God, Amen. Tuesday after *Ulrici* [July 5] 1541. Martinus LutheR.

Torgau. **2811.** 9 July 1541.

Elector John Frederick to Luther, Bugenhagen and the deputies of the Consistory.

(Regest.)

This letter contains almost verbatim the request to the von Starschedel's to appear at the appointed legal position, communicated under July 12.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. D, fol.* 49. 42^. The above notice in Burkhardt, p. 389.

2) De Wette: "beynöthig".

No. 2812.

(Wittenberg.) 10 July 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Recommendation of M. Johann Sachse for a professorship.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, p.* 125.
Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 95, No. 176; in Walch, vol. XXI, 445; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 381, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 324.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, of the Holy Roman Empire. Nö. Reichs Erzmarschall und Churfürst, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

G. and F. and my poor *Pater noster*. Most illustrious, high-born Prince, most gracious Lord! Now the Lection Magistri Fach 1) is vacant, which I well eight, will be sought by some; but there is a fine Magister, my costar now some years ago, a Saxon, to Holstein, also called M. Johann's Saxon, who is now often passing over to lend both in election and lection, so that I myself am astonished how it happens, yet he is one of the oldest magisters, studied here at seventeen years of age, and has been magister for over ten years, feeds himself with boys, and some much younger ones are always preferred to him, that it would seem to be a small honor for him, since he (that I truly know) prefers both Latin and Greek, as well as Ebräischen, nothing among them, is also of an honorable, pious mind and quiet nature, that I must attribute such his hindrance to misfortune, where it does not want to be the Neidhard. I therefore humbly request that E. C. F. G. graciously lend him the lection of M. Fach and have it ordered, or else, if some would seek it, postpone it until M. Philipp's journey home, from whom I may inquire what kind of resentment lies behind the fact that such a fine, industrious, pious journeyman is left behind so justly. E. C. F. G. would graciously show themselves in this. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. Sunday after Kiliani [July 10] 1541.

E. C. F. G. undersigned Mart. Luther.

1) "Fach" had died on July 4.

No. 2813.

Torgau. 11 July 1541.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

Answer to the intercession for LI. Johann Sachse.
The original concept (with many corrections) is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O. lit. A A A* p. 125. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 389.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! Your letter was presented to us today, in which you prescribed a master to us, who is to be a Holstein. Now we would have been graciously inclined to grant your request, since you have shown the magister's skill to be very suitable for a lesson. We do not want to reproach you, however, that soon after Easter the university sent us a letter concerning a master, called Marcelli 2), who has now been reading in the Pedagogy for 40 fl., by virtue of our foundation, with the indication that he should also be skilful; for this reason they have asked that an allowance from the Blank Stipendio be paid to him, and especially until another lesson, which would have more, could be done. Thereupon we consented, and ascribed to our university that 40 fl. of the said Blanken's benefice should be added to him for this year because of his special diligence, and if another lesson would be done, then they should order it to him, because they praised his skill. Now, before the arrival of your letter, they have informed us and named the same Marcellum as the late Magister's subject. Thereupon we write to them again that they should assign the same lesson to him. But since they have also informed us that one of them, called Magister Paulus, is to be assigned Marcelli's lesson in the Pedagogy, whom they have praised very much, we indicate to the university that they are to assign the same Paulo the mentioned lesson in the Pedagogy. But if a lesson *in artibus* is to be done more than once, which the Holsteiner is inclined to accept, then the same shall be ordered to him before another. In our gracious opinion, we do not want to let this go unreported to you, and we are graciously inclined to do so. Date Torgau, Monday after Kiliani [July 11] 1541.

2) M. Gallus Marcellus of Cotbus, ordained August 1, 1543, was Diaconus at Wittenberg until 1547. (De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 514, note 3.)

No. 2814.

Wittenberg. 12 July 1541.

To the von Starschedel, together with the deputies of the Consistory.

To those of Starschedel 1) another legal day is determined in the engagement matter.
The Weimar archives contain the unfinished fair copy, *Reg. O, fol. 49. 42* [3]. Printed by Burkhardt, p.390.

Of the most illustrious, high-born prince and lord, Mr. Johans Fridrichen 2c. 2c. We, Martinus Luther, Johann Bugenhagen, Doctores of the Holy Scriptures, and the ordered Commissars of the Consistorii at Wittenberg, the subsequently mentioned matters of S. ch. G., offer you, the strict and firm Ernsten von Starschedel, together with the honorable and virtuous virgin Annen, your daughter, our friendly services and greetings beforehand, and hereby submit to your knowledge: Since there are errors and afflictions due to a marriage marriage marriage, which has taken place between your 2c. Prince and Lord, Ernsten, Duke of Brunswick, on the one hand, and you, maiden Annen, on the other, should have taken place, for which reason the also illustrious 2c. Philips, Duke of Brunswick, also our gracious, as the father, has had a contradiction and declaration of his F. G. unwillingness legally brought before us on the appointed date by his F. G. attorneys, also you, the von Starschedel, have objected to it before us on another court day, which we have sent to the highly respected Duke. When, however, H. F. G. has further applied to our most gracious 2c. Lord for further promotion of the matters and S. ch. G. has graciously commanded us to set and determine another legal day, then, by virtue of the order received before and now, we hereby appoint you von Starschedel, as father and daughter, all and each in particular, a final peremptory date and court day on Monday after Bartholomew [Aug. 29], to appear before us here in Wittenberg at an early hour of the day, sent to the most reverend of our gracious lord.

1) In this writing the name "Stharstödel, Stahrstödel and Starstödel" is written.

His Lordship, Duke Philipsen, and H. F. G.'s attorneys to file a complaint, petition, or search, which H. F. G. will safely have made on the following opinion, to put your answer and legal necessity from your mouth into the pen and to bring it in. For when, after his F. G. has had credible experience that you, father and daughter of Starschedel, have allowed yourselves to be heard and have spread among the people, then S. F. G. Our son, our gracious lord, Duke Ernst, have taken a vow of marriage to you, the maidens of Anne, and have promised to marry each other, so that you, the von Starschedel, as the father, have had this stated clearly in your letter, so that you may reach our most gracious lord here before, and also in the next letter, which you have handed over to us in Wittenberg. F. G. would be anxious to carry out their contradiction against it, and that between S. F. G.'s son, Duke Ernsten, and you, maidens Annen von Starschedel, there could be no lasting, strong marriage agreement, even if the things in *fact* and in *fact were* according to your pretence, as S. F. G. did not believe. F. G. did not believe this, because S. F. G. as the father did not consent to it, as such should be further suggested and brought forward by S. F. G.'s lawyers at the appointed time. And we hereby assure you, you appear at the appointed court day or not, that nothing less will take place and be done on the obedient part's reasonable appeal, as much as is in the right and due, according to which you are to keep yourselves. In witness whereof we have sealed this with our Petitions and the Consistorial Seal, printed hereunder. Done at Wittenberg, Tuesday after Chiliani [12 July] Anno 1541.

No. 2815.

(Wittenberg.) July 16, 1541.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Luther recommends two clergymen for employment at Halle. News from the: Imperial Diet at Regensburg.
Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 337. Printed in Schütze, vol. 1, p. 156 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 382.

Grace and peace! You urge, my dear Jonas, that I should answer you

to your letters. I have indeed hesitated, because I have no one through whom I can send letters to you; at last, even in contradiction with myself, I have been able to instruct your wife to deliver the letter to you; you may see to it, and she too, how you receive it. It pleases me that Dr. Kilian will be Syndicus of Halle. I have personally wished him the best of luck, as he is a man completely devoted to Christ and holy; he will promote your efforts much. Our Diaconus Andreas 1) is preparing his affairs, of which Dr. Kilian will tell you orally. But hear what I have so often forgotten. There is at court ("city at court") a very excellent man, Mr. Stephan Kastenbauer, 2) who was expelled from Augsburg some years ago either before, or after, or with Urban Rhegius on the orders of the Sacramentirans, a man (it would be too much of a wound if you did not know him) who is very learned and quite loud; I wanted you to talk about him. He has for comrade an excellent learned and sincere man, who was formerly (as they call it) a regular canon. Either of them is worthy of a profession, not merely to Halle. I will endeavor, if Halle is not able, that the Lüneburger accept him even in the place of Urban Rhegius, if this can otherwise be sustained by Dr. Pommer.

You have more news in so excellent a place than we have. But this I have wanted to write, perhaps even in vain, that the papists in the presence of the Emperor have condemned that book, the supposed maker of concord, 3) with great vehemence, and are almost about to suspect that it was written by us, although we hate it worse than a dog and a snake. That very wretched book, which has plagued this Diet for so many months, is at last trampled under foot by our part, and torn to pieces by that part, regardless of the fact that Bucer has approved of it in a most extraordinary way, and

1) Hills.

2) also called Agricola. About him see St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2226, note 2.

3) The Regensburg Interim. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVII, 581, No. 1369.

insisted with great impetuosity that it be accepted, also "Master Grickel" boasted out of hatred against us that no Scripture was more useful for establishing harmony. Thus does GOD mightily disgrace the two hypocrites. Therefore, you see how much the prayer of the Church is able to do. For the emperor is deceived with this book and deceived in his hope; what he will do, time will bring to light. This I know, that we and ours have been most hostilely accused before the emperor on the part of those who condemned the book, and in order to ruin that conversation. 4) The most bitter accusations have been made against us by the emperor. Among other principal pieces of the most bitter accusations, this has been the most bitter, that "protesting estates" (you know, that's what they call us) are pulling the subjects of the Catholics, that is, the bad wolves (*catholicorum, id est cacolicorum),* 5) out of obedience (as the rebels), and sending them preachers who undertake to defend them against their rightful and proper authorities: Whether you, the people of Halle, and our prince, are not in this accusation, I leave to you to judge. Summa, they are very angry, spout frightful accusations against us, and seem to breathe out more fire than in hell.

4) This happened either on July 4, when Eck sent his testimony against the Regensburg Interim to the assembly of princes (see St. Louis Edition, Vol. X VII, 756, No. 1397), or shortly before, as we see from Melanchthon's short history of the Regensburg Convention (*Corp. Reg.*, Vol. IV,. 570 ff.), where he says (*l. c. Col.* 575), "But though so many other points of controversy were not settled, yet the emperor ordered that in the assembly of princes the opinions about the book should be expressed. Here the Duke of Bavaria, William, brought forth from a writing a long accusation of those who had accepted the Augsburg Confession. Then he also completely rejected this book presented by the Emperor. He judged that no improvement or moderation of any opinion, no mitigation of the papal laws was to be permitted; nothing was to be conceded to the opponents that deviated from the customary opinions or from the ceremonies of the other nations. This was the summa of the speech of the lord William, with which most of the bishops agreed. To fortify this, Eck sent a short letter to the assembly of princes, in which he disapproved of the book, and testified that it had never pleased him, because it contained errors which were not to be suffered, and did not follow in speech the manner and custom of the theologians" 2c.

5) We have assumed that also here, as in the letter to Wenc. Link of August 17: *cacolycorum* is to be read.

is itself. But this is the end of the kingdom appointed for holy concord. But thanks be to God, who, by this agitation of the angry Satan, makes us sure that he shall be cast out, as the Gospels testify, that he was angry when he felt the power of the stronger, who came upon him and cast him out. Be strong therefore in the Lord, and if He be weak in the cross, be thou weak with Him in the same cross, because we shall be strong with Him, after weakness is overcome at last, and power reigneth. Fare well in the Lord and greet from me all of us, especially your hostess, the venerable white hairs of Doctor Milden. 1) Given July 16, 1541. Martin Luther.

No. 2816.

Wolfach (in Baden). 20 July 1541.

To Wolfgang Fabricius Capito.

(Not from Luther.)

This letter, which De Wette already doubted, is not from Luther, but as Burkhardt, p. 391, reports, from a former pastor of Strasbourg. It is found in the *Biblioth. Brem., Class. IV, p.* 918 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 384. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1310.

N o. 2817.

(Regensburg.) (July 23, 1541.)

Melanchthon's short history of the convent at Regensburg.

We list this document here, although we do not consider it to be a letter from Melanchthon to Luther, because it is described as such in *Corp. Ref.* Vol. IV, 570, and in Burkhardt, p. 392 (in a registry). But Melanchthon himself, in a letter to Justus Jonas, July 23 (darnach our determination of the time), calls it "a little history (Ki8torioluln), which contains the short epitome of the actions." In *Manlius, farrago, p.* 3, it has the superscription: *Historia conventius Ratisbonensis, Anno 1541st, mense Martio*. In *Peucer, Mel. select. epist. p.* 55, it has the superscription: *Dr. Marrtino Luthero*, but he too has added: *De conventu Ratisbonensi, Anno 1541*, ru6ii86 Murtio. That this document is not a letter to Luther, we have another strong testimony: Already on May 24, 1541, Melanchthon sent the first half of it to Duke Albrecht of Prussia, headed: *Historia Conventus Ratisponensis*; printed in *Corp. Ref.* vol. IV, 330.

1) Cf. no. 2791.

(Wittenberg.) **No. 2818.** end of July 1541.

To the Churfürsten Johann Friedrich.

Luther reports that now a lection is vacant, with which M. Sachse can be supplied.

The original is in the Weimar Archives. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 95, no. 177; in Walch, vol. XXI, 446; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 385 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 325 f.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshal and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg. R. Reichs Erzmarschall und Churfürsten, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! At my humble request, E. C. F. G. recently wrote and ordered that as soon as a lection would be vacant, it should be assigned to M. Johann Sachsen from Holstein, because the lection had already been awarded to M. Fach. Hereupon I humbly inform E. C. F. G. that one lesson is certainly vacant, and, as I have been reported, has long been vacant; also that a Master provides both lessons, namely the Greek and Latin. This shall be done according to this good opinion (as I hear), that the same master does not take pay for both lessons, but collects pay for one lesson for the benefit of the Fisco of the university.

But be that as it may, there is certainly one lecture left, be it the Latin or the Greek. But what the causes are that it cannot yet be given to this Magister Holstein, I do not know. For this reason, my humble request is that E. C. F. G. would earnestly order the university to remain with the foundation, and E. C. F. G. would order the university to remain with the foundation, and E. C. F. G. would order the university to remain with the foundation. C. F. G.'s next order is to let the single lection follow M. Holstein; for he and I also rely on E. C. F. G.'s next gracious letter. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen.

No. **2819**. (31 July) 1541.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

Reply from the preceding letter, concerning the supply of M. Sachse.

From *Reg. O, lit. A A fol.* 125 (without date) in the Weimar Archives printed by Burkhardt, p. 392.

[Our greetings beforehand. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have received and graciously read your letter from Magister Sachsen, and are writing to our university, as you will perceive from the enclosed copy 1), and we want to make sure that they will obediently comply with our order (beuelichs). We have not wished to conceal this from you in your gracious opinion, and are inclined to you with grace and good. Date.

No. 2819a.

Early August 1541.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther and Bugenhagen.

Inspired by the heavy defeats which King Ferdinand has suffered at the hands of the Turks, the Elector orders church prayers against the Turks. The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. C, p.* 242. 49. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 392.

Worthy, dear devotee! We graciously inform you, and with a grieved mind, that it has been credibly written to us, and also otherwise reported, that the Turkish Emperor Vasa, with her men-of-war, whom he has previously sent and ordered for the purpose of disposing of the city of Ofen, has recently captured and slain to the head King Ferdinand's men-of-war, which he had manufactured in Hungary and in the aforementioned city of Ofen, recently completely killed and slain up to the head, in addition all guns (outside of a small number, which were on the water) are to have conquered and received, which frightening killing causes a great flight, both of old and young, on Austria, as can easily be observed. Above this, the Turkish emperor himself, with two sons and all his forces, is said to be on his feet, and also to be all ready to follow later on Ofen, which city, likewise Pesth, has now been taken by the aforementioned Turkish army, so that he should have no hindrance in his advance, which is truly quite frightening, and also pitiful to hear, that the aforementioned King Ferdinandi's army has once again fallen into the hands of the Turks. Since it is the reason for the

1) The copy, dated July 31 (after which the above time determination), orders that M. Sachse is to be employed for the Greek lesson. Because Franz Burckhart was at the same time a teacher of Greek along with Melanchthon, but the latter later also administered this position and now had to give it up, M. Sachse was taken care of. (Burkhardt.)

It is also highly to be feared that the Turkish Emperor will not be satisfied with Ofen and Pesth at first, after he shall have been seized with an excellent power, but will draw further than on Austria and Vienna, as he will be able to do wickedly, and from this not only to the bordering countries, but also to us and to the whole of Christendom, before the German nation, great, lasting and irretrievable damage, harm and trouble, if not complete ruin, which the Almighty God will mercifully prevent, is to be perpetrated, and such the Turk's actions and intentions are a punishment and punishment from God for our sin and wickedness: We therefore request, with special gracious diligence, that you order the preachers of our Electorate of Saxony, within your superintendence, to exhort the people with the utmost earnestness in all their sermons to pray for the sake of the Turks' imminent distress and tyrannical action, and to ask His omnipotence with all their hearts for a gracious averting, also to give and grant gracious victory and conquest to all those who fight and battle against the Turk, and that especially the people and each one of them be urged and reminded to renounce his sinful life and nature, and to look more to God and His Word. And if this happens, and if it is done with earnestness and diligence, we have no doubt that the Almighty God will graciously hear the supplications, cries, and cries, as He has promised to do, and will graciously turn away His wrath, even the Turk's plan, as His punishment and rod, as well as all other burdens. So you will not neglect to make the same exhortation to yourselves and to order the captains in the same way, and it will be a gracious favor to us. Date.

No. 2820.

(Wittenberg.) 3. August 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

About the care of M. Sachse, which does not yet want to progress, because the university wants to let M. Veit Winsheim, as the older master, have the Greek lection. Melanchthon does not want to give up the Greek lection in order to do enough for the 100 Fl. allotted to him by the Elector. Luther wished that the Elector would tell him clearly that he could take this allowance with a clear conscience, even though he would no longer have the Greek lection.

2) "liderlich" == easy.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, O, x. 1 25, lit. XXX. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 94; in Walch, vol. XXI, 444; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 386, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 326 f.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg. Roman Empire Archmarshall and Elector, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

G. u. Fried in Christo. Most noble, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! The unaccompanied lesson will not yet proceed, and the gentlemen of the university report to me that they would all rather let M. Veit Winsheim take the Greek lesson, not that M. Holstein is too lowly for it, but that M. Veit has taken the same lesson until now, and is also older and has served the school most in the university next to M. Philipp. Which is now true, and M. Holstein does not desire the Greek lesson, nor M. Veit, as the parents, to be deprived of it, would probably have let him suffice with M. Fach's lesson, as I wrote for him for the first time. 1) But this is a bad thing, in which E. C. F. G. will soon meet it. They tell me, however, that M. Philipps did not want to leave the Graeco lesson; for he is very meidam 2) and wants to serve the university in such a way that the Graeco lesson pay should go to the university, and wants to save the pay in such a way, because E. C. F. G. have given him a hundred florins. F. G. have allotted him a hundred fl.; 3) in the foundation of N. he is so holy and shameful that he does not want to take the same hundred fl. if he is not to be a Greek lecturer, so that E. C. F. G. and the university will not be burdened with the hundred fl. for his sake, will not be burdened.

So it is now up to E. C. F. G. to clarify and clearly state whether M. Philipps may take the added 100 fl. with a clear conscience, even if he no longer has the Greek lection, unhindered, whether he wants to read something else in Greek authors out of his own devotion, as he has done up to now. Methinks he had done enough until now, now probably twenty years and beyond the greater

1) in No. 2812.
2) "meidsam" - shy.
3) In the editions the words: "in the foundation N." are drawn to the preceding.

He has done so much work in the university or school that he would now like to take rest in part, so that, praise God, young masters could speak Greek, and his students could take care of the lessons. For E. C. F. G. himself knows well what a *famulus communis* he is in this school, that he is undoubtedly worthy of that which E. C. F. G. so graciously grants him, and Christianity knows how to thank him; the papists also now, praise God, fear him and his disciples more than anyone else among the scholars. E. C. F. G. will know how to graciously signify and order it, for E. C. F. G. must be the highest Rector, Pastor and Castle in these lands. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Julii 3. [should read: "Augusti 3."] 4) 1541.

E. C. F. G. undersigned Mart. Luther.

Lochau. **No. 2821.** 4 August 1541.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

Reply to the preceding letter. To the LI. Veit Winsheim is confirmed the Greek lection; to the Ll. Joh. Sachse is assigned Winsheim's earlier lection on rhetoric.

The original concept (with many corrections) is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O,* p. 125, *lit. A A A.* Printed by Burkhardt, p. 394.

[Our greetings to you. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have read your letter, again concerning the reassignment of M. Holstein with a lesson, and therefore order, on the report now made to us at the university, that Magister Winsheim should leave the Greek lesson, which he administered for Magister Philips, and that Magister Holstein should be assigned Winsheim's previous lesson *in rhetorica,* with further content, as you will hear from the enclosed copies. However, the fact that we did not grant Holstein such a lesson in the subject is due to the fact that [Marcellus] 5) the university soon prescribed him to us as an industrious and also skilful master, and finally nominated him for this purpose, in addition to the fact that he had already read for a time on our foundation in the Pedagogio. In our gracious opinion we did not want to let this go unreported to you, and we are graciously inclined to you. Date Lochau, Thursday after *Vincula Petri* [Aug. 4] Anno 1541.

4) "Julii" is an oversight on Luther's part.
5) That by the "thu" (in) Marcellus is to be understood, results from No. 2813.

No. 2822.

(Wittenberg.) 4 August 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 686, no. 1379.

No. 2823.

Altenburg. 7 August 1541.

The sequestrators in Saxony, Meissen and Voigtland to Luther and Dr. Bridge.

They send support for three religious who have left and for Johann Mantel.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Oo, p.* 792. 832. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 394 f.

Our kind and willing service before. Venerable, respectable, and highly honored gentlemen and special good friends! After the Electors and Princes of Saxony, brothers, our most gracious and gracious lords, wrote to us and ordered us to hand over to you two lords fifty florins, which you are to send to three religious who have left their order and turned to Wittenberg to study there: accordingly, in obedience to our most gracious and gracious lords' order, we are sending you, Doctor Martina, 30 fl. to the two from Bamberg, and to you, Doctor Bridges, 20 fl. to the one coming from Worms to Wittenberg, with a friendly request that you send us, in case of an accidental message, confessions of the money shown to Wolfen Falckener of Altenburg, our assigned clerk, who has his residence there, so that we may present the same in our account to the appointed hearers. We would like to report this to you in good opinion, and are quite willing and eager to serve you in a friendly manner. Date Altenburg, Sunday on the day of Donati [Aug. 7] Anno 1541. Ordered Sequestratores of Saxony, Meissen and Voidland.

When the Elector of Saxony, U. G. H., wrote to us on behalf of a poor priest, Mr. Johann Mantel, and ordered him to give him 10 florins at one time as a tax for his daughter's house; but because he did not seek such a tax, it has not been given to him until now. Therefore we are sending you, Doctor Martins, the same ten florins, with the request to hold them in the hands of the above-mentioned Johann Mantel and, in addition to the above-mentioned confessions, to also receive from him
to send a confession to our clerk at this messenger. Date uts.

Although we wrote to you and asked you to send the confessions about the money to our scribe in Altenburg, because we have sent our own messenger, we ask you to send him the same confessions against delivery of the money to be handed over to us. *Actum uts*.

No. 2824.

(Wittenberg.) August 14, 1541.

To Georg Weiß, valet.

Luther says that he has little hope of a favorable success in a campaign against the Turks.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VII, p. 721; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 570; in Walch, vol. XXI, 447; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 389, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 329.

Grace and peace. My dear, good friend! 1) Although I have little hope of advancing against the Turk, and would rather see him stay behind. For when they set themselves to attack such a mighty enemy, it seems to me as if they were tempting God, as the Gospel says. That 100,000 are sent against 20,000, even 50,000, and yet we, laden with sins, unrepentant, especially the king and the papists, have our hands full of innocent blood, cannot be the people through whom God could or would do miracles or great things. Therefore, I say once again, I do not like to see good people being sacrificed to the flesh bank in vain, as has happened several times so far. And all in all, I have neither heart nor hope, so that I cannot ask for victory against the Turk, but only so much that God would save those who are to be saved and help them. I would wish that Ferdinand had better luck and a more merciful God. But since you want to continue to help poor people, I hereby grant your request with my fortune, as you find here. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Sunday after Laurentii [14 Aug], Anno 1541.

1) After this beginning, it seems that this letter is only partially communicated to us in the editions. Köstlin, Martin Luther (3.), Vol. II, p. 682 ad p. 574, remarks: "This letter is complete in Dr. Weber Archiv für sächsische Geschichte 1876."

No. 2825.

(Wittenberg.) 16 August 1541.

Open letter of recommendation for a Clergy.

In Krafft, Theol. Arb. des rhein.-wiss. The above note is found in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 376.

No. 2826.

(Wittenberg.) August 17, 1541.

To Veit Dietrich in Nuremberg.

Luther recommends Martin Weygher to him.

Printed in Strobel's Miscell. vol. I, p. 67; in *Strobel- Ranner*, p. 299 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 389.

Grace and peace in Christ! The one who hands you this letter is called Martin Weygher, 1) my dear Veit; he is of chivalrous standing, a young man with a sincere heart and of extraordinary godliness toward Christ, to which I can already testify by the fact that I myself have often seen that he has suffered the most spiritual temptations from Satan. At the same time, he has been my table companion, as it were in your place, not only for one year, so that he is completely known to me. Therefore I desire much that he be commanded to thee, and to others of ours. He needs no assistance, nor any other thing, but that it may be granted him to enjoy your service and loyalty, if perhaps such a case should arise. He has been sent by his own to Ingolstadt, to lay himself there, as I believe, upon the science of law, after the rumour has spread that the study of law is flourishing chiefly at Ingolstadt. If you now think that you owe something to love, also to our society and to your representation (for he was, as they say, a vicarius *commensalis in* your place), you will behave in such a way that he will know that this recommendation of mine has been of use to him. This much, I hope, thou wilt allow me to venture upon thy kindness, that I may send you a stranger with so great confidence.

1) Martin Weigher from Pomerania died in 1556 as bishop at Camin. (Seidemann-De Wette, vol. VI, p. 490, note 8.)

2) whomsoever I please, thou knowest that thou canst dare and desire the same, as many as thou shalt commend unto us. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me, who am a corpse. August 17, 1541.

No. 2827.

(Wittenberg.) ' 17 August 1541.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther thanks for poems that have been sent to him. Of his desire to depart. About the Diet of Regensburg. Recommendation of Martin Weigher.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 336. Printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 201 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 390.

To the excellent man, Mr. Wenceslaus Link, Doctor of Theology, servant of God in the church at Nuremberg, his highly venerable superior.

Grace and peace! There was nothing I could write, my dear Wenceslaus, except to say thanks for the poems you sent. We are both frail, and weary of seeing and suffering the malice and rage of all the devils let loose from hell. Therefore we must ask the Lord for a good hour, that we may wander with grace and blessing to him whom we preach and profess. I like such an outcome of the Diet that the opponents have lost some of their party. And though they boast that they are Catholics (*catholicos*), that is, bad wolves (*cacolycos),* 3) yet they have obtained that they deserve to be called new Protestants. By the way, in order not to weigh you down, I have recommended to M. Veit, as one who has more leisure, that very good young man, Martin Weigher, a Pomeranian, of knightly lineage. If now also in my name thou wilt recommend him with the word of the

2) Here the text is corrupted; it reads: *nam et tuo nomine, quemcunque possum, nosti ... audere, et posse petere, quotquot nobis commendaveris (*?). To give some sense, we have made this addition, and inserted the words *idem te posse in* the gap.

3) Cf. no. 2815.

If you receive peace, it will be very pleasing to him. Greet your vine and all the grapes with love. My vine greets thee, Kate. Farewell in the Lord. August 17, 1541, Martin Luther.

No. 2828.

(Wittenberg.) August 19, 1541.

To Hieronymus Baumgärtner in Nuremberg.

Luther recommends the Martin Weigher to him.

The original is in the Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 396 (after Dr. Wenzel's copy).

Grace and peace! I have, my dear Jerome, recommended this young man, Martin Weygher, to Dr. Wenceslaus and M. Vitus, but if they perhaps could not or did not want to deal with these worldly matters, then I ask you to assist him with counsel and help in depositing money in a bank (*bancum*), or with what words or in what way this matter is sawn or done. 1) For thou knowest better. For we, who are concerned with the Psalter 2) and the Bible, understand nothing of the mysteries of mammon, which are so great. Therefore, if your help and faithful service should be needed in this matter, hold yourself in such a way that we recognize that you have not forgotten the old and contemptible, rather (for Christ's sake) hateful Wittenberg, 3) yes, even your former flame of heart 4) asks diligently for this Martin. He is a young man of rare peculiarity, if one considers his godliness and sincerity, and is worthy that godly people place themselves at his service. This testimony of mine is true; he is sufficiently known to me as my table companion, and without me [he is testified to as godly] by the people who, even today

On the same day Melanchthon wrote to Veit Dietrich (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. IV, 644, No. 2364): "He wishes to be shown money changers either at Nuremberg or at Augsburg, through whom money can be sent to him at certain times.

2) Instead of *psalteris* (which does not exist) should read *psalterio.*

3) Instead of: in *totum esse* we have adopted *oblitum esse.*

4) Luther's wife. Compare No. 1714 and No. 769.

5) You will have done to GOtte all that you will have done to him, and I, if I can, 6) will be glad to please you again with the deed. 7) But I believe that you believe that GOtte also likes what is granted to me as your sincere supplicant. In him you are quite well. August 19, 1541. Martin Luther.

No. 2829.

(Wittenberg.) August 24, 1541.

To M. Sebastian Steude, pastor in Joachimsthal.

Of the discharge of M. Calixtus from his preaching post, and the reoccupation of the same.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 238. from an alleged original, which Luther is said to have written on the butt-lid of *Oecolampadii Comm. in* 468. in the Innocent News 1732, p. 694; from Börner's collection at Leipzig in Schütze, vol. I, p. 158; in *Strobel-Ranner, p.* 301 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 391. German in the Altenburg edition, vol. VII, p. 721; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 570; in Walch, vol. XXI, 448 and (duplicate: To an Unnamed) Col. 1312, and in Schütze, vol. II, p. 383. - We have inserted the address from Aurifaber given in De Wette-Seidemann, vol.VI, p. 623, note I, and used the variants given there.

To Magister Sebastian Steude, pastor in Joachimsthal.

Grace and peace in the Lord! You will hear from M. Calixtus all that I have spoken to him. It seems to me that it would be advisable for your Joachimsthalers (*Vallenses*) to glow with such great hatred for him that he should voluntarily leave. He will be used elsewhere, but in such a way that he will not be dismissed without your will and a public testimony from your church, stating certain causes by which he has incurred hatred, and the cause of the dismissal. Then it is your office to see to it that the congregation or the mob do not force someone on you against your will without your consent. For this is

5) Compare hiezu No. 2826. *sine me* is drawn senselessly to the following sentence in Burkhardt.

6) Instead of ego *si, possem* we have adopted *ego, si possum.*

7) Instead of *gratificar*, which does not exist, read *gratificor* or *gratificabor.*

no less tyrannical against the pastor than if a pastor wanted to impose someone on the congregation against its will. Therefore the claims of both parties should be presented to the superiors. For if, according to the arbitrary will of the people or of the pastor, they wanted to impose on each other the one whom each of the two parties wanted, there would no longer be a congregation or an administration. Therefore they may agree with you, or become bishops themselves, by themselves. If then they should appoint another for themselves and against thee, let them know that they act contrary to the rule of the Gospel, and all will go out unhappily by the curse of God. Fare well. For ill and among much business have I written this, and let Calixtus be commanded thee, whom I have always thought a good man. The more I biu unwillingly on thy Joachimsthalers, who are already sick of the word, and ungrateful for deliverance from the pope's exceeding hard tyranny. But they seem to want to earn a still harsher tyranny from someone, which they will find. This you can prophesy to them in my name, if they want to be and continue to be such people. 1541 St. Bartholomew's Day [Aug. 24].

Martin Luther.

No. 2830.

Wittenberg. August 26, 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich and the Duke Johann Ernst, together with Bugenhagen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2128. - There the wrong year is "1542." To the "Preface of Walch," Col. 182, § LXVIII, found there, the following additions are to be made: The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N, pag. 409 sqq.* 8. Handwritten in the library at Gotha. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 101, No. 188; in Walch, vol. X, 2614 (with the wrong year 1542); in De Wette, vol. V, p. 392; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 330, and (duplicate with wrong year) vol. 64, p. 316.

No. 2831.

(Wittenberg.) August 30, 1541.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

News, among other things of the evil performance of a maid in Luther's house.

The original is in the library at Helmstädt. From Schmid's collection at Schütze, vol. I, p. 160 and at De Wette, vol. V, p. 395.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Justus Jonas, Doctor of Theology, Christ's envoy to Halle, his superior who is to be highly revered in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I write only, my dear Jonas, so that I may not dismiss these envoys, the worthy women whom you have sent here, without letters, especially since I have not answered so many of your letters. And first of all I say thanks for your news, which I have not heard all before. I have sent your letter to the court (*in castra* == to the court camp), primarily so that they may read what you report of the Mainz devil. I hear indeed that negotiations are taking place between our [prince] and that one. Prayer help us as before and as before. We hear little news. But it is written from Hungary that ours have again plundered a city that was full of Turks and hostile Hungarians, and that the tyrant himself approached with an incredibly large army.

Of my private affair [I write^ that you may laugh and be merry, that is, give thanks to GOtte and pray for me. My raisin, that demure maiden, has been dismissed by me, having been found to be quite a shameful (*impuratissima*) 1) whore. It cannot be said nor written how many shameful deeds she committed while we slept and had good confidence. GOd has been the keeper of my house. It is nothing with Thomas Maulfeldt 2) in his little logic. She as the master has taught me the little logic, namely: a whore will be the virgin, and the virgin has been a whore. I give thanks to GOD that I did not know everything, otherwise I would have committed something in too great a rage over her. She was also not Rosina, but it was a fictitious name. 3) She is gone, she is gone, gone.

1) From the original, this reading is cited by Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 521, note 3, instead of *impurissima* in De Wette.

2) So Burkhardt. De Wette offers *Mantfeldt*.

3) She came to Luther as a poor nun and called herself Rosina von Truchses, but later it turned out that she was the daughter of a citizen of Minderstadt in Franconia, who had been beheaded in the peasants' revolt.

Praise be to God, the great evil from my house; may He keep me henceforth and make me wise at least late, who am afflicted by so many exceedingly wicked examples. Fare thee well in the Lord with all thine own. Tuesday after Bartholomew [Aug. 30] 1541. Martin Luther.

No. 2832.

(Wittenberg.) 3. September 1541.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

A joking letter.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 239. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 161 and in De Wette, vol.V, p.395 f.

Grace and peace! Once for all I give thanks for your many gifts, the wine, the apples, and the other things you have sent, and I do this so that I may henceforth be free with you, so that I, a sluggish man, will not have so often either to write or to give thanks as you, a lively and strong man, write or send something. We poor play here, while you rich are anxious to do so (if you remember this verse of Alexander's). By the way, your wife, so often excused, I hold to be excused indeed, that she left here without my letter to you, though we, I with the consent of my Käthe, hold that this was the fault, that, irritated by hunger, not for bread or wine, but for the company of her husband (which arises from the desire for him), she forgot to ask for the letter, which you can easily indicate to her even in its place and time. "The other they well understand," and so do you. By the way, I have seen Mr. Justus 1) with pleasure, although he will neither dine at noon nor take breakfast with me, who am now a widower and without marriage, 2) namely, a very bad householder; yet I will do everything he only ever wants and you command, as much as I can at all. I will gladly have the son as my table companion, if it pleases him.

1) This will refer to the son of the same name of Dr. Jonas.
2) Käthe seems to have been in Zülsdorf.

Now to serious matters. There is a citizen here, whom you may know, in your fishing suburb, Scherf, who, since he was ill one: year ago and was asked by Frösche! was asked whether he realized that he had sinned against the ten commandments of God, he answered very modestly: he could not yet determine with certainty what he had transgressed against the other commandments, but he was certain that he had never sinned anything against the first commandment, because he was not aware that he had ever been with those who worshipped foreign gods. Now see if there are not at Wittenberg holy men who have lived neither in the flesh nor in the world, but always among the angels. The catechism, which is drilled into us every day, has taught us that much.

Among other things, my table companions have raised a question, which is to be brought to you: whether God, the most bountiful steward, annually gives more milk than wine? I mean, more milk. You answer. Secondly, it is asked whether a barrel as wide, long, and high as the distance between Wittenberg and Kemberg could hold the wine that the unintelligent, ignorant, and foolish God spills, wastes, and gives away in one year to the worst children of men, the exceedingly ungrateful crucifiers of His Son, as people like Henry [of Brunswick], like Albrecht [of Mainz], the popes, the Turks, while He gives water to His children? This I write therefore, that thou mayest know that I suffice for thy many letters with one short one. For I have not always leisure, nor am I disposed to write, since I am already a corpse; only that I like to jest and chat with you when an hour falls to me. Farewell, and pray also for me, as we do for you, and our whole church for yours. Given on: September 3, 1541. Martin Luther.

No. 2833.

(Wittenberg.) September 6, 1541.

To the Dukes Johann Friedrich and Johann Wilhelm of Saxony.

Luther testifies to these princes his joy at their progress in the sciences and reminds them of their high calling.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 340. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 163 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 397.

To the lords Johann Friedrich and Johann Wilhelm, dukes of Saxony.

Grace and peace. Gracious and Serene Princes! I have read with great pleasure and incredible joy the letters of E. I have read with great pleasure and incredible joy the letters of E. F. G., from which I have recognized what a happy and correct foundation E. F. G. has laid, both in the sciences and in religion, and I give thanks to God, the Father of mercy, through Christ, his Son, that he has begun such a good and glorious work in such high persons, and I ask and implore that, for the sake of his great mercy, he may carry out his work to the end. And it is right and necessary that we all pray this with all our hearts, since we know that E. F. G. is being raised to administer the greatest and most perilous affairs both in the commonwealth and in the church. It is Satan who will both at home and abroad cause E. F. G. both reenactments and innumerable intrigues, but chiefly at home by false and deceitful confidants and officials, as we read happened to David and to any very good prince. Hence also the poets have fabled that Atlas upholds the heavens, and that Christophorus bears the burden of the whole world, as he bears the child JEsus. This also the father E. F. G. is no doubt not seldom compelled to experience. Therefore, even if a good prince does not lack strength, intellect, wealth, good will, godliness and all virtues, fortunately also spiritual wisdom, nevertheless the constant and humble prayer of all is necessary, that God may rule all this against the power of Satan and (as Matthew (Cap. 12, 20.) from Isaiah says) "execute judgment in victory". May it always be well with E. F. G. in Him, and may they have me in grace, Amen. My son will write at another time, for he could not do it so suddenly. Of course I did not want to let the messenger go away empty. The sixth of September, Anno 1541. Martin Luther.

No. 2834.

(Wittenberg.) September 8, 1541.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther consoled him because of the contempt for the Word of God that was evident at Nuremberg and about which he had complained.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 341. From the Kraft collection in Husum in Schütze, vol. I, p. 164 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 398.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have received your sad letter, my dear Wenceslaus, and I am very sorry that the word is so despised at Nuremberg. But what is this to be wondered at, since the devil is the prince and god of the world, since God himself gives him this name? Therefore, if he did otherwise than you complain, he would not be the prince of the world. Only perhaps you believed that the church in Nuremberg was such that it was not a part of the world, or that the prince of the world was dead and crucified there. I strengthen my heart thus: the first challenge to the church (from the beginning of the world) always comes from the tyrants who shed our blood. When the tyrants have almost reached their end, the challenge by heretics follows. After the violence, and when the heretics are to some extent subdued, follows the most harmful challenge in peace, namely, licentiousness and impunity in life, without law, without the word, since we are full and weary of the word, which is already no longer necessary, since the enemies are already defeated. Thus the worst enemies of man are his household. These are the three temptations against the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

I have always thought that there was no danger to you from the pope and the tyrants, nor that we should be oppressed by a mint, Carlstadt, and "rebaptizers," but those of us who are with us will become suspicious to me as outstanding despisers, according to common prophecy: After the Antichrist is revealed, there will be people who say: There is no God. We see this coming true today, since they do not even want to suffer the Word of God, nor do they want to be a part of it.

1) Instead of *primum* we have assumed *primam*, referring to *tentationem*.

because it cannot be taught without the punishment of vice. I have often wondered why John the Baptist and Christ were not killed for the first tablet, but for the second, because the former punished bloodshed and the latter stinginess, while the apostles, and after them the martyrs, were killed for the first tablet. Perhaps we also shall not suffer because of the first tablet, which they will confess with us, but because of the second, by which they will not be punished. But be thou strong, and persevere against such words as "Pfaff" and the like. For these words are spoken by those who think that our words are the words of men, by which they confess that they do not honor or care for either the first or the second tablet. But it will be exceedingly shameful for Nuremberg, when the rumor and writings are spread, that they hold the gospel, which they have confessed, 1) to be the word of men, although we have all destroyed the word of men with so many hard struggles. But if they hold it to be the word of God, it is much more shameful that they deal with it, that they want to cast off the ban which is the word of God, and despise and hate the ministers of the word of God, and blaspheme God, whom they have confessed, so wickedly in his ministers "Pfaff." And this I would have you preachers consult with one another, and say it in the ear of Ebner and Baumgärtner. I do not believe that the speeches of those people will last or penetrate, but that it is a challenge against the Holy Spirit, or the third challenge. Otherwise it would be the end of Nuremberg, because it would grieve the Holy Spirit, and at last one would have to be anxious to leave this Babylon. [Jer. 51:9: "But we heal Babylon, and she will not be healed. So let her go." But I hope for the better, if you first treat her with patience and gentle words, and remind her of the dangers. If now any help be needed on my part, I am ready to write to the Senate or to some. Only may you not be consumed with worries,

1) namely at Augsburg.

and remember that there are twelve hours in a day. I do not yet believe that all the senate are such people. Here, too, we hear a great deal from the nobles, but they do not have the power to do whatever they want. It is true, however, that those who are in the government of the world have almost always been enemies of the church, as they will be, even if this commonwealth should be a hierarchy, which, though it has many wicked men, has but few good ones. Likewise it is in the household, because God has rejected the world, and retains scarcely the tenth leper; the rest the prince of the world devours. It behooves us to suffer and worship this inscrutable counsel of God, not to inquire or become indignant. If Nuremberg does not want you, there will be a place where the Lord will provide for you; as much as I can, you will find me ready. Fare well, and henceforth think that the gates of hell, which have been overcome by the word, must now also be overcome by prayer. Therefore, pray against these evils of ours, but that those who are conquered by prayer must finally also be overcome by the final transition (*phase*), that is, the transition out of this misery into life, so that the Trinity may exist in all and in all, as it is said: "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life," Amen. On the day of the Nativity of Mary [Sept. 8] 1541. Mart. Luther.

No. 2835.

Dessau. 13 September 1541.

George of Anhalt to Luther.

Cover letter for a shipment of wild game.

The concept is in the state archives of Zerbst. Printed by Kolde, p. 376.

To the venerable and highly learned, our special beloved, Mr. Martina Luther, Doctor of the Holy Scriptures at Wittenberg, George, by the Grace of God Prince of Anhalt 2c. and Provost of Magdeburg.

...our favorable and affectionate will beforehand. Venerable and highly esteemed, especially beloved! On account of our kind brothers and ours, we hereby send you, out of goodwill, some venison on the occasion of this present hunt of ours.

We ask you to accept our kind request from us for this time, and together with Philippo, Doctore Pommerano, and other good friends of yours, in the blessing of the almighty God, to use them in good health for our sake, and we also entrust ourselves and all of Christendom to your prayers. Given Dessau, Friday after *Nativitatis Mariae* [13 Sept] Anno 1541.

No. 2836.

(Wittenberg.) September 17, 1541.

To Prince George of Anhalt.

Response to previous letter. Thanks for the gift of game. News about King Ferdinand.

First printed in 1830, after the original, in Lindner's "Mittheilungen" II, p. 71; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 286 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 230. - Burkhardt, p. 499, notes that the original is now no longer in Dessau, but at the Landsberg castle near Meiningen.

To the illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Georgen, Provost of Magdeburg, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien, Lord of Bernburg, my gracious Lord.

S. and F. Serene, highborn prince, gracious lord! I thank E. F. G. most humbly for the gift of venison, and it is too much at once and too princely a gift, especially for me. So let us do as E. F. G. writes, if God grants it, I, M. Philipps and Pommer, and happily live on it, although now is not almost a happy time, after King Ferdinand, according to his usual luck, has once again delighted the Turks and greatly saddened the Christians; God wants to change and improve it. If he is also a secret comrade in the murder (as some murmur), then vengeance will come upon him very soon, so that he will no longer (I worry) be called in Hungern Nirgendheim, if he remains otherwise in Austria; or will be the fault of our sin. For Germany also is ripe in many evil things. We may now continue to say with the prophet, and also do thus: *Ego autem orabam*; otherwise it is all in vain. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. Saturday Lamperti [17 Sept] 1541.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther.

No. 2837.

(Wittenberg.) September 17, 1541.

To Duke Moritz of Saxony.

Request for the former Augustinian Lucas Pittig, who is now village sexton, and has received nothing back from the monastery of his contributed goods, for a one-time support au money.

The original is in the possession of the pastor C. Fuchs in Hanau. Printed in the Hanauschen Magazin 1783, Vol. VI, Stück 34, p. 317 f. (very inaccurate) and in Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 60 f.

To the illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Moritz, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my gracious Lord.

G. u. F. in Christo. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! There is a poor man, Lucas Pittig, now a meager village priest, about at Alten- 1) Dresden (dresen) in the Augustinian monastery, in his foolish youth he became a monk, and his paternal good will was drawn after him into the monastery, almost at the time when the Gospel began. But when Duke George was very violent, as E. F. G. well know, he had to steal out secretly; but the field 2c. remained with the monastery. He now asks humbly, because he has not yet consulted with anyone else and is in need, that E. F. G. show him mercy and see that he has been deceived and persuaded, and let a considerable tax from the monastery's property be paid to him to help his poor house. Since the F. F. G. understand that such a request would be reasonable, even without the need for such an alms in his poverty, the F. F. G. want to let him enjoy this intercession of mine. It is to be done for a temporal party, 2) for a perpetual begging or interest, that I am eight, E. F. G. is to do it no trouble. Otherwise I would know to spare E. F. G. with it. Therefore I pray all the more gladly for him, for I know that F. F. G. has almost enough to do with lukewarm, great, wide, deep, high, eternal and daily heavy things. Hiemit GOtt befehlt. Amen. Saturday *Lamperti* [17 Sept.] 1541.

E. F. G. willing Martinus Luther.

1) Luther wrote "old" in the margin. - Altdresden is the present new town of Dresden. (Seidemann.)

2) According to Luther's own explanation: "a beggar's piece of perishable goods". (Seidemann l. c. p. 63.)

No. 2838.

(Wittenberg.) 18 September 1541.

To his housewife.

Luther asks them to come home soon (from Zülsdorf [?]).

From the original in De Wette, vol. V, p. 400 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 332.

To my dear housewife Käthe Ludern von Bora for her hand.

G. and F. Dear Käthe! I hereby send Urban to you, so that you will not be frightened if a cry from the Turk comes to you. And I am surprised that you do not write anything down or exploit anything, since you know very well that we are not without care for you here, because Meinz, Heinz and many of the nobility in Meissen are very hostile to us. Sell and order what thou canst, and come home. For when you see me, it will rain mud, and God will punish our sin with His wrathful rod. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Sunday after Lamperti [18 Sept] 1541.

M. LutheR.

No. 2839.

(Wittenberg.) September 25, 1541.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

About the "Kingfisher"; about Ferdinand's defeat in the battle against the Turks 2c.

From a copy in *Cod. Dessav*. A in the "Studien und Kritiken" 1835, Vol. II, p. 355 and in De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 287. According to a note on the above copy Jonas received this letter on October 2.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Justus Jonas, Doctor of Theology, Provost at Wittenberg, Messenger of Christ at Halle, his exceedingly dear [friend.

Grace and peace. What you write to me about the *Halcyon* or *Halcedo,* my dear Jonas, I confess that I had never seen this bird before. Our people call it "kingfisher"; this name is perfectly familiar to me, and I know the description of the thing, namely, that it is a beautiful bird and has brightly coloured feathers, but I did not know the thing itself. I believe that you have now learned all you need to know about Ferdinand's defeat. I will

plagued by strange thoughts of treachery and secret agreement of the great [with the Turks]. M. Philippus constantly maintains that it is only the great foolishness of Ferdinand, but I cannot overcome my thoughts by looking at this man, that I should not be suspicious. But would to God it were folly. I would then be more cheerful and could bear this misfortune more easily. There is no news here. We hear that the Turk has not gone up to Vienna, and that there is no fear that it should be besieged, but in Hungary the tyrant is raging. The Turk also killed the monk who was the author of the disaster at Buda, and gave the traitor his deserved reward. But it is said that he does not keep faith and, as a faithless man, does not keep his promises. May God bring judgment and justice on earth through Christ, amen. It is not necessary for you to send apples or gifts so often. Our fruits have also ripened, although God does not perform such great miracles on this sand. Be well with your own. Sunday after Matthew [25 Sept.] 1541.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2840.

(Wittenberg.) September 25, 1541.

To Anton Lauterbach in Pirna.

Of an economic matter and of the attitude of the ducal Saxon chancellor Pistorius.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 344. Printed from the Kraft Collection in Husum in Schütze, vol. I, p. 167 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 401. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1476.

To the worthy man, Mr. Anton Lauterbach, the exceedingly faithful bishop of the church at Pirna and inspector of the churches in Meissen, fine very dear brother.

"Grace and peace." So often, my dear Anton, I have commanded and willed that the measure for the little bathroom 1) to be built be shown to you. But while we

1) *pro balneolo*. Since there were quarries in Pirna which, through Lauterbach's mediation, had already supplied stone doorposts for Luther's house (compare No. 2604), it must be a matter here of stone slabs and posts for the bathroom.

Collect customers, and even do not become aware, if someone goes there to you 1) and no one demands [letters], it is always omitted. Now, enclosed here, this plan (*forma)* is sent. You will see to it according to your kindness, as you promised of your own free will; for we do not like to weigh you down.

I have heard with joy that your tyrants are gradually being subdued; we also hope for improvement from day to day. With regard to Pistorius, the old chancellor, there is good hope. For at Regensburg he is said to have acted truly and sincerely, and to have come completely to his senses; yea, he is said to have said and confessed that he was caught by this one piece, that he did not understand that Christ was the eternal priest, but Peter followed him, and Peter the pope, and the pope another pope. When he has begun to understand this, he will understand more in a little while, amen. Concerning the Turk, I see that thou hast heard all those sad things, and thou sayest rightly that we now suffer with us the intolerable Turks, the Heinzen, the Meinzen, the Wucherers) the giants (*Niphleos* == xxxxxx [Gen. 6, 4.]). We have no other news. You also pray for us, as we do for you. Give my regards to your Agnes and Elschen. My mistress greets you. Fare well in the Lord. Sunday after Matthew [25 Sept.] 1541.

M. Luther.

The measure of the bath "shall be five and a half cubits high, eight cubits wide, and eight cubits long, straight into the foursquare."

No. 2841.

(Wittenberg.) 3. October 1541.

To Hieronymus Baumgärtner in Nuremberg.

Luther asks him to take care of a boy who has been charged to him.

From the Thomasic collection at Leipzig in Schütze, vol. I, p. 401; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 402, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 333.

1) Instead of *nos* we have assumed *vos* (*uos).*

2) Walch translates *usurarios* by "indulgence merchants."

Clariss. Viro, Dr. Hieronymo Baumgartnero, Patritio et Senatori Norimbergensi, suo in Domino amico charissimo [To the highly famous man, Mr. Hieronymus Baumgärtner, Patrician and Raths Herr at Nuremberg, his in the Lord exceedingly theur friend].

Grace and peace and my poor *Pater noster*. Honourable, prudent, dear sir and good friend! In good faith, which I have in you, I send here a boy, who is mischievously lied to me from England, brought to me by Dr. Osiander's testimony, for Osiander is also deceived. But now you know what a beggar town our city is, in addition the boy may well have a maid who waits on him with washing and lousing 2c., but my interest [this] is not enough: my very friendly request is that you be of good fugue 3) with the gentlemen of Nuremberg, that he may be provided for in the Fündli house. Otherwise we, and I in particular, are burdened here almost enough, and overburdened beyond our means. God protect me that I will not be deceived like this again. *Fac, oro, quantum potes, ut me leves hoc onere, quo perfidiose sum oneratus. Salutat te reverenter ignis olim tuus, 4) jam te ob praeclaras virtutes tuas novo amore diligens et nomini tuo ex animo bene volens. Bene vale in Domino* [Thue, I beseech thee, as much as thou art able, to relieve me of this burden with which I am deceitfully laden. Your former flame greets you reverently, who now loves you with a new love because of your glorious virtues and heartily desires your name. Fare well in the Lord]. *Tertia* Octobr., MDXLI. *T. Martinus LutheR.*

No. 2842.

(Wittenberg.) 4. October 1541.

To Gustav I, King of Sweden.

Johann Wedde's recommendation and news.

From Fant's collections in: Dr. Dr. Ob86rvution68 86Isetas, Hi8tc>rium Luseanam ittu8trunt68 6to. I)x>8a1.

3) Dietz, Wörterbuch zu Luthers Schriften, says: "Fugge probably stands for fugue in this passage: wollet die Gewogenheit haben zu bewirken." But it seems to us to be as much as "Verfüger" (that is, representative, mediator, administrator; see No. 2854).

4) Luther's wife. See No. 769

1786. 4to . pag. 24 at Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 65. - The impression of the letter at Fant is not quite faithful, Swedish shines through (Seidemann).

To the most great, most noble prince and lord, in (him) Sweden, Gölten 2c. King, my most gracious lord.

G. u. F. and my poor *Pr. nr.* most powerful, most gracious Lord King! Although I did not have anything special to write to E. K. Mt. (M:tt), but because the present Johannes Wedde desires my writing to E. K. Mt., I do not know how to refuse him, and ask E. K. Mt. to graciously let said Johannes be ordered to do so. New newspapers are more and larger with us than one can write. The Turk (Durch) lies at Moravia (? Mehrern) in Hungary with great power, and at Ofen [are] slain at sixteen thousand [of] our people. All the delicious cannon (Geschiits) of Maximiliani in Austria [is] lost with many hundred tons of powder, and great reckoning. It is thought to be the treachery of the priests and high chiefs. God have mercy and help us and forgive us our sin. E. K. Mt. would do a good work and let prayers be made in the churches for the poor, abandoned German (dutske) country. We have no head, the Emperor has moved from Regensburg into Jtalia, Ferdinandus, who has caused the game, [has] crawled (verkrocken) himself. So the princes are murderers in the midst of us. Sit therefore to the (to the) goal to the mighty enemy on mere God's mercy. God grant that Christ come with the last day, and make an end of such great wickedness and devilish beings, Amen. I command E. K. Mt. the churches and schools. God Almighty, preserve and guide E. K. Mt. to His praise and glory, to the peace and welfare of the land, Amen. Tuesday after Michaelmas [Oct. 4] 1541.

E. K. Mt. willing

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2843.

(Wittenberg.) 4.October 1541.

To Duke Albrecht of Prussia.

Luther promises to take care of the two students sent from Prussia and asks for better care of Dr. Basilius Axt.

From Faber's collection of letters, p.38, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 402 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 334.

G. u. F. and my poor *pater noster*. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! E. F. G. have sent two from Prussia here to the *studio*, ordered me to see that they may be fruitful here and increase, which I, and where they otherwise desire my advice, will gladly do as much as I can.

Also, my lord, know E. F. G., how Doctor Basil, Medicus, has now served many years in Prussia, and is gifted with children, and is now, through the death of his wife, in misery and wretchedness, that he is in need of help and comfort, but still has nothing of his own, but has allowed himself to be satisfied with his wages like a day laborer: it is therefore my humble request that E. F. G. want to provide him with something of his own for his poor children, if he is to remain in Prussia, although I would like him to be out again for the sake of the children, as I have advised him, mostly for the sake of the children, who now also need a roof and a hearth, such as E. F. G. can graciously provide for himself. Thus (I hope) E. F. G. have found and experienced an Irish, diligent servant in him. The F. F. G. will graciously show themselves towards him. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Tuesday after Michaelmas [Oct. 4] 1541.

The New Newspaper is here much and evil of the Turk, the E. F. G. more [than] I know without doubt. It seems as if there is vain treason in the highest heads, and in league with the Turk 2c. God wants the last day to come, as I hope.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus LutheR.'

No. 2844.

(Wittenberg.) 4. October 1541.

To Sebastian Heller, Margravial Chancellor of Brandenburg.

Of the Turkish War: that one should contribute to the defense, but be without worries. He recommends Gregor Burmann.

From the Imhof Collection at Nuremberg in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 168; in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 403 f. and, according to a copy in *Cod. Dr. L,. 54*[3] in the Library *de l'Eglise St. Genevieve* at Paris, in *Corp. Ref.* , Vol. I V, 662 f.-Bretschneider attributes this Brie to Melanchthon, to whom Seidemann, in De Wette, Vol. VI. S. 509, note 4, agrees. The signature: *T. Mart. Lutherus* has been added by Schütze, whom De Wette has followed. We have translated according to the better text of the *Corp. Ref.*

To Mr. Sebastian Heller, Doctor of Both Rights and Chancellor of Margrave George. Would that God had heeded your opinion, that of the noble Prince, the Margrave and yours, that troops should be sent to Hungary as soon as possible. For I have often rebuked with displeasure the procrastination of others. For God would have us be firm in true religion and compliant in political duties. Those would be heroic deeds of David (*Davidica*,). But we are not listened to. Although the armaments of the Turks are frightening, we should not lose heart. We want to do our duty in arms and in the government of the commonwealth, because God will surely preserve the remnants of the true church. Thus says the prophet: Be strong and do your duty, and God will help the good cause. Then I also remember that the fifth monarchy will not endure. Therefore, although the barbarity of the Turk plucks at us, I do not believe that he will oppress these nations by his rule. This I have written after our intimate acquaintance, and beseech you to receive it in the best. I recommend Gregor Burmann to you. He will tell you that by God's grace the mother-in-law, the honored matron, is well. Be well. On October 4, 1541.

No. 2845.

(Wittenberg.) Before the 23rd of October 1541.

To Augustin Himmel, pastor in Colditz.

An economic matter.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 180 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 404.

Grace and peace! I wonder, my dear Augustin, why you have not sent the interest of my Wolfgang in so long a time, not that I doubt your faithfulness, but because I do not want the treasurers to enjoy the money, which otherwise the princes are in the habit of singing out in abundance, and that which is the princes'. For we might suffer all things, but in such a manner that we might not

would know. Therefore, if you cannot send it, see to it that the one in Grimma receives it from you, so that what happens to me here does not happen, namely, that he does harm through the passage of time, and I am punished twice as much as I am punished once. Fare well in the Lord with thy vine and thy grapes. 1541.

Martin Luther.

No. 2846.

22 October 1541.

Ewald von Brandenstein, Pastor Johann Grau and Joh. Kunholt, Schösser zu Weimar, au Luther.

(Regest.)

In a marriage case, between Kunz Helbig and Elisabeth Hordorfs to Udestet on the one hand, and Facius Steinmetz to Großenmollhausen on the other hand, Luther had written under a document sent to him: "Martinus Luther, D.: The first one shall keep the virgin, because she is an orphan and free; guardians do not find equal power to the parents over the children, but as long as the partner is of good standing and nature. Now "almost year and day" the matter has been legally negotiated, and five judgments have been rendered, all of which have awarded Elisabeth Hordorf to Facius Steinmetz. Luther had been deceived by false reports of Helwig and the Hordorfs. Therefore they, the commission appointed for this marriage matter by the Elector and the Duke of Saxony, send to Luther the originals of the given judgements, and ask him for instruction, how they should behave further. - Luther answered on 31 October.

A copy is found in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O,* pag. 591. p. 31. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 397.

No. 2847.

(Wittenberg.) 23 October 1541.

To Augustin Himmel, pastor at Colditz.

Luther acknowledges the receipt of the interest for Wolfgang Sieberger, but complains that the locksmith has added unacceptable coins.

From the Kraft collection in Husum in Schütze, Vol. I, p.169 and in De Wette, Vol.V, p.405.

Grace and peace! I have received the income due to my Wolfgang, 19 old fl. 9 gr. 1 pf., never before so complete. But among these are Märkische Groschen, which are strictly forbidden here, and this, I believe, is sufficiently known to your Schösser. Therefore I wonder,

Wherefore he hath sent coin that is forbidden and useless to us. Although one does not (as they say) examine the teeth of a horse that has been given as a gift, you will nevertheless tell him, in my name, so that the courage of the castles will not be nourished, that he may henceforth send what he owes. Yes, if I cannot secretly get some of the money forbidden by the prince into the Mark, by inserting other coin for use in the meantime, then I will send it back to you, so that the castle owner may exchange the money. Then, so that I do not burden Wolfgang with the messenger's wages, I will see to it that he receives the interest in due time from a locksmith who pleases me, so that the latter does not move with your payments. For since the most noble prince has given Wolfgang the whole income of the vicariate, and we have turned a blind eye to the mention of the account which he has made of wax and other things, we have thought that it would be enough if this were withheld, that only the income in money should be sent. I am writing this so that you may warn the castle that there is no need for vexation, and that not everything (as they say) must be investigated and brought forward up to the burr (*ad vivum).* For I see that such things happen to me also, that in the case of a gift from the prince, all who are in any position to do so pursue me, fall into malice and become biting, as if what is granted to us servants of the church were lost. Fare well in the Lord, and pray also for us. On the Sunday after Lucas [Oct. 23] 1541. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2848.

Wittenberg. 28 October 1541.

To Lippold Klitzing, Brandenburg's Amtshauptmann.

Luther asks him to work towards freeing the clergy in the Electorate from the Turkish tax.

Printed in the Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen, vol. VI, issue 3, Halle 1842, p. 25 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 288.

Grace and peace in Christo. Honorable, Fester 2c.! I have been shown how to want to force the Turkish tax from the poor preachers and pastors. I have therefore been asked to write to you that it may be postponed until the arrival of His Princely Grace. Grace. For I hope that they will not permit it, especially since His Grace knows that it is not done in any country. For from what should the ecclesiastics give it, if they have nothing of their own? and it is just as much as if one took it from the church's own good, that is, from alms, or, as one speaks, from our Lord's feet. One feels well that such tyrants would gladly be rid of the gospel from the land. But they are not allowed to hurry, they will probably get rid of it sooner than they think. Hereby commanded by God. Wittenberg, Friday after Crispini [Oct. 28] 1541. Martin Luther.

No. 2849.

(Wittenberg.) 28 October 1541.

To Jakob Stratner, court preacher at Berlin.

Same content as the previous letter.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 208; in the Jena (1568), vol. VII, p. 448N; in the Altenburg,vol. VII,p.487.; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 400; in Walch, vol. XXI, 450; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 406, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 335. - In all these editions, "To a Court Preacher." As this letter agrees almost verbatim with the preceding, it can be subjected to almost no doubt that it is addressed to the address given by uus, which has already been pronounced by Förstemann in the "Ergänzungsblätter," 1829, No. 143, sp. 1140, and by Seidemann, in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 513, note 2. Therefore we have had no hesitation in placing the names instead of the "N." in the text.

To the worthy Lord and faithful servant of Christ, Jakob Stratner of Berlin, my dearest in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Worthy, dear Mr. Jacob! It has come to my attention how some at court want to force the poor pastors and church servants to pay the Turkish tax; I have therefore been asked to write to you on their behalf. Since you have now been commanded to preach at court, it would be my wish that you do as much as you can to postpone it until the future of your sovereign. For I hope his princely graces will not permit it, especially because H. F. G. knows well, or will know well, that it is not allowed in our most gracious

Herr Landen, nor in any other principality.

For of what shall the ministers of the church give, if they have nothing of their own, and it is as much as if they took it of the church's own goods, that is, of alms, or (as they say) of our Lord Christ's feet? It is well to be seen that such tyrants of the gospel in the land would gladly be rid of them. But they should not be in a hurry; they will probably get rid of it sooner than they think. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Friday after Crispini [Oct. 28] 1541.

Dr. Martinus Luther.

No. 2850.

Towards the end of October 1541.

Prince John Frederick to Luther, Bugenhagen, Cruciger and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

The Elector asks them to give an expert opinion (as was considered good by all at your recent meeting in Naumburg) on how to counter the unfounded claim of the opponents that the Protestant estates in the division in religious matters "are not concerned with the Christian religion, but rather their minds are set against Imperial Majesty to disobedience, rebellion, and revolt, as well as apostasy, and to keep everyone from the pure spiritual doctrine. Maj. to disobedience, rebellion and revolt, also apostasy, and to keep everyone from the pure spiritual doctrine".

Nils dem Weimarschen Archiv, *Reg. H, fol. 391, N. 148,* with Burkhardt, p. 399. The latter remarks: "Without date, but since the Naumburg day was on 16 October (Galli), so we can probably date as above."

No. 2851.

(Wittenberg.) 31 October 1541.

To Ewald von Brandenstein, Pastor Joh. Grau and Joh. Kunholt, Schösser zu Weimar.

Answer to No. 2846. Luther refuses to deal further with the marriage matter after it has come into the law.

Simultaneous copy in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O*, *pag.* 591. 8. 31. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 400.

G. and F. Gentlemen, Worthy, Honorable, Dear Sirs! I would like you to know that I and our parish priest have long since received from our most gracious Lord that fine churf.

1) Burkhardt erroneously offers the "18th of October".

We wanted to take the matrimonial matters from ourselves, because we could not wait for the official office; which was done, and a new *ecclesiasticum consistorium was* established, to which we directed such disputes and matters. But this I do and must do, where I am asked in secret and in particular about the conscience, then I judge after the confession and report. Now, if this matter has come to law, or is yet to come, or will come, it is no longer my office or command, for I neither want to nor should pronounce a legal judgment, as little as I want to interrogate the part. For, as I said, I cannot wait, I have enough to do with my conscience. If this Kunz has deceived me, and asked only for the conscience, which I can well respect, because I have forgotten, and know well that my way is to reject part and legal dealings from me, then he deserves good punishment; and if you continue to follow the law, I have nothing to do with it. Hereby commanded by God. Hastily, Monday after Simonis and Judä [Oct. 31] 1541.

May you also henceforth, to spare mine and yours, hold yourselves certain that I cannot wait for an unlawful interrogation nor judgment; secretly I may inform my conscience apart from interrogation and justice. M. Luther.

No. 2852.

(Wittenberg.) 1. November 1541.

Concerns about the Naumburg bishop's election.

The original of this prayer, written in Cruciger's hand, is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. B, fol*. 190. It was written for the Elector in the name of the Wittenberg theologians, and Luther wrote his own remarks on it, which we alone reproduce here, with the words of the prayer to which they refer. Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. 451, p. 221. (Printed in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. IV, 683-694. Luther's remarks alone in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 289.

Regarding the words *Corp. Ref*, Vol. IV, 686 s.: "If it were God's will that Prince George [of Anhalt] be elected, and he accept the bishopric: we humbly consider that furthermore there is no need to argue about this. - "Of Licentiate Amsdorf we respect that he is in no way to be persuaded to accept a bishopric."

2) That is, that is not done in the way that is right.

Luther's remark: "All this seems to me to be quite fine and useful, for I might well trust Prince George with something greater if I knew him and could speak humanly.

Col. 691: "The princely income is undoubtedly needed a good part for the government. But what remains should be set aside for the common needs of the country."

Marginal gloss of Luther: *Nihil, et regimen absumet omnia et requiret additionem, ut jam in monasteriis experimur*. [Nothing, and the government will put up with everything and still require a grant, as we already learn with the monasteries].

Col. 692: "For this reason we also wanted that the endowments, which are left after the churches have been provided for, be directed so that something may also be given to the nobility, so that they may serve the princes all the more willingly and stately."

Luther's marginal note: *Imo ipsi soli volunt ea omnia habere, et cogitant plura ibi esse quam sunt, et principibus ideo indignantur.* [Rather, they alone want to have all this, and think that there is more than there is, and for this reason they are unwilling of the princes].

No. 2853.

Torgau. 9 November 1541.

Concerns about the Naumburg bishop's election.

This concern was raised by the Wittenberg theologians for the Elector at Torgau. Luther, who was not in Torgau, later wrote his verdict under it, which we reproduce here alone.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. B, fol.* 190. Printed in *Corp. Ref.,* vol. IV, 697-699. Luther's remark alone in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 289.

I like this way very much, where one only wants a capable person. There's the point. Otherwise, it is as it has always been from the beginning, even in much smaller estates, where a bishop or pastor [had] a provost or steward, 1) or as St. Stephen had a deacon over the estates, as our caste chiefs still are.

1) Added by us. - It was about the employment of a "Voigt" who had to take care of the worldly affairs.

No. 2854.

(Wittenberg.) November 10, 1541.

To Friedrich and Bonaventura Cotta, citizens of Eisenach.

Luther puts in a good word with them that they would like to let themselves be pleased that their brother and cousin Heinrich Cotta studies law in France.

From the original in *Christ. Francisci Paullini, Ferraria-Thuringi, Rerum et Antiquitatum Germanicarum Syntagma 2c. Francofurti ad Moenum, Anno* M. DC. XCVIII [in *Corp. Ref.* incorrect: 1598]. 4 ^{to}. P. 201, in the *Historia Isenacensis* and in De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 290.

To the honourable, prudent, Friedrich and Bonaventuren Cotten, cousins, citizens of Eisenach, my favourable good friends.

G. and F. Honourable, prudent, good friends! Henrich Cotta, your brother and cousin, who is with me, has consulted me as to whether it would be useful for him to go to France, to hear the *law* there, and to see people, as many others of the nobility and other journeymen do, which I have put up with, and I think it is good. Although he is powerful in his own right, he has not wanted to do it without your knowledge, and has asked me to be a good supporter of this against you. Therefore my request is, let such his action please you and be conducive to it. For I would not gladly advise him, if I knew that it would be harmful or dangerous to him. UNd it is good for such fellows to see the *mores hominum*, as the poet says, and an unwandert 2c. Will well know how to show kindness in this. Hiemit GOtt befohlen. Amen. *Vigilia Martini* [Nov. 10] 1541. Mart. Luther, D.

No. 2855.

(Wittenberg.) November 10, 1541.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

About the Turk and the even worse native Turks who despise the word and spoil the country.

The original is in the Anhalt archives. Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 345. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 170 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 400 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1477.

To the worthy man, Mr. M. Anton Lauterbach, the extremely faithful bishop of the church at Pirna and inspector of the neighbouring churches, his very dear brother in your Lord.

Grace and peace! Since there was nothing I could have written, my dear Anton, I wanted to write just this, that I had nothing to write, rather than that I should not answer your letter. May God strengthen Prince Moritz 1) in right faith and wholesome worldly rule. Perhaps you have heard everything about the Turk. I have almost despaired of Germany, after she has excluded from her household gods those cruel Turks or true devils: avarice, usury, tyranny, discord and the whole puddle of disloyalty, wickedness and unworthiness among the nobility, in the courts, in the town halls, in cities, in villages, and above all, contempt for the word and an unheard-of ingratitude. Since these most cruel and ferocious Turks rule among us, what will only happiness do against those Turks of flesh and bone? May God have mercy on us and let His face shine upon us. For while we pray against the enemies, the Turks, it is to be feared that the Spirit may understand our prayers, as if they were prayed by us against the true Turks, without our meaning, and thus hear us against us, yet at the same time for us. For I see this coming, if the tyranny of the Turk does not frighten and humble our nobles, that we shall have to suffer them as crueler tyrants than the Turks are. For they are absolutely intent on putting ropes and chains on the hands of the princes and shackles on the citizens and peasants, but especially on the sciences and scholars. Thus they avenge the papal bondage by a new bondage of the peoples under the hand of the nobility. But enough of this. Greetings to you and your two female persons, my Käthe, and likewise to all of us, and let us pray with one another to the Lord whether

1) On August 18, 1541, Duke Henry of Saxony had died; he was succeeded in the government by his son Moritz.
2) In the original: *penates feros*; De Wette: *perietes veros*.

Perhaps He would give us repentance, and He would avert the Turkish scourge, for without God's special help our weapons and men will accomplish nothing. On the day before Martinmas [Nov. 10] 1541, your Martin Luther.

No. 2856.

(Wittenberg.) November 10, 1541.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Luther thanks for a gift received. Of the Turkish War and as in the previous letter) of the pernicious native Turks.
Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 344. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 172 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 408.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Justus Jonas, Doctor of Theology, Provost at Wittenberg, the exceedingly faithful messenger of Christ at Halle, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I have received two *Martinic* geese, my dear Jonas, which are very fat, thoroughly fat, and exceedingly fat, and we give thee thanks. But what is it that you have such abundance? Have ye, for instance, at Halle, banquets of the Aethiopians, or tables of the sun-god? But of these things at another time.

I have no news about the Turks that you desire. There was a tremendous rumour that the Emperor Carl had gained by force a port on the African coast called Species in the fight against Barbarossa, the pirate of the Turk. Soon another rumor followed (I fear it was more reliable) that Andreas Doria had lost the Emperor's army by the power of Barbarossa. God have mercy on us. I fear that all that is done against the Turk will be in vain, as long as we worship the cruel and true Turks who are kings among us, namely, the avarice, the usury, the hopefulness, the frightful licentiousness in shameful deeds, the tyranny, disloyalty, and wickedness of the noble potentates (*niphlim* [Gen. 6, 4.]), then the utterly satanic contempt of the word, and ingratitude, and mockery of the blood shed for nils. To what end can it be that we undertake to destroy the bodily

and momentary (*momentaneos*) Turks, while we worship and adore those spiritual and eternal Turks (whom I have named) within our houses? Since these are raging, Germany has long been more ravaged before God than it could be by the Turk, as it is said in Genesis 6:11: "The earth was ruined," although it was then in its highest bloom, through the tyranny of the children of God, who did everything they wanted. So it is also happening now: the earth is corrupted by incurable vices and must soon be corrupted by the last conflagration, amen. Wolf Heinz 1) has answered nothing about the Bible, which I have with me as a gift to him, as I wrote. Remind him that he may answer. Farewell. On the day before Martinmas [10 Nov] 1541.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2857.

(Wittenberg.) November 12, 1541.

To Eberhard Brisger, pastor in Altenburg.

Luther speaks courage to him in his illness.

Handwritten in Gotha, *Cod. chart. 451, fol.* 185. 4. and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 347. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 174 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 410. We have followed almost throughout the readings of the manuscripts, which seem to us to be better.

Grace and peace! I have learned, my dear Brisger, of your illness and that of your wife, and at the same time 2) also of the doctors' verdict. But you will pray an Our Father against all this. For I, who at that time, when I was ill, did not pray that my life might be prolonged, have lived and am still living, against and above the verdicts of the physicians. For Dr. Augustin and others thought and said so often that I was dead and buried, so that I care little for their judgments as far as death is concerned, unless other things come along. Your blood-harrowing has happened to many others, and especially to our magistrate Christoph Groß, even before marriage, and others.

1) Organist in Halle.
2) We have the reading of the manuscripts: *simul*, adopted instead of *secundum* in the editions.
3) Prospecting.

that I know. Therefore, although you and all of us are not certain of life at any hour, it is not necessary for you to die of this disease, nor for your wife to die of hers, if God does not particularly want this. Thilo Dene, whom you know, lived and still lives, although he was addicted to water ten years ago, with thighs so thick that they resembled towers. I know many such examples. I confess, this disease is dangerous, but life is also full of danger when we sleep, walk, stand and eat. We ate death to our necks in Paradise: what is it to wonder if we feel it every moment? "He that hath eaten poison, let him not wonder if he be mortally sick every hour." Death reigns in us, but life still more through the Lord JEsum, who hath brought death to nought, and life to light. In Him be thou well, and thou with thine own be unhurt. On Saturday after Martinmas [Nov. 12] 1541. Martin Luther.

No. 2858.

(Wittenberg.) November 17, 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther asks for employment for his brother-in-law, Hans von Bora. - Burkhardt, p. 401, reports: At Luther's intercession for Hans von Bora he became monastery administrator at Cronschwitz, Walpurgis 1542. Here he remained two years, when Monday after Oculi 1543 it was announced to him to give up the administration May 1, 1544, although his contract was until May 1, 1545.

From a volume of manuscripts in the library at Gotha in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 96, No. 179; in Walch, Vol. XXI, 451; in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 410 f. and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 55, p. 336 f.

Grace and peace and my poor *Pater noster.* Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! I recently wrote to E. C. F. G. and asked for my dear brother-in-law Hans von Bora. But after the letter was delivered by him, it was accidentally moved among other letters: I have to send it again. And if the letter would be found again, and he does not agree in some words, E. C. F. G. will graciously let me know, because I do not keep it all, and I do not keep a copy of my letters. The matter

But this is that I have humbly asked E. C. F. G., and still ask, if E. C. F. G. has a little task, what it would be, to graciously provide him with it, as he will probably report verbally himself. I know that he is faithful and pious, and also skilful and industrious. But his fortune is not sufficient to maintain himself with his wife and child. He has been headmaster of the nunnery in Leipzig, and although he would have liked to be charged with it, he finally passed the bill honestly and shut the yappers' mouths. At last I received this answer from my intercession, that there was no lack of him. But for the time being they wanted to recover the goods of the nuns (as before). Thereupon I had to let my thoughts go, since I thought he might have had to pay for mine, because Dr. Pistor was put back into the regiment, who might remember the book of stolen letters. But E. C. F. G. will graciously show himself against Hans von Bora, and where it is Christian, let comforting answer be heard. Hereby God bless, Amen. Thursday after Martinmas [Nov. 17] 1541.

E. C. F. G. subservient Martin Luther.

No. 2859.

(Wittenberg.) November 26, 1541.

To the Princes of Anhalt, Johann, Georg and Joachim.

Intercede for a poor man, that the princes would do him justice themselves, and not cast him under legal drudgery and extortion.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 348. From a manuscript in the Innocent News 1705, p. 763 ; in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 996; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p.569; in Walch, vol. XXI, 452; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 412 and in the Erl. Ausg., vol. 55, p. 338, and again (after the original in Lindner's "Mittheilungen," vol. II, p. 72) vol. 56, p. 231.

To the noble, highborn princes and lords, Johanns, Georgen, provost of Magdeburg, and Joachim, brothers, princes of Anhalt, counts of Ascanien and lords of Bernburg, my gracious lords.

Most illustrious, high-born princes, gracious lords! It has brought me Küne von Burau, 1) E. F. G. subject, asked to write to E. F. G., and to ask him to come to an end in the matter of his daughter, weakened by Hieronymus Kuutzel. I have seen the farewell, in which E. F.G. has set him right. But, my dear gentlemen, E. F. G. knows that he can neither stand nor tolerate such law as a poor man, and that such law, as has now become customary, with advocates, replicas, triplicates, and again purification, is nothing but an eternal strife and eternal injustice, that God will one day send both jurists and judges to the devil, who with such jurisprudence suck the lot and fatten themselves. Thus the man has sat under E. F. G. as well as his part under E. F. G.. They may well proceed *de simplici* and piano herein without all *strepitu juris*, which may apply where the parties are rich against each other,' and do not have a certain unified lord. Otherwise, such extensive law is truly a tyranny to the poor, and the sovereignty, if it does not prevent it, is guilty itself. Why do you princes and lords want to make lawyers emperors and set judges over your government, and you yourselves neither judge nor help, if you can? Then a principality would be nothing but an annuity master, who would collect the interest, and the lawyers would scoop the matters of their own accord, to the detriment and ruin of the poor subjects. Please, therefore, let this and similar matters be heard, judged and decided by the subjects themselves, and do not throw them under the lawyers' practice, who neither respect nor seek an end to the matters, but take the money and with their tongues wring out both the sack and the bag from the poor. E. F. G. will graciously understand my opinion; for I am true to my mind, so such legal drudgery cannot stand the length of it, or we will not well understand each other. Laws are always right; lawyers and judges are seldom right. God is good, but the usurer was never good. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Saturday after Catharine [26 Nov] 1541.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther.

l) In the Erlanger: "Kune of Burou".

No. 2860.

(Wittenberg.) 28 November 1541.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

About Duke Moritz.

From the Kraft Collection at Husum in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 175 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 413. German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1480.

To the worthy man, Mr. M. Anton Lauterbach, the bishop of the church at Pirna, his extremely dear brother.

Grace and peace! I have received your letter from Dresden, my dear Anton, and have learned with joy that Prince Moritz pleases you, and I pray that God will so exalt and govern him. For prayer is necessary (that I know) against Satan, who neither sleeps nor slumbers (which we know very well). More at another time, now be at ease in the Lord. Monday after Catharine [28 Nov] 1541.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2861.

(Wittenberg.) 4. December 1541.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Renewed intercession for his brother-in-law Hans von Bora that he be given the administration of the monastery either in Belgern or in Nimpschen. The original is in the Coburg House and State Archives. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 401.

God and peace in Christ and my poor *pater noster*. Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! After E. C. F. G. at my most humble request 1) gave my dear brother-in-law, Hans von Bora, a gracious writing to the sequestrators that they should, where a monastic office was vacant or was about to become vacant, provide him with it on appointment: thus he traveled with such E. C. F. G. writing to the sequestrators. There Bernhard von Hirsfeld gave him this answer: he

1) Burkhardt notes: The Electoral decree in consequence of this letter, dated: Torgau, Wednesday after Nicolai [Dec. 7] 1541, which was issued to the sequestrators, was to the effect that the Brehna monastery, which was finished at Easter, was to be handed over to Hans von Bora, since Belgern and Nimpschen had already been given away.

would now know of none; but the one in Belgern would be vacant next Philippi, and the one in Nimpschen after Michaelmas; if E. C. F. G. does not do anything special about this, and names the same sequestrators of one, and orders them to give it to the above-mentioned Hans von Bora, they would then obediently order it to be given to him. Therefore both he and I, as before, humbly ask E. C. F. G. to graciously order that Belgern or Nimptschen be given to him, as it is best for E. C. F. G. to do. For E. C. F. G. have zll consider graciously that the length and delay on other future settlements E. C. F. G. graciously put off would give birth to a disturbance (stehrung) and his being distress 2). E. C. F. G. will know how to graciously show themselves according to their comforting promise, so that I did not have to deny this intercession to my brother-in-law. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befehlt, Amen. Sunday Barbarä [4 Dec.] 1541.

E. C. F. G. subservient Martinus Luther.

No. 2862.

(Wittenberg.) 18 December 1541.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Luther consoles him about a lost child and reports political news about which he makes his remarks.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 352. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 176 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 414. The original is in Dessau, and we have used Tue variants given by Burkhardt, p. 402.

Grace and peace in Christ! The Lord himself comforts you and your wife, the precious woman and fruitful mother, who through her has transferred so many saints from the pit of sin and death into the kingdom of his Son through the tariffs. You write that there are so many common evils that you must rather set a goal to your special (*privato*) pain, and you write the truth and have the right mind. Yes, I will still increase the register of common misfortunes by this letter,

2) "bekomerung", stunting (?), damage. (Dietz s. v.)

if you don't know it yet. The Emperor Carl landed on the 25th of October with his whole fleet on the coast of Africa near the city of Algiers/) others say Altair. But this is false and impossible, as Altair is not on the coast, but in the middle of the country, unless they are deceived by the homonymous name. Here they have met him with armed crews from the town. But Carl put them to flight with the bullets of heavy guns, and surrounded the city with a siege army until the 28th day [of October], which is Simonis [and] Jude. On this day the sea began to rage and boil, and in its own way (that is, when evil spirits reign) to rage in such a way that almost the whole fleet was swallowed up and sunk, while the army and the emperor himself watched in vain on the shore and were unable to come to the rescue; indeed, 140 ships (of what kind and how large they tend to be in a fleet) were sunk, with all the provisions, guns, weapons, and everything that was on them, both horses and men. The Emperor was compelled by want of provisions to have 1000 horses slaughtered for his subsistence. In the remaining ships he fled away and returned with the soldiers to Genoa. But others write about Carl himself, that he returned to Genoa, but landed in a neighboring port, so that they have to assume that he himself was in command. We expect more certain news daily. This has been written to our Prince. What do you think about these monstrosities of the gods above all gods? 2) Ferdinand has fallen at Buda, his brother Carl has run aground at Algiers, namely the two highest rulers. Remember'st thou not, that I, as a prophet (and yet willed GOOD, as a false one) foretold, that the last incendiaries of this villainous Heinzen might lead to great

1) In the text: *Wagaria*, to which Burkhardt has given no improvement, but to the following: *Ageriam* he brings *Algiera*; so Will also be read here.

2) "Deum xxxx (?)." The text is perfectly in order. *Deum* is to be understood as genitivus pluralis. What is meant, as the following will show, are Emperor Carl and King Ferdinand.

Fears 3) become an occasion? For he, for his own part, is far too fearful to dare to light a straw on the poorest peasant if he did not know that high people stand by him. 4) And moreover, I have added that God Himself will avenge this in a short time. Has not the blood shed at Eimbeck, Nordhausen, and by other conflagrations, since the arsonists and bloodhounds looked on with glee, now forced Ferdinand to weep again, looking down on himself and his own who are perishing, and likewise also Carl, who at Regensburg despised the cries of the poor with a deaf ear, and those who complained about the blood shed by arsons, to look now at his ruined fleet? Perhaps this African Neptune has also avenged the cruelty against Ghent 5). What do you want? The kings think that they themselves are gods, and despise the true GOD, especially him who is called Sheblimini (xxxxxx == Sit at my right hand [Ps. 110:11]. For they desire to be esteemed for conscientiously worshipping the GOD of majesty. But all these evils find me prophecies full of the nearness of the salvific day of our redemption, when the world shall be thus shattered and cracked, as a dilapidated building that must be broken down and will fall. For this cruelty of the Turk also I take for a forerunner 7) and sign of that day, that after 50 little children were burned to ashes in Buda, he sprinkled therewith our churches, namely, to cleanse them from Christian (as he holds them to be) idolatry, and to consecrate them to his Mahomet. "Yea, verily Christ is the man whom the high chiefs in many lands shall attack," that they may provoke him that standeth at his right hand, that he may smite kings in his wrath.

3) *ferbuisse metu*. These fears are that also Emperor Carl and King Ferdinand would have had their hand in it, and would bring the wrath of God upon themselves.

4) Compare No. 2714 and No. 2802.

5) The cruel punishment of the Gentish outrage.

6) Instead of vsi in De Wette, the original reads *diei.*

7) Instead of *postremo* in De Wette is to be read *prodromo*, and immediately following instead of *cruorern* - *cinerem*.

So I prophesy that, because of these terrible evils, the beginnings of our salvation are well off. What is it to us, though the world fall to pieces? the intrepid shall not be overtaken by the ruins. 1) Christ liveth and reigneth; for us it shall fall no more. For he sitteth on the right hand of the Father, not on the right hand of such bubbles of water as are the Turk, and the emperor, and the kings, and all that is in the world. This I have written in many words, yet briefly. For this evening (though the world of misfortune is falling apart) I must betroth Hanna Strauss, whom you know, to Magister Heinrich von Cölleda in Thuringia. You are well and look with us to the approaching day of Christ. Respect thou the fall little, and curb thy temptations. Our sun shines and glows inextinguishably, so that the clouds and the darkness of the air, which have already intervened and will continue to intervene, can do nothing, for they will soon disappear. The sun will remain for eternity. Greetings to your mistress Käthe and to Justus and all of us. On the fourth Sunday of Advent [Dec. 18] 1541. Your Martin Luther.

No. 2862a.

(Wittenberg.) 25 Dec. 1541.

Letter of consolation for pious, godly women who have been unjustly in need of children.

See St. Louis edition, Vol. X, 730. - There it is attributed to the year 1542, also Seidemann, in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 336, dates it the same way, but it belongs to the year 1541. Luther wrote this letter for Bugenhagen's interpretation of the 29th Psalm (in this volume, Nachlese, No. XV), which, as Bugenhagen himself testifies (Wittenberg Edition [1559], Vol. XII, p. 2006), was first published at Christmas 1541. Compare our introduction to No. XV of the Nachlese.

No. 2863.

Lochau. 26. December 1541.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector prescribes Luther" for life the interest of 1000 gulden, annually with 50 gulden, for himself and

1) *Cf. Horat. Od. lib. III, Od. III, v. 7. 8.*

his heirs, but in such a way that the Elector reserves the right to redeem the interest with the principal sum himself after Luther's death.

The concept is found in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Aa, pag.* 255. n. 50. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 402.

By the Grace of God, we John Frederick, Duke of Saxony 2c., hereby declare and confess, for ourselves and our heirs against all men, that after we have been inclined to the venerable and reverend, our dear devotee, Ern Martin Luther, Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, and his children, for many reasons, which we regard as unnecessary to relate, we have therefore, of our own motion and gracious mind, graciously granted to him, his children and their heirs, a thousand guilders of our princely coin from our treasury, We hereby grant them, in and with this letter of ours, that the above-mentioned 2) Doctor Martin shall receive such thousand florins during his lifetime, which the Almighty wills to grant him for a long time, at the rate of fifty florins per annum, for two terms, as Walpurgis and Michaelmas, out of our chamber of annuities in the two markets of Leipzig, to be used as a daily penny, shall bear interest, and be given to him or his brothers and their heirs after his death, each time against due confession, at his or his commander's request.

But we hereby reserve to ourselves and our heirs, if the said Doctor Martin should pass away by death, which the Almighty will long prevent, to redeem to his children or their heirs such fifty florins annual interest with a thousand florins principal sum on our and our heirs' opportunity, 3) that we or our heirs, against payment of the principal sum notified in advance, are to be handed over this prescription of ours again, and thereupon order our present and future Rentmeister, Rent- and Kammerschreiber to comply with such a prescription of ours in this manner; and it is our opinion that they do so. In witness whereof we have knowingly sealed this letter with our annexed seal and given it at Lochau, Monday after Christ Day [26 Dec.] after the birth of Christ our Lord 1542 [that is 1541].

2) Burkhardt: "obgedachter".

3) Added by us.

No. 2864.

(Wittenberg.) Towards the end of 1541. 1)

To Friedrich von der Grüne, Electoral Saxon Master of Armour.

Luther rebuked him harshly for wantonly damaging his property by building the ramparts.
The original is in the Berlin library, *Mscr. gerrn, fol.* 45. f. 5. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 403.

My dear master of tools! You are doing that it is forbidden to you by my most gracious lord that you should not build near me or to my harm. So I have consented to M. G. H.'s service to bury the lower chamber. Now you proceed to your own thunder and iniquity, and also fill up the middle chamber up to the grating, which the devil has undoubtedly commanded you to do, because it is done by the order of my most gracious lord and with my permission. From this everyone sees and publicly writes that you were not concerned about the building, but about the hall, to force me away from it, and to tread princely letters and seals in the dirt.

Accordingly it is my will (for [I] do not want to ask you as my and God's, perhaps also my most gracious lord's, secret enemy), you shall soon after this writing (so that you are not unwarned) take away again the same rubble from the other chamber, for I do not want to suffer the same there, so you have to judge according to it.

Likewise I will have my bridal gate, which you would have liked to ruin with stones to my annoyance, repaired by you, also I want to be assured to you that the rubble does not knock down the wall at the garden for me. Also the earth wall at the back of the new house, which will not stand long, tinned, 2) so that it does not collapse the same house for me.

If ye will not do this, yet I know that my most gracious lord is not willing to harm me a farthing, but much more.

1) In this time Burkhardt places the letter according to the Bauacten of the Ernestine General Archives, *Reg. S.* - Von der Grüne had planned a large rampart building which damaged Luther's house by filling up. Exactly, the time of writing cannot be determined.

2) "verzäunen" put by us instead of: "verzaübern". The sense cannot be doubtful: provided with a protective weir, either of wood or masonry.

I will not take from you, as from an ungodly servant, what a Christian prince has given me, sealed and attested, or will report all this to my most gracious lord, and find out at the least whether you are the newborn man who may impress his seals on a laudable Christian Elector of Saxony, since you press their seals from the nobility, 3) who do not keep letters and seals for you.

For you shall be sure that I will not clear a hair's breadth more in haste, that you may clear my most gracious lord's purse. I will hold my peace concerning the great lords ye have brought upon my neck, the dyke-men, 4) who have wrought for my windows and my courage. I will not blame you for this, and think that you cannot help it, and you shall be innocent with me, though it is grievous to suffer.

Hereby commanded unto God, that he turn you and make you different. For in this way you shall not be led out or even recently be in the abyss of hell. I would not like to grant you that, otherwise I would have sent such a letter to you. But that I may be excused before God, and that you may have to bear your sin and wickedness yourselves, you shall be warned herewith. There have been many and greater tyrants and devils than you and the castle, but they are all gone, and have left the sun in the sky.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2865.

(Wittenberg.) 28 December 1541.5)

To the Counts Albrecht von Mansfeld.

Luther warns the count against unbelief and striving for riches, also against the oppression of his subjects.
Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 387 (complete). Partly in the Altenburg edition after the

3) "Print in" and "print" we understand from impressing or destroying the waxen seal.

4) Thus "teichknechte". Probably correctly resolved; elsewhere Luther calls them "Wallknechte".

5) Both De Wette and the Erlangen edition date the letter from December 8, 1542. The date is incorrectly resolved, and according to the manner of beginning the new year with Christmas, the letter belongs to the year 1541.

Preface to the main register and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 572. Completed ex Autogr. I4utrupii in the Leipzig supplement, p. 98, no. 184; in Walch, vol. XXI, 454; in De Wette, vol. V, p.5I2 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 38.

To the noble, well-born Lord, Lord Albrecht, Count and Lord of Mansfeld, my gracious and heart-loving sovereign.

Grace and peace in the Lord, and my poor *pater noster*. Gracious lord! I sincerely pray that Your Grace will hear this writing of mine in a Christian and gracious manner. Your lordship knows.., how I am a child of the Mansfeld dominion and have naturally loved my fatherland until now, just as all heathen books say that every child naturally loves its fatherland. has done many praiseworthy deeds in the beginning of the Gospel, has finely appointed the churches and preachers' chairs, as well as the schools, for God's praise and honor, and in the peasants' upheaval has made excellent and glorious use of God, so that for these and other reasons I cannot so easily forget God, or leave him out of my care and prayer. But it seems to me, especially through much chattering and complaining, how E. G. should fall away from the previous beginning and become much different, which (as I think E. G. will believe) would be a great heartache for E. G.'s person. For so people will now talk against the Christian faith, which I myself have often heard: What gospel? If it be provided, 1) it must thus come to pass; let us do what we do; if we are to be blessed, we shall be blessed 2c. Now this is to be called great prudence and wisdom, although we theologians before or God Himself also know such things; and where E. G. is in these thoughts or temptations, I would be heartily sorry, for I am also in them, and where Doct. Staupitz, or rather God through Doct. Staupitz, I would have drowned inside and long since been in hell. For such devilish thoughts, where they are stupid hearts, finally make people desperate, who despair of the grace of God, or if they are bold and courageous, they become God's despisers and
Enemies, say: Let go, I will do what I will, it is lost!

But how I would like to speak orally with E. G., for I am extremely sorry for E. G.'s soul, because I do not respect E. G. as lightly as the damned Heinzen and Meinzen, and yet it is not so easy to speak with the pen. But to write briefly about it, G. H., it is the truth, what God has decided, that must certainly happen, otherwise he would be a liar in his promise, on which we must place our faith, or be shamefully lacking; that is impossible. But here there is a great difference, namely, what God has revealed, promised, or commanded us, we are to believe and act accordingly, so that he will not lie. But what he hath not revealed or promised us, that we ought not to know, neither can we know, much less judge; and he that will trouble himself much with it, tempteth God, in that he forsaketh that which it is commanded him to know and do, and dealeth with that which it is not commanded him to know and do. From this must come such people who ask nothing of God's Word or Sacrament, who go into wild living, to mammon, tyranny, and all kinds of desolate living. For they can have no faith, hope, or love for God or man before such thoughts, but they despise him, because they should not know what he secretly intends, even though he reveals himself so abundantly in everything that is useful and blessed to them, from which they turn wantonly. No man can prevent his servant from carrying out his commanded office, unless he first knows all the secret thoughts of his lord concerning all his goods. And should not God likewise have power to know something secret about that which he commands us? E. G. think, where one should judge according to such thoughts of the secret judgments of God: why does he let his son become man, why does he establish fatherhood and motherhood, why does he order worldly law and authority? What may they do? 2) If it is to happen, it will happen without all this. What then shall baptism, the holy scriptures, and all creatures do for us? If he will do it, he can do it.

I) "provided" == predestined, predetermined.
2) "their" put by us instead of: "ehr".

well do without all this. But it is said that he will not perform his counsel, now revealed through him as a co-worker, 1 Corinthians 3:9. 3, 9. to perform: therefore let us leave him to it, and not be troubled with it, but do that which is commanded us. So also saith Solomon Proverb. 25, 27. [Vulg.], "He that will inquire into majesty shall be assailed;" and Sirach on the 3rd [v. 22. 23. Vulg.], "Understand not that which is too high, but think that which is commanded thee;" and the disciples Actorum 1:7. f. Christ asked whether he would now establish Israel's kingdom, he saith, "It behoveth you not to know the time or hour which my Father hath reserved for him: but go ye, and be my witnesses." 2c. As if he should say, Let my Father and me take care what shall come to pass; go ye, and do as I bid you. Therefore I beseech E. G. most earnestly, that E. G. will not withdraw from the Word and Sacrament; for the devil is an evil spirit, E. G. much too crafty, as also all the saints, keep silence from all men, as I also well know, because I scarcely miss a day; for man grows cold, and the longer the more; and if there were no longer any fear, that would be enough, that nevertheless the devil must depart at the same hour, and give a heat to the heart. 1) Thus E. G. themselves well, how they are ready cold nnd on the mammon, intend to become very rich, also, as the complaints go, press the subjects too hard and too sharply, bring them from their hereditary fires and goods, and intend to make them almost their own, which God will not suffer, or where he suffers it, will impoverish the county to the ground, for it is his gift that he can easily take again, and no account is caught, as Haggai says [Cap. 1,6. 9.]: "Ye gather much, but I make the bag full of holes.

1) Here the letter ends in the Altenburg edition and in the Leipzig edition. What follows zero is found from word to word (with the exception of a small piece at the end of this paragraph: "I have heard from some say ... despised") in what seems to us a spurious letter of Feb. 23 (not Feb. 24, which De Wette, vol. V, p. 437 and the Erlangen Ausg., vol. 56, p. 6 offer) 1542, which is a combination of the remodeled beginning of a letter of March 14, 1542, and this letter. De Wette thinks that in our letter "two letters are pushed together".

and I blow 2) into the grain, that ye keep nothing. I have heard some say that they want to set up a regiment in Germany like the one in France: yes, if it were asked whether it would be right and pleasing before God, I would praise it. Mall also sees next to it how the kingdom of France, which in former times was a golden, glorious kingdom, is now so nothing, neither in goods nor in people, that it has become a tinny kingdom out of the golden kingdom, and now has called the Turk to be its friend, which before the Christian kingdom was famous. This is how it is when one despises God and his word.

This I write, as I think, to E. G. for the last time, for the grave is now closer to me than one might think; and I ask, as before, that E. G. would deal more gently and graciously with E. G.'s subjects, let them remain, so E. G. will also remain through God's blessing, both here and there. Otherwise they will lose both, and go as the fable Aesopi says of him who cut open the goose that laid him a golden egg every day, thus losing the golden egg with goose and ovary; and as the dog in Aesopo, who lost the piece of meat in the water, because he snatched at the bill. For it is certainly true that he who wants too much gets the worst, of which Solomon writes much in Proverbs. In sum, I am concerned for your soul, which I cannot suffer to be cast out of my care and prayer, for that is certainly to be cast out of the church. Not only does the commandment of Christian love compel me to do this, but also the heavy burden of Ezekiel 3:20. 3) God has charged us to be condemned for the sins of others. For he saith, If thou wilt not tell the sinner his sin, and he die for it, then will I require his soul at thy hands: for therefore have I set thee for a pastor 2c.

Therefore E. G. will well know how to make me happy with such pampering, because I cannot let myself be damned for E. G.'s sin, but rather seek to make them happy with me wherever it is possible for me. Otherwise

2) "I blow" put by nns instead of: "blaset", and before: "I make" instead of: "you make".

3) In the editions "Ezekiel 4."

I am hereby well excused before God. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt in allen Gnade und Barmherzigkeit befehlt, Amen. *Die innocentum puerorum* [28 Dec.] anno MDXLII [that is 1541].

E. G.

more willing and trusting

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2866

(Wittenberg.) No date 1541.

To Duke Moritz of Saxony.

Intercession for a Mansfeld man who was oppressed by Count Albrecht, with expressions of displeasure at the arrogance of the nobility.

From the original in the Gözische Sammlung at Hamburg in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 402; in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 416 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 55, p. 339. A copy in the Weimar archives, *Reg. N*, 41. 15a, has as its date March 13 (so Bnrkhardt, p. 402, without indication of the year), which could be correct only under the condition that this letter did not belong to the year 1541, but to a later year, since Duke Heinrich died only on Aug. 18, 1541, but in this letter is spoken of "E. F. G. Vater seliger, Herzog Heinrich".

Grace and peace in Christ. Most reverend Prince, most gracious Sir! I do not like to burden E. F. G. with my letter, especially now, when there is enough unpleasantness in the regiment; but necessity is necessity. Your Grace may well know how your father, Duke Heinrich, had to interpose himself as a sovereign between Count Albrechten of Mansfeld and Wilhelm and be their patron; for I have to write this with great sorrow in my heart, that the said count, whom I had loved especially until now and who I considered a gracious lord, has shown himself so quick and hard against his subjects that they had to lament and cry out. One of them is also this good man Barthel Drachstedt, citizen of Eisleben, who asks, and I beside him, humbly, E. F. G. would have him graciously commanded, and as the sovereign prescribe against Count Albrechten, that he will act more graciously and more gently with such pious, faithful subjects; for it is the nobility and secular rulers set by God to protect the pious and to punish the wicked, Rom. 13. Should it now come to pass that the rulers of Tyranus, the rulers of the Holy Roman Empire and the rulers of the Holy Roman Empire are to be punished?

If the nobles of the world were to be like dogs and swine, as some are, it would be a terrible sign of divine wrath against the nobility, as if they had already been deprived not only of the Christian understanding, which teaches us to honor all devout Christians among themselves, as those who have been ennobled with the blood of Christ to the eternal kingdom, whereas this temporal nobility is nothing in comparison with this miserable worldly kingdom, but also of natural understanding, that they do not think of how all men are born in the same misfortune, that is, in the state and deeds of sin, and here there is no difference, and yet, as if they were better before God, which is not true, they are ashamed, as if God alone had created them men, and they must be alone; that these heavy thoughts often occur to me, where the nobility wants to go on like this, then it's done for Germany, and would soon be worse, neither the Spaniards nor the Turks; but the bath will go out on them. For this reason, I ask E. F. G., who is still a young prince and can learn God's word and work in time, to beware of such tyrannical and stingy advice, and especially to graciously grant me this request. I will also write to M. G. H. Count Albrechten, 1) as God wills. If it is unmercy, then God is all the more merciful, on whom I rely and to whom I command E. F. G. with right prayer and fidelity, Amen.

M. L., D.

No. 2867.

(Wittenberg.) No date 1541.

To Dr. Johann Bugenhagen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 392.

No. 2868.

(Wittenberg.) Perhaps 1541.

Postscript to a concern of Melanchthon.

Melanchthon posed a concern for the Elector John Frederick on the question, "Whether one may punish the Anabaptists with the sword?" It is found from a copy in *Cod. Galli II, p.* 263, and in the *Cod. Palat*,

1) This will have been done by the previous letter.

no. 435, p. 33, in *Corp. Ref.* vol. I V, 737; the postscript alone in De Wette-Seidemann vol. VI, p. 291. Luther wrote under it:

Placet mihi Martino Luthero...

Although it is *cruel to* see them punished with the sword, it is *crudelius that* they want to destroy *ministsrium verbi [*the office of the word], and do not practice a certain doctrine, and suppress right doctrine, and in addition destroy *regna mundi [the* worldly dominions]. M. L.

No. 2869.

(Wittenberg.) 1541 or later.

To Franz Groß, pastor at Mittweida.

Luther instructs him on the question whether Christ could be said to have died according to the divine nature, entirely in the sense of the doctrine de *communicatlone idiornatum*.

Ans der Willischen Sammlung zu Freiberg bei Schütze, vol. III, p. 243 und bei De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 291.

To M. Franz Groß, 1) Pastor at Mittweida.

It is asked whether it is right and true to say that Christ died according to the Godhead. The Godhead is not subject (to death), and no suffering befalls it, since Peter says [1 Ep. 3:18], Christ was delivered to death according to the flesh, but made alive according to the Spirit. I answer, All godly and true Christians, or the whole true general church of Christ, believe without a doubt the "holy Christian faith" (*Symbolum*), namely, that JESUS CHRIST, the only Son of GOD, of the same essence and divine nature with the Father, was in truth conceived, born, suffered, crucified, died, and buried. She therefore believes that not only human nature, but also divine nature, or the true God, suffered and died for us. And although dying is something foreign to the divine nature, it happens because the divine nature has so attracted the human nature that these two natures are inseparably united, so that Christ is One Person, God and man, that everything that happens happens to God and to man,

1) According to the *album Acad. Viteb.* p. 132, M. Franz Groß from Oschatz was immatriculated on Nov. 2, 1528. He was a tutor of Luther.

that these two natures in Christ share their attributes (*idiomata*) with one another, that is, what is proper to one nature is also shared with the other because of their inseparable connection; as, being born, suffering, dying 2c. are attributes or peculiarities (*proprietates) of* human nature, of which the divine nature also becomes a part, because of the inseparable connection that can only be grasped by faith. Therefore, not only man, but also God is conceived, born of the Virgin Mary, suffers, dies, as Paul testifies Rom. 1:3: "The Son of God is born of the seed of David according to the flesh." "According to the flesh," he says, because Christ took on human nature from the seed of David. Hence "to be born" is properly said of human nature, but because this nature is so entirely united in One Person with the divine nature, that it communicates its attribute, namely, to be born of human nature and to become man, in truth to the nature of GOD, as John [Cap. 1, 14.The Word was made flesh," God was born man, so that not only man was born, but also the Son of God (as Paul says), or in fact God was born, and the Virgin Mary is not only the mother of man, but also the true mother of God, which Gabriel Luc. 1, 31. f. testifies: "Thou shalt bear," he says, "a son, who shall be called the Son of GOD," and he adds [v. 32.], "GOD the LORD shall give him the stnhl of David." Behold, one and the same is truly the Son of GOd and the Son of David. Mary therefore in truth gave birth to the true Son of GOD, and the same is also the true Son of David.

Further, what is said and proved about the impartation of one quality, namely, that to be born belongs to the divine nature by impartation, the same must be understood of the impartation of the other qualities: as, dying belongs to human nature, and yet the divine nature also endures this death, according to the words of Rom. 8:29: "We must be conformed to the image of the Son of God.

2) Instead of ideo we have assumed *Idem.*

The same in the [First] Epistle to the Corinthians [Cap. 2, 8.]: "If they had known the [secret, hidden wisdom of God], they would not have crucified the Lord of glory"; likewise in the Epistle to the Philippians [Cap. 2, 6. 8.]: "Though Jesus Christ was in the form of God, for he was like God, he humbled himself, and became obedient to the Father unto death, even death on a cross"; likewise the Church sings: *Vita in ligno moritur* [Life dies on wood]. 1)

Therefore, we must believe that everything that actually belongs to and happens to human nature in Christ is also imparted to divine nature, so that it is rightly and truthfully said that God is born, suckled, lies in a manger, freezes, walks, watches, eats, drinks, suffers, and dies 2c. There is an excellent passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which belongs especially here; only this I will still adduce in this piece. Thus it is said Cap. 2, 7. "Thou hast made him a little less 2) than the angels," and soon after [v. 9.], "But him that was a little while less than the angels, we see that it is Jesus, through the suffering of death," 2c. And he says, "a little while," that is, as long as he tasted death. What can be said more clearly? "He is," it is said, "made less than the angels." Why? "For the suffering of death," because he tasted death. Therefore He is a little inferior to the angels, whose nature is not subject to death. But He, although He is the Lord and Creator of the angels, although He is God by nature, because He is the Son of God, nevertheless gave Himself under death by humbling Himself. Again, it must be believed that the attributes of the divine nature in Christ are in truth imparted to the human nature, because it is united to the divine without any separation. Therefore Christ says

1) In our hymnal this is hymn no. 89: O world, see here your life.
Hovering on the trunk of the cross, Thy salvation sinks to death.

2) *inferiorem fecisti*; in the Vulgate: *minuisti*.

Joh. 3,13: "No one leads to heaven but the Son of Man", and yet he is still present on earth and converses with Nicodemus. Thou seest, therefore, that to man, or to human nature, is ascribed even that which properly belongs to divine nature. For in Matthew [Cap. 18, 20.] he says, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name," 2c., likewise Matt. 28, 20. "I will be with you unto the end of the world." Behold, in these passages Christ certainly speaks of his personal presence, and since the person who is Christ is everywhere, it is also necessary that at the same time man and God, or both natures joined together, should be everywhere and truly present, hear, work all things in all, according to the words [Heb. 2:8.], "All things thou hast put under his feet." But since no human mind can attain or understand this with its understanding or wisdom, it must certainly assent to it in faith. When a man does this, he will only then realize (as godly men who know these things testify) that this article brings comfort with it in all the tribulations of sin and death. Likewise he will also perceive how much light it adds to the understanding of Scripture. And everything in the history of the Passion will seem idle and cold if this is not held fast. But now, I think, Peter can be easily understood from this, who says that Christ was given according to the flesh, and that the divine nature is not excluded from the sharing of suffering and death. For he says that he was given up to death according to the flesh; yet he says that Christ himself died, who is true God and true man. Therefore God and man died. Moreover, George says, 3) that when he has recognized this, no one can err who worships Christ who died in the grave, for since he worships him who died, he also believes in him who died and was buried, because he who died and was buried was not merely a man, but also God.

Mart. Luther, D.

3) Instead of: *Greogrius* might want to read *Gregorius.*

No. 2870.

End of 1541 or beginning of 1542. 1)

Luther's response to the book of Nebulo Tulrich.

In defense of the double marriage of Landgrave Philip of Hesse, a Hessian preacher, Johann Leimig, pastor of Melsingen, had a "Dialogus" (the full title of this book is given in No. 2712) written under the pseudonym Huldrichus Neobulus on March 27, 1541, which Luther intended to answer by this writing, but which he did not complete.

The original (according to the librarian H. Lindner) is in the Dessauer Gesammtarchiv with the inscription: "Antwort Dr. M. 4,. auf das Buch *Nebulonis*." Handwritten in Cod. 436 of the Heidelberg library, with the addition: "but has not even been finished." Printed by Walch, vol. XXI, 1577, without indication of the source, with the superscription: "Luthers Schrift wider die Bigamie." Cf. De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 294 f. We give the text according to Walch.

I had resolved to despise the disgraceful booklet of Nebuloni, 2) Tulrichi, and to let it be answered with silence, as I have done to many other evil, poisonous books, such as Schunds, Rotzleffels, 3) Wizels, 2c., which have all at once perished without my answer, which perhaps, if I had spent the time, effort and thought on them, would not have disappeared so shamefully. But because many of our people leave me no peace, and shower me with letters, as if by my silence the fool's writing would gain a reputation, I must do something and let myself be heard a little, at least what my opinion is in this, as I also answered those evil books in a few words. For to answer all the useless talk of the loose fool would always be a pity, both for the time and the trouble, besides, since I thought such loose arguments or reasons can easily be overthrown by others who are more idle, because the fool, the master of the book, himself wills, feels, and sufficiently gives to understand that he does not think for certain truth or right what he

1) For this timing, compare Luther's letter to Justus Menius of January 10, 1542, printing of which was interrupted by the Elector on January 31, 1542,

2) *nebulo* == jack, knave.

3) "Rotzleffels" is our conjecture for "Rockfels". Thus Luther calls the Cochläus (cooking spoon) in the writing "Von den Conciliis und Kirchen", St. Louis edition, Vol. XVI, 2276, § 256.

Writes, and is well concerned that a woman might answer more than enough.

That this is so, mark this: First, if the Nebulo were certain of the things, and had to know them as right and for right to publicly represent or answer for, he would not have shied away from the light, but would have given his right name freely to the day. But if he is a child of darkness and a blind sneak under a false name, and wants to be no one who tempts the mob with dangerous speeches and loose reasons, whether it is right or not, that he has a quandary and wants to say, Yes, No, according to which the wind would be directed, then he is certainly not a good spirit, but the tiresome devil himself, a prince of darkness. And in this very piece, the master has disgraced himself in his wisdom, and condemned himself and his book alone, so that for this reason this book should be condemned, as it calls itself a book of darkness in its title. For thus saith Christ our Lord himself, John 3:20 and following, He that doeth evil hateth the light; and he that doeth the truth cometh into the light: and especially he that would teach any man openly, that it might be known who he is, and whence he is. Although Christ does not mean to condemn what kings, princes, and rulers do secretly in their offices, even if they do not reveal it. Nor what is done in confession, nor what husband and wife speak to each other in the marriage bed, as I once heard of a matron punishing her husband who wanted to talk out of the marriage bed: Matrimonial discourse (said she), judgment discourse, confession discourse, secret counsel discourse shall be kept silent, and are not false thereafter, whether they come not to light, for God will know them alone; of which now is not time to speak. So also in the papacy the legend has always remained: He who sings confession should have his tongue torn out from behind his neck.

This I must say, not to the master Nebulo, but to the devil, who might have wished to stop this saying of Christ our Lord, that many things must be kept secret, which are yet right and true; wherefore also he may keep his name secret 2c. *Non est simile, frater*. He that is public

If a man wants to teach and do public things, he should also present his person publicly, and not, like Heinz Mordbrenner, Meinz, and their companions, set fire secretly and then say: My name is No One or *Nebulo Tulrichius*. No, Frater, that's not it, but *ex ore et facto tuo judicaberis,* and you have condemned yourself with your book, forced by your pusillanimous conscience to put a false, invented assassin's name on the book.

The other knavery is that he introduces the examples of the fathers and of some kings, when he himself well knows that such things are of no account, for he is not the first, nor the only one, who has read such examples and histories, and yet no one has ever been found who has based himself on teaching such things, except this Tulrichus alone and the first. Thus we have proved by so many Scriptures that the law of Moses is of no concern to us, and is no longer a law; and not the examples of the history of the saints, much less of the kings, but God's commandment and their faith are to be regarded, as Heb. 13:7[1)]"See their beginning all, and follow their faith," (2) not, "Follow their stories.

And tell me, what does such an evil spirit and false master deserve, who deceives the people and poor consciences, and laughs at their ruin in his fist? Well, thou shameful nebulous one, thou strivest for harm, which God hath prepared for thee upon thy head.

The third and worst part is that he interprets Proverbs Genesis 16, [4)]Matthew 19:7 ff. and others in such an impudent and mischievous manner, and knowingly and wantonly perverts them, since he knows well that his interpretation is a filthy thing, which perverts me to the highest degree on the boy. And [I] well perceive that he is away 5) from the rest of the thorns and thistles, which carried us, for instance, the beautiful roses against the sacrament, baptism, and original sin, and other more Christian articles of doctrine, since they also interpret the Scripture in the same way to their blasphemous errors, regardless of their own faith.

1) Walch: "Heb. 11."
2) Walch: "speak."
3) Walch: "the".
4) Walch: "Gen. 11."
5) "that he is gone" here means: that he comes from.

...that they themselves are persuaded their glossing is vain muck. Even before they want to give way to the known truth, they would much rather lead the poor people to hell with them.

So this Nebulo wants to deceive the people with words on which he himself would not build, that I know, where he would be otherwise in reason.

At last he himself confesses that he does not want to conclude anything, but to think further, and then to speak. Then the assassin turns away, if he lets himself think that he has set the fire and done the damage. If these are faithful, pious teachers to instruct the consciences, Heinz, Meinz, Pope, and all the devils are also pious fellows. I do not need to know who this or these masters are, and I do not expose my delusion, even though the stench is strong in my nostrils. But if it were to come to light, it would awaken me, the old scribe, so that I would pound my pen on his head and stain his nose with my ink, as he deserves. But God has found him, as he found his like before.

Whoever now desires my judgment on this book, let him hear: Thus says Doctor Martinus about the book Neobuli: Whoever follows this boy and book, and takes more than one wife on it, and wants it to be a right, to him the devil blesses the bath in the abyss of hell, amen. This I know well, praise God, to receive, and if it were a vain Neobulos Nebulones Tulrichs sammt eitel Teufel schneiete ein ganz Jahr lang. They shall not make a right of it to me, I will keep it safe. Much less shall they make it a right for me that a man may divorce his wife with justice (if she has not divorced herself before by public adultery), which this knave would also like to teach.

But that I also speak a little of the matter, when he introduces the fathers out of Moses, I have said above: it is of no avail. Moses is dead. But let it be said at once that it was a right with the fathers and Moses, as it can never be proved that they had God's word to permit them; we have not. And though the Jews were permitted and tolerated of God, yet God Himself considered it unrighteous, as the jealous waters,

The law of Moses was not just, but a dispensation, a decree, not for the weak and needy, but for the hard, disobedient, and wanton peelers. Now there is a great difference between a right and a decree, patience or permission. Right is not wrong, wrong is not right, and he who does, gets, or has something because of wrong does it, gets it, or does not have it because of right.

If the bill of divorcement had been a right, the holy fathers would probably have kept it. But there is no example of this in Scripture. But it is found that those are praised who have not kept this law, and those are reproached who have used it, as is clearly shown in Malachi, chapter 2. Abraham would not let his Hagar go from him until he was forced by God. But what is right, one must praise those who keep it, and rebuke those who do not. Having so many wives is by no means proof that it was a right, but may well have been a fate. For at that time there must have been very pious, holy men who took more than one wife according to the law of Deut. 25:5, to provide for the bodies of poor, abandoned women, among whom there were some who were ugly or hostile, who were very difficult to accept and to raise, whom this Tulrich himself would have fled as the devil. The others truly did not want to take and provide for more than one wife. These were free from such a law, as it is said in the book of Ruth [Cap. 4, 6.], that their brother-in-law would not have them. If it had been a right, he would have had to do it. Now God did not punish him, neither in soul, nor in body, nor in good, for transgressing such a law, without making him wear a shoe, and calling him a barefoot man, which shows what God thought of such a law. Therefore, the taking of many wives was not a right, but rather a doom, which undoubtedly benefited the poor, abandoned women, so that they could find comfort in their friends, who wanted to be merciful to their poor friend.

In Judaism, too, it had a different form than it does here. For women who did not bear children were almost worthless and despised according to the law: *benedixit eis,* as can be seen in Samson's and Samuel's mother, also in Sarah, Rachel 2c. For this reason God was all the more patient with them for their sake, that they might have husbands and children, since they were not all able to have husbands of their own, just as it is now the case with us that many must remain without husbands and children. So there was a special need here that pushed for such a dispensation. But with us it does not take this form, because virginity and widowhood, even though they live without children, are not despised or worthless, but are held honest and praiseworthy according to the Gospel. It may have been just such a necessity that a man had to take a wife, won in war, so that the wretched, poor woman might also have a comfort and be provided for. So we may say against Tulrich, who proves nothing at all, and shall prove it thereby; and what need is there that we should seek all causes why many wives were permitted to the fathers and under Moses? God is Lord, he may abolish, change, and amend his law as he pleases, out of necessity or without necessity. But it is not our duty to imitate it, much less to establish a law that must stand or become an example.

But our Tulrich leads along and gives free rein to carnal lust, and wants to create a world like before the flood of sin, since they do not, like the Jews, out of God's permission, not out of necessity or mercy against wretched women, like Moses does 2c., but as the text saith [Genesis 6:2], "Which they chose according to their lusts," not that it was needful for their consciences, nor profitable for their wombs; not that they desired the flesh, but because, saith he, "they were fair," seeking no more than carnal pleasure. So shall we also do, and do right and well; (saith Master Tulrich) we may take pretty matzos, as much as we will, and atone for the lust, not for the fruit of the womb, nor for the need of women, which the Jews had to do; let the ugly sit, though they were fruitful and might have help. *Sic itur ad astra*, so we go to heaven. So then we have Moses

and the fathers with their examples to beautiful covers of carnal freedom; say with the mouth, we want to follow the example of the fathers, and with the deed we do against it. Help God! what will this time become, when the world shall stand, when now such impudent boys are allowed to put into print everything they desire, and let us watch, who also should have consulted us beforehand, who have church rule and live publicly in office, but Tulrich is a mere nobody and wants to rule. *Lupus in ovili*. They want to adorn all courage from the Scriptures, since they themselves feel that it will not do, and that Christians will not suffer. But perhaps we have sinned too little under the papacy, and afterwards have founded too little heresy. The longer the greater the abomination, the more we must commit it, otherwise God would remain too merciful to us. As I said, I do not want to answer the hopeless wretch for all his foolishness; others will do that. Be careful, too, that any layman who is a true Christian can easily put everything aside, as there is this and such foolishness when he writes, although it is not written that Seth, Enos, Methuselah have had many wives 2c. Who does not see here that the fool deals with mockery and knavery, and does not himself take for truth that which he says, namely, that Seth had many wives? If the scripture saith it not, I say it, or think it so, that it should be believed.

No. 2871.

(Wittenberg.) 1. January 1542.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther approves the request of the mayor of Zwickau for support of the boys' school there.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N, fol.* 108. 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 97, no. 181; in Walch, vol. XXI, 459; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 421 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 1.

Your most illustrious high-born Prince and Lord, Mr. Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg. Roman Empire Archmarshall and Elector, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! It has come to me from Mayor of Zwickau M. Oswald Losan, in which way they intend to improve the school in Zwickau, which he will know how to request of E. C. F. G.. And although I consider it unnecessary that I should make my Commendation to E. C. F. G., because I know that E. C. F. G. (praise God) is himself inclined to support churches and schools, but he did not want to desist, I humbly request that E. C. F. G. would be so kind as to support the school in Zwickau. C. F. G. would graciously hear and understand his request; for it is true that the two boys' schools in Zwickau and Torgau are, above all others, two excellent, delicious and noble Kleinoder in E. C. F. G. Landen, where (as we see) God bestows special blessings and grace in abundance, so that many boys are well educated there, and they produce useful and comforting persons for the land and the people, the other use will remain silent. And it has pleased me very much that those in Zwickau take on such things so seriously and bravely, since otherwise in other towns and cities there are such lunderstroses 1) and scoundrels or godless misers who have so much worldly devotion that they want Christ to be with churches and schools where Leviathan reigns. So it does not seem to me to be a great thing that they desire from E. C. F. G., especially because it should not last forever, but for a time, namely six years, so that some wealthy citizens, moved by E. C. F. G.'s example, would also do it. E. C. F. G. will know how to graciously show itself in this. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. On the New Year's Day [1 Jan.] 1542.

Mart. Luther.

No. 2872.

(Wittenberg.) January 6, 1542.

Luther's will together with the confirmation of the Elector from 1546.

Luther's will was confirmed by the Elector John Frederick at the request of his widow on April 11, 1546. - Luther's first will of February 28, 1537 is included in No. 2348.

1) Walch offers (perhaps more correctly): Bundtrosse". Seckendorf in his account of the contents of this letter, *Hist. Luth., lib.* III, p. 415b f., says only: *qui cupiditate secularium rerum repleti sunt*. Perhaps by "buntrosse" are to be understood the nobles (*centauri*).

The original is (according to Burkhardt, p. 405) in the General Archives of the Lutheran Church of the Augsburg Confession of Hungary. Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 846; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 692, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 270*. Without the churfürstliche confirmation in *Sam. Stryck. adpend. ad libr. de cautelis testamentorum*, p. 200, no. XIII; in *Henr. Wurzer, Luther. reformator*, p. 1005; according to a copy in the von Rhedig. Bibliothek irr Breslau in De Wette, vol. V, p. 422 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 2. Manuscript also in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 359.

I, M. L. D., confess with this my own handwriting that I have given to my dear and faithful housewife Catharinen for a life bond 1) (or as one can call it) for the rest of her life, so that she may give birth to her own liking and for her own good, and I give this to her by virtue of this letter, this day and this day:

Namely the manor of Zülsdorf, 2) as I have bought and prepared it, all the same as I have had it up to now.

On the other hand the house Bruno to the dwelling, so I have bought under my wolf's name.

Thirdly, the cups and jewels, as rings, chains, gift coins, gold and silver, which are worth approximately 1000 fl.

That's why I'm doing it.

First of all, that she has always held me dear, valuable and beautiful as a pious, faithful, honest husband, and has borne and raised five living children for me through God's rich blessing.

Secondly, that she shall take upon herself and pay the debt, if I still owe it (where I do not pay it when I am alive), which may be about, I know, 450 fl., perhaps more may be found.

Third, and most of all, that I would not have her look into the hands of the children, but that the children look into her hands, hold her in honor, and be subject to her, as God has commanded. For I have seen and experienced how the devil incites and provokes children against this commandment, even if they are pious, through wicked and envious mouths, especially when the mothers are widows, and the sons get wives, and the daughters get husbands, and the sons get wives, and the daughters get husbands.

1) So all the issues and Aurifaber. De Wette: "Wipgeding". In the confirmation of the Elector the expression "Leibgeding" is repeated.
2) De Wette: "Zeilsdorf."

Again, *socrus nurum, nurus socrum*. For I hold that the mother shall be the best guardian of her own children, and shall not use such goods and chattels to the children's hurt or harm, but for their use and improvement, as they are her flesh and blood, and she hath borne them under her heart.

And even if after my death she would be compelled or otherwise caused (for I cannot set God a goal in his works and will) to change, I still trust, and herewith want to have such confidence, that she will keep herself motherly towards both of our children, and faithfully share everything with them, whether it is a life bond or something else, as is right.

And also hereby beseech most gracious M. Duke John Frederick, Elector 2c., S. C. F. G. to graciously protect and handle such endowment or Leibgeding.

I also ask all my good friends to be witnesses to my dear Käthe and to help excuse her when some useless mouths want to complain or slander her, as if she had some cash behind her that she would steal or embezzle from the poor children. I am a witness that there is no money except the cups and jewels mentioned above in the book of life. And this can be publicly accounted for by anyone, because it is known how much income I have had from my most gracious lord, and otherwise I have not had a penny nor a grain of income from anyone, except for what has been given as a gift, which is and can be found up there among the jewels, partly also still in debt. And yet I have built and bought so much from such income and gift, and have kept a large and heavy house, that I myself must acknowledge it as a special, strange blessing that I have been able to obtain it, and it is not a miracle that there is no cash, but that there is no more debt. This I ask; for the devil, if he could not come nearer to me, should he seek my Käthe, only the causes, in all kinds of ways, that she has been the husband's Dr. M. matrimonial housewife, and (praise God) still is.

3) De bet wrong: "gstr."
4) De Wette: "gestr."

Finally, I also ask everyone, because I do not use the legal form and words in this gift or body gift (for which I have had causes), that I be allowed to be the person that I am in truth, namely publicly, and who is known in heaven, on earth, and also in hell, and has sufficient reputation or authority to be trusted and believed, more than any *notary*. For if God, the Father of all mercy, has entrusted the gospel of his dear Son to me, a poor, unworthy, wretched sinner, and has made me faithful and true in it, and has kept and found it up to now, so that many in the world have accepted it through me, and consider me a teacher of the truth, in spite of the pope's ban, emperors, kings, princes, priests, and even the wrath of all devils: shall one ever much more believe me here in these little things, especially because here is my hand, almost well known, of hope, it shall be enough, if one can say and prove, this is Dr. M. L. (who is God's *notary* and witness in his Gospel) earnest and well-considered opinion, with his own hand and seal to prove. Done and given on the day of Epiphaniä (Jan. 6). 1542. M. L.

Ego Ph. Melanthon testor, hanc esse et sententiam et voluntatem et manum Rdi. Dr. Dr. M. L., Praeceptoris et Patris nostri charissimi.
Et ego Ca. Cruciger, D., testor, hanc esse et sententiam et voluntatem et manum Rdi. Dr. Dr. M. L., charissimi Patris nostri, quare et ipse mea manu subscripsi.
Et ego Joh. Bugenhagius Pomeranus, D., idem testor mea manu.

Electoral confirmation of Luther's will.

By the Grace of God, we, Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, Elector, and Burgrave of Magdeburg, confess and declare against all men, after our dear special one, Catharina, of the venerable and highly respected, of our dear devotee, Mr. Martin Luther, of the Holy Scriptures Doctoris, sel. Scripture Doctoris, sel., bequeathed widow, her Lord's will and decree of his own handwriting humbly presented and asked that we graciously confirm and confirm this: as we have the same Doc.
toris M. Luther's decree from word to word, and thereby heard his will and mind. And even though the reported ordinance would be deficient in the ornaments and solnities required by law, we have nevertheless graciously confirmed and not refrained from confirming it, out of our own gracious will, so that we have always been inclined to the aforementioned Dr. Martino during his life, and for the sake of the causes and concerns which he has indicated in such ordinance. We herewith confirm and approve the same decree by virtue of this letter, and wish that the contents thereof, as far as the aforementioned bequest and bequest made to his widow's estate is concerned, shall be binding upon the children and their guardians appointed by us, and male guardians ordered by us, and that they should be considered strong and not acted against, as we then also consider this strong for ourselves, and graciously want to protect and handle the said widow in this, without any danger. For the record with our secret printed on the back, sealed and given at Wittenberg, Sunday Judica [April 11] Anno 1546.

No. 2873.

(Wittenberg.) January 6, 1542.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther gives him advice how he should behave against the priest Nicolaus Medler, who had allowed himself arbitrariness.

The original is in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. Printed from the Börner collection in Leipzig by Schütze, vol. I, p. 181 and (after the original compared for him) by De Wette, vol. V, p. 425. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1480.

To the venerable and worthy man in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus, the right, fair and faithful bishop of Naumburg, his superior who is to be highly honored.

Grace and peace! I am very displeased with Medler's imperious behavior, my best bishop. Therefore, if I were in your place, I would continue with the opposite attack and urge silence and peace against Medler until the visitation, in which it should then be determined where the patronage right belongs. For it is unjust to snatch it from them against their will, and one must deal with them, that they may

renounce the same of their own free will. For this is how we acted during our visitation, that we persuaded those who had the right of patronage, but let those go who did not want to be persuaded. Thus all nobles confer their parishes as they have conferred them of old, without the authority of the prince or the church. Now, if Medler has excommunicated those *figulos*, "the Töppers," then you may command, as the right and superior bishop, that they be quiet. And command Medler that he pursue that which is for peace. It is not to be suffered that he should take the liberty of regarding you as a larva and a fairy tale, since the care of the church at Naumburg is laid upon you, and you have to give an account of it. If it is necessary, I will write to him vehemently, since he is making a noise in peace without cause. In the meantime, be thou a strong and patient man, and [see to it] 1) that he may do nothing else which God does not permit. But thou hast snatched this place from the devil, and the right fruits shall abundantly follow. Be well in the Lord. I wrote this while my head was hurting badly all day long. Friday after the circumcision [6 Jan.] 1542.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2874.

(Wittenberg.) January 10, 1542.

To Justus Menius, pastor in Eisenach.

About the writing against Tulrich (see No. 2870), against whom Menius also wrote a book.
From the former Gudic collection in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 182 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 426.

Grace and peace! I have received your book against that Tulrich 2), my dear Justus, and it will be put into print,

1) Inserted by us to make sense. We have added the brackets around the words: *quod Deus non sinit* sinit omitted because they are only placed to emphasize these words. - Walch offers meaninglessly: "and even if you cannot do anything else (which God wants to prevent), you still have" 2c.

2) Johann Lening, pastor in Melsingen, had published a "Dialogus" under the pseudonym Huldrichus Neobulus for the Landgrave of Schutz, Margarethen [von der Sala] of Lieb and the Wittenbergers of Trutz, in which he defends bigamy.

but mine is already in the works, 3) yours will follow later. I have not yet been able to read it through. I have hardly been able to be induced to write, so much have I been disgusted by this exceedingly bad man, who brings out (*cacantis*) such inconsistent, foolish, and void grounds of proof. I am told that the author is that Carthaean monster, the pastor at Melsingen. But I easily believe that all these gods have gathered their finest gifts to this Pandora 4). For Bucer is stinking enough of the "Regensburg actions" for himself. Master Grickel continues, how then he is given over to Satan to stir up spite against us, and his lips have their salad. Christ keep us in his holy word thankful and constant, Amen. More at another time. Give my love to the Lord Frederick [Mecum] (I have not had time (to write to him]), and pray for us. Tuesday after Erhard]Jan. 10] 1542. Martin Luther.

No. 2875.

(Wittenberg.) January 11, 1542.

To the princes Johann, Georg and Joachim von Anhalt.

Luther asks for venison for a wedding and gives thanks for a wild boar given to him earlier.
First printed in 1830, after the original, in Lindner's "Mittheilungen," vol. II, p. 74; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 232; and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 297.

To the noble, highborn princes and lords, Johanns, Georgen, provost of Magdeburg, and Joachim, brothers, princes of Anhalt, counts of Ascanien, and lords of Bernburg, my gracious lords.

G. and F. in Christ. Most noble princes, most gracious lords! Though

3) According to the expression Luther uses here: *in edendo*, it seems that work was already done on it in the printing office, but for certain reasons neither the completion of the writing nor the printing took place. On 31 Jan. the Elector requested that Luther "stand still with further printing [of the writing concerning the Landgrave]. See No. 2881.

4) Pandora, the wife of Epimetheus, received gifts from all the gods.

I do not like to complain to E. F. G., but the matter and necessity forces it, and is that I ask E. F. G. quite humbly, they want to give me, if it is possible and feasible, with venison. For I shall help a housewife, my friend, into the holy divine state of marriage; and there is little to be had here. For the crowd and much more the offices and court stores have almost eaten up everything, so that neither chickens nor other meat is easy to get, so that where it is lacking, I must replenish it with the most confused and caldans. I have also not yet thanked E. F. G. for the pig, given to me, but now thank her in writing, whom I have previously thanked verbally and sincerely. For I feel in many ways that E. F. G. has a great gracious will towards me, the unworthy. And if this sow had come after the engagement, it would have had to be saved for the wedding, so that I could have left E. F. G. unburdened this time. ...but E.F.G. Will graciously indulge my lust. The wedding day shall be Monday after St. Paul's conversion or on XXX. *Januarii*. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. *Dated* midweek *post Erhardi* [11 Jan] 1542.

E. F. G. williger Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2876.

(Wittenberg.) January 12, 1542.

To Spalatin.

Luther complains that the tree trunks given to him by the Elector and selected by his friends have been sold by the bailiff without his will; now he wants that no other trees are felled for ihu, unless his friends supervise it.

The original is at Gotha in *Cod. chart.* 122. *fol.* Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 272; by *Sclegel, vita Spalatini,* p. 248 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 427. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1312 ff.

To the highly famous and valuable man, Magister Georg Spalatin, the extremely faithful overseer of the churches in Meissen and pastor at Altenburg, his very dear brother.

Grace and peace in the Lord. My dear Spalatin! If the trees given to me by his Serene Highness are in accordance with the will and

are sold by order of our prince, then I am satisfied, but if it were otherwise, then it would please me very much that my property should be sold by strangers without consulting me. For that would arouse suspicion, because I experience both here and everywhere how maliciously and fraudulently (not to say thievishly) they hand over to me, as is their custom, what the very good Prince gives me honestly and abundantly. Everything that these robber officials are supposed to hand over to us theologians, they consider to be completely lost, and think that it belongs to their robbery. I would indeed have sent my own carriage after the feast of the Nativity, which was to drive one tribe after another to Zülsdorf throughout the month. What am I to do now? How can I hope that in the future other trees will be given to me without the prince knowing about it, or that I will be given the same good face again? Namely, the trees have been selected at my expense and under the supervision of my friends. Certainly, I want those who sold them to have such or similar trees, because they did it without my order. I have said above about the will of the prince. This you may answer them, so that they also shall not cut down trees anew, unless I have hired friends, as before. For these birds of prey (*harpyiis*) I trust not. Fare well in the Lord. 12 January 1542.

Deül M. Luther, D.

No. 2877.

(Naumburg.) January 19, 1542.

Concerns for the Estates of the Naumburg Abbey.

The bishop of Naumburg is the bishop of Naumburg, and the bishop of Zeitz is the bishop of Naumburg, and the bishop of Zeitz is the bishop of Naumburg, and the bishop of Zeitz is the bishop of Naumburg. The estates, namely those of the knighthood in the Naumburg monastery and the city councils of Naumburg and Zeitz, had sworn to the deceased bishop that after his death they would hold to no one else but the church, which words one tried to interpret to the chapter.

First in Förstemann's Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen, vol. II, vol. 2, Halle 1835, p. 175, from the archive kept in the municipal archives at

Naumburg, probably from the pen of the then Syndicus and town clerk of Naumburg, Nicolaus Kroteschmidt or Krotteschmidt, flowed reports about Amsdorf's election and introduction as bishop. Sodann in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. X, 162, and in De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 298. Only the beginning and the end l in Melanchthon's manuscript) in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N, fol.* 452. A copy of it is in *Cod. Goth*. 451, p. 251). Printed in *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. IV, 774. - Luther spoke these advising words Thursday, January 19, after 5 o'clock in the evening, in the Licentiate Dorferin at Naumburg House, in the presence of Melanchthon and Spalatin, after the Estates had presented the case to them. The Estates, however, asked the Elector on the following day at 7 o'clock in the morning, "because such a thing would not go off without a reproach, that the whole action or at least Herr Doctoris Martini Luther's concern, on account of the common man, should go out in print". (Seidemann.)

Following the advice of Doctoris Martini given to the foundation boards and written down on paper by Philippum Melanchthonem.

This is established, certain, and evident, if a ruling bishop persecutes the gospel in one or more articles, then the chapter together with the patron, or, if there is a lack of chapter, the patron together with the estates, is obligated to depose the same persecutor, if he does not mend his ways, regardless of the fact that the estates, as subjects, have done duty to the bishop. 1)

For this is God's command and commandment, against which no duty binds, that idolatrous teachers 2) should be fled, and that the church should depose them, as Paul plainly saith, "If any man preach any other gospel, let him be banished." Item: "He that forsaketh not his father and mother," 2c. And this also the ancient canons and the custom of the ancient churches, wherein it was thus held that the churches themselves deposed the heretical bishop, as Paul Samosatenus was deposed at Antioch. 3)

Since this is quite certain and obvious, that duty is not binding in this case, the same is to be observed by the chapter if it does not want to proceed to the right election, or if it adheres to a persecutor, and then such a chapter is to be observed in the same way as the persecutor, and the estates together with the patron are to be held responsible.

1) "To do one's duty" == to take an oath.
2) In Seidemann: "lher" == teaching; but in Melanchthon's manuscript in the *Corp. ref.*: "teacher".
3) What now follows is missing from *Corp. Ref.* vol. IV, up to the penultimate paragraph.

It is the duty of every authority to appoint its own parish, irrespective of any duty or sovereignty, because the commandment to teach rightly and to hold right services is above all other commandments.

Secondly, it is public that the duty of the estates cannot nor may not prevent the patron from contesting the unjust election, and if the chapter loses its right to the election, it is certain that all justice to elect comes afterwards to the church, that is, to the estates together with the patron, for this is the ancient right and first order of the churches, as expressed in a writing Concilii Niceni and in many histories, that the election is made by the estates, that is, by the members of the churches in all estates.

Since the chapter no longer has the right to elect, nor does it wish to do so, the duty is at the same time interpreted as a correlative, as far as the election is concerned; and if the election comes to another assembly, then the duty, so that the estates are related to the chapter, is not meant for the present person, but for the preservation of the churches in principle.

Therefore also the words are thus: I swear to the house of God 2c. If the opinion of the estates and the patrons is to have a Christian bishop, and to strive for Christian reformation of the chapter, consistories, planting of right doctrine, and not to abolish the chapter, then basically that is kept which the duty is able to do, and which they all, patron and estates, owe before God. But let it be seen that such correction is undertaken with earnestness and not sought otherwise.

But that one should speak against it: it may be that one should depart from unrighteous teachers 5), depose them 2c., but one may not withdraw from bishops or chapters in worldly obedience, fiefs 2c. Answer: This is certain, that parish goods and righteousness should and must follow to the service, as the gospel saith, "To the labourer belongeth his

4) In *Corp. ref*: "laid up."
5) Seidemann: "leren".

Wages." Thus these goods are not given away for the pomp (gebreng) and idleness of the canons, but rather for the necessary appointment of the ecclesiastical offices, of which the text in the Codice commands in clear words: He who does not do his office shall not enjoy his prebend, and shall be deposed. And in this your patron and the estates are to have understanding.

Above all this, it is known that the Antichrist himself wants these two things to be kept separate: their idolatry and their worldly power or goods. They do not seek the preservation of right church government, but primarily and actually the suppression of right doctrine and the preservation of their unrighteous nature and glory.

Since they do not leave the episcopal office from the secular one, and we, as persecutors, cannot leave the episcopal office to them, the other must also follow the right bishop, as described in Decretis, that the Donatists were deprived of their church goods when they were no longer in the right office, and the same goods were turned to the right church government, as such was undoubtedly the opinion of the founders, and such examples are to be found more in histories.

2) We are also more certain that we do away with them, that we are certain that the will, opinion, suggestions, and practices of the priests are all directed primarily to the suppression of the truth, and not to right church government, therefore the patrons and the churches are to be remembered as resisting their ungodly nature.

Again, as said above, 3) herewith the due obedience of the chapter is not withdrawn, because preservation of these churches and improvement, not diminution is sought, as also such should be the serious and thorough opinion, and not otherwise, and the will of the estates thus stands that they want to show all reasonable obedience to a Christian bishop and chapter, which maintains the church government rightly and faithfully 2c.

1) Seidemann: "right"; immediately following: "such" instead of: "such".
2) Here *Corp. ref.* vol. IV resumes.
3) Seidemann: "gesaczt".

No. 2878.

Nanmburg. 2 t. January 1542.

To Wolfgang Stein, pastor of Weißenfels.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2222. - There the addressee is called only "Wolfgang," and the letter is dated according to De Wette: "In January (?) 1542." Seidemann, in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 622, places the letter on January 21.

No. 2879.

(Wittenberg.) January 23, 1542.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Luther asks him to give a detailed and complete account of the history of Frau von Rauchhaupt, since he intends to publish it.
Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 362. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 183 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 428 f.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Justus Jonas, Doctor of Theology, the exceedingly faithful servant of Christ in the church at Halle, his superior.

Grace and peace! Although there was nothing there, my dear Jonas, that I could have written, nor was it necessary for me to write, if I had something that I could write, since your son Jonas could tell everything that I could have written, and] 4) even if I wrote nothing, you could read it from his mouth: However, so that I do not write nothing, it has seemed good to me that I write this, namely, that you may see to it that the history of Frau Rauchhaupt 5) is described to me again in detail and in all its parts. For I have thought that this history is worthy of being published in print. We would add several other abominations of Satan, if perhaps the security of the mob could be shaken, which is so furious that it not only despises the salutary miracles of the gospel, which daily and abundantly occur in the world.

4) Added by us to give meaning. - According to this Justus Jonas, the son, has been the bearer of the letter. .

5) *historiam Dominae Rauchheuptinae*. To this Burkhardt remarks: In 1542 the wife of Rauchhaupt together with a maiden of 10 years has been kidnapped on the Neumarkt, but the perpetrators have been executed at Pintzenau near Naumburg with tongs and wheels. *Cf. G. Olearii Halygraphia* 47.

but also the fierce raging of the devil, and believe that neither God is good, nor the devil evil, and behave to be only bellies. Other, when thou shalt have fulfilled thy threatenings, that is, when thou comest thyself. Fare well and pray for me [to GOD], 1) who will multiply you and the church at Halle with manifold fruit lasting for eternity, Amen. On Monday after Marcelli [23 Jan.] Anno 1542.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 2880.

(Wittenberg.) After the 20th of January 1542.

To Nikolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther reassured him about the outward honor associated with the episcopate, which was troublesome to him.
The original is in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. A copy in the Cod. *chart. Cod. A* 1048. Printed by Schütze, vol. I, p. 242 and by De Wette, vol. V, p.429.

To the especially highly famous man, Mr. Nicolaus von Amsdorf, the loud and faithful and holy bishop of Naumburg, his superior who is to be highly honoured in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I have received your letter, in the Lord's high esteem, I do not know through whom, therefore I have not been able to answer. That you write that your mouth has been smeared with words, and that God wanted you to remain in Magdeburg, because a greater splendor of high status (*majestatis*) would have been contrary to you. I believe all this very easily, since I know your character very well, how it is averse to this courtly and worldly splendor and detests it, because you are used to peace and quiet. And it was precisely this that caused me to not easily approve of our Prince's conduct in this matter. But it was necessary to act in this way, and one must not resist the will of God. For as matters now stand, no person was more suitable than

1) Added by us.
2) On this day Amsdorf was ordained bishop.

yours alone, as you have often heard. By the way, you must remember that when I laid my hands on you, I said [Ps. 27:14]: "Wait for the Lord, be confident and undaunted. If it were in our counsel what or how much God would do through us, He would do nothing at all through us, namely, we would immediately destroy His counsel by showing Him the purpose and the effecting manner, the length, the breadth, and the depth, that is, our exceedingly wise wisdom of the flesh, by which hindered, He would be compelled to let us go in the lusts of our heart and to let us be satisfied with our counsels. Now the matter stands, by God's goodness, that we never act anything more rightly or more holy than when we appear to ourselves to be incapable and unfit (*nihili*) to act, nor will we act anything in a wiser way than when we appear to ourselves to act in the most supreme way. For the saying is certain [2 Cor. 12:9.], "His power is mighty in our weakness." Therefore, in matters of God, it is much safer to be carried away than to act (*agere*), as happened to you at this time, not in a clumsy way, nor according to a common example. On the other hand, we never act worse than when we think we understand what and how much we are acting, because then it can hardly, indeed not, happen that we do not please ourselves a little in what we do, and so we sully this action by a certain defilement with some vanity (*gloriolae*) (yet a pardonable one), and do not so purely glorify God alone. This is why it happens in general,

That his power/wisdom may become weak in our power/wisdom. Since we do not need to know what and how to ask him who is mighty to do more than we ask or understand, how much less do we need to know and understand what and how he wants to work through us, since he, being almighty, has undoubtedly decided to do more than we think or understand. Be strong, therefore, and fear not. Now if you are moved by this fear, that you should be hailed or worshipped as a prince, know that you can do neither this nor that.

I am not a prisoner, nor do I seek it of your own free will, but that you are compelled to suffer here a manner and way of life foreign to you, not for your own sake, but for the sake of those for whom it is necessary that this should happen. It is a larva, and not a serious matter. For also at Magdeburg thou wast compelled to suffer this larva, or (as Paul calls it) the *habitum,* or the schema, 1) that thou mightest become a licentiate.
then the nobleman of Amsdorf, and the like; so I am called a husband, a householder 2c. But thou knowest that GOD cares nothing for these persons or larvae, since they are not the kingdom of GOD, so that Paul presumes to call even the apostleship a larva, Gal. 2:6: "GOD respecteth not the standing (*personam*) of men." For the Church must appear in the world, but she cannot appear except in a larva, person, covering, shell, or clothing, in which she can be heard, seen, and apprehended, otherwise she could not be found anywhere. But such larvae are a husband, an official (*politicus*), a householder, John, Peter, Luther, Amsdorf 2c., although none of these is the Church, which is neither Jew nor Greek, neither man nor woman, but Christ alone 2c. Therefore, when the bishopric stands to its office, Christ will not care whether the larva be a private or a public one, one of the common people or a royal one; among all larvae and persons he can be worshipped, as the second Psalm [v. 10.] says, "Be ye therefore wise, ye kings" 2c.

But why do I write to you about these things in so many words, as if you did not know and understand these things better? Only that I wish my service and my endeavors to be pleasing and pleasant to you, and all that I am able to do, especially for him who has such a great burden on him, but for the glory of God and the salvation of many souls. Fare well in Christ, amen. My Lord Käthe wishes you with great confidence the perfect blessing of God, and wishes you

1) Phil: 2:7. "Givers" is given in the Vulgate by *habitu*, in the Greek by xxxxxxx.

herself happiness that she has "a gracious successor and godfather" so close. The bride Hanna Strauß, who is now married, thanks you for the gift. The HErr be with thee, the strong and by the gift of GOD unconquerable man. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

No. 2881.

Torgau. 31 January 1542.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector instructs Luthern to answer Dr. Pomeranus to his letter that the Elector wants to let him serve in Holstein until Pentecost at the request of the King of Denmark, but refuses to let him remain in Holstein or Denmark. In the postscript he requests the early completion of the writing "about the Naumburg plot", and orders that the printing of the writing "for the sake of the Landgrave's further promotion" (No. 2870) be stopped. 2)

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. C, pag. 252. n.* 15. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 405.

Our greetings first. Honored and reverend sir, dear devotee! We have received from the envoy... Denmark, our special dear lord and uncle, a letter from his royal commanders. W., as we are now returning from our Diet to Torgau, which content 3) you will hear from the enclosed copy; our also dear devotee, Doctor Pomeranus, has also written to us in particular, as you will no doubt have received from him the good report.

And although the people of Holstein, especially those of nobility, perhaps because of all kinds of ungodly dealings and profiteering, have hitherto had little and not much regard for the Holy Gospel and the divine Word, we are nevertheless pleased with the royal and Christian intentions. 4) W. Christian intentions and concerns quite well, that their royal dignity is the same country among their brethren. 5) to which the eternal God has bestowed his royal grace and all the benefits of the divine word. W. grace and all welfare graciously. Since Christian preachers of the place have also been appointed, we have no doubt that they will bear fruit with the teaching of God's Word against the abuses touched. Therefore, we graciously request that you, in the presence of Doctor

2) Burkhardt's description of the content is quite inaccurate.
3) Burkhardt: "inhalts".
4) "kön." put by us instead of: "kay." in Burkhardt.
5) "and" inserted by us to make some sense. - Immediately following we have put "which" instead of: "which".

Creutzinger and Philippi Melanchthon, Doctor Pomeranus, to his letter to us in the following form, on our account, 1) and show him: although we do not like to have him leave our principality or our university and city of Wittenberg for some time, 2) on account of the graces which God has bestowed upon him: we would nevertheless consider that we are willing to help K. W. of Denmark as a Christian king and our special dear lord and uncle for his Christian cause and for the comfort of the people for a time. W. of Denmark, as a Christian king and our special dear lord and uncle, for his Christian3) purpose and for the comfort of the people, we would do him the favor of his person for a time, as we have done before. 4) Now that we cannot note anything else from his own letter to us than that he has placed his will in God's will and ours, we have graciously let it happen, where he would otherwise not know how to preserve anything special, that he has agreed with K. W.'s sentiments, as they are now. W.'s emissaries, who are now at Torgau, to Holstein, we also want to assign him one of our single-horse soldiers, who is to wait for him next to the royal envoy and ride with him until he reaches Holstein and the K. W.. We write to the king that we would permit him, albeit with complaints, but only for the sake of Christian and friendly experience, until Pentecost and no longer; we also indicate to the king several reasons why it would be inconvenient for us to grant him further permission, and we trust that the king will be well satisfied and content with this. Therefore we also let it happen that he rises the more conducive, so that he comes back that much sooner. But that we should agree that he should remain persistently in Holstein or Denmark, such we do, as has happened before, to his royal dignity. His royal dignities. 5) It has also been a gracious favor to us that the said Doctor Pommer does not know how to leave his appointment with us and at Wittenberg, for among other things it is not known to us, as he writes to us, that he means us and our lands and people for eternal and temporal welfare and completely faithfully and diligently. Therefore we are also inclined to him, besides you and other of our scholars, with but grace. You will graciously show him this with better diligence,

1) Here one sees that Luther should communicate the answer of the Elector to Bugenhagen, but not, as Burkhardt says in the table of contents: "answer the letter of the King of Denmark".

2) Maybe: "miss"?

3) Burkhardt: "more Christian."

4) Bugenhagen was in Denmark from 1537 to 1539.

5) "refuse" put by us instead of: "because of". In the original will be found "wegern".

and you do us a gracious favor. Date Torgau, Tuesday after *Pauli Conversionis* [31 Jan] 1542.

Note. After you have also recently let us, together with Philippo, be humbled at Naumburg that you both, one in German and Philippus in Latin, wanted to bring the Naumburg action to light through a print, 6) we do not doubt that in the meantime you will both have been at it and now have produced the work or will produce it conducively so that it will go out in print with apparent Christian causes. This is also done for our special gracious favor.

So we have also sent word to you by our chamberlain next to Naumburg that it seems to us that you are in the process of letting something go out for the sake of our cousin and brother, the landgrave, and for the sake of some other purpose. 7) And even though our mind and opinion is not to set you a certain measure in what you consider to be that it could not well be circumvented for the praise of the Almighty and for the good of the Christian people, 8) nevertheless it will not be without being said where our cousin and brother, the landgrave, is to be expressed by name or in an understandable way, that it would give rise to all kinds of reflection in S. L.'s mind. If you ever thought that it could not be avoided for Christian reasons, we graciously request, because we cannot speak to you about it ourselves, as we have informed you through our chamberlain, that you will be so kind as to send us as many copies as are already printed, and that you will remain silent until our further letter with further printing. In this you do us a special gracious favor, to recognize in grace and good. Dated. uts.

No. 2882.

(Wittenberg.) February 6, 1542.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther wishes that Amsdorf's letter messengers should always wait for an answer from him; he forbids gifts to Wildpret and recommends a painter, but without wanting to bother Amsdorf with him.

6) This was done by the writing: "Exemplary to consecrate a right Christian bishop", which came out at the beginning of March. See St. Louis edition, Vol. XVII, 88, No. 1257.

7) No. 2870 is meant, not, as Burkhardt says in the table of contents, a writing against the landgrave.

8) So put by us instead of: "nit volgen konnte, vmbgangen werden".

The original is in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 184 and by De Wette, Vol. V, German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1482.

To the in Christ venerable man, Mr. Nicolaus von Amsdorf, the loud and exceedingly faithful bishop of Naumburg, fine superior to be highly honoured in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I hope, dearest brother in the Lord, that my letter has been delivered to you. One thing I ask of thee, that, as often as thou writest to me, thou mayest at the same time command the messenger to desire an answer, or thou mayest point out by whom I am to answer thee. For Jonas also troubles me with this, that he so often desires that I should answer, but no one 1) demands [the letters]. For after the letters are delivered, the messengers go away and do not return. The same thing happens to me more often, so that they often leave written letters to perish with me. And it would require great wealth if I had to send a special messenger for each letter. Nor am I so idle that I would have free time to write letters in vain, since I do not have much leisure and time even for the necessary ones.

Then what thou writest of the venison, let not that request of mine be fulfilled, but at my sojourn in the country (*in rure meo*) such winged words were uttered. For I do not want you to doubt that I have resolved never to ask anything of you; so I will do now; not because I despise you, but because I do not want to arouse their courtly suspicion among our centaurs, who, corrupted by ardent hatred, are looking for opportunities to diminish us as if we wished to rule through you; secondly, because I know that you have grown from a rich preacher (in Magdeburg) to a much poorer bishop, who has more need than in Magdeburg. But I also want you not to care about my letter of recommendation in any way, unless it should be entirely convenient for you. For I believe that you are firmly convinced of this through our long friendly contact.

1) Instead of *millies* at De Wette we have assumed *nullus.* Walch offers: "but no one demands them from me".

that I am such a man, who wishes to be a burden or a complaint to you least of all, but rather a comfort and a relief. Therefore, this is what you should do here: because you want to use the services of the painter M. Sebastian, you should not use him if you do not also want to use any painter. He is known to you, and you have used his work in Magdeburg. But he has asked that I recommend him to you, which I could not refuse the good man; perhaps 2) he is thinking of greater things than really exist. Nor do I know whether there will be any use for him there. But whatever it may be, you will see to it. But I would that thou hadst a little better furnished and daintier apartments, for the sake of the flesh, which must not lack its care and rest, since this is without sin and guilt. The Lord be with thee, for we also are continually with thee in spirit, Amen. On Monday after the Purification of the Virgin Mary [6 Feb.] 1542. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2883.

(Wittenberg.) February 11, 1542.

To the preachers in Nordhausen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 744. - There (according to Walch) without the indication of the addressees and as from the year 1535. It is a concern in Jakob Löwer's matrimonial case, written by Melanchthon's hand and co-signed by Luther. It is found in the *Corp. Ref.* , vol. IV, 777.

No. 2884.

(Wittenberg.) February 15, 1542.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther asks that the schools in Gotha and Eisenach be preserved.

The original is found in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Mm, fol. 90. N*. 4. This is a handwritten postscript by Luther to a letter from the University of Wittenberg requesting the provision of two scholarship holders. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 408.

And I also ask that E. C. F. G. will graciously show himself that the two schools Isenach and Gote will be preserved. For where

2) Instead of *rogitat* we have adopted *cogitat*; Walch also has the latter reading.

If they should fall, then it is an example, harmful to the whole principality, and few of the nobility will ask about it; but if such an order falls, then they will help to disturb God's kingdom. Then we are Turks, and they shall not keep their kingdom and nobility long. I know this for certain. They do it too roughly and too much. Therefore, may God help us to remain firm in the Gospel, amen.

E. C. F. G.

subservient M. Luther, D.

No. 2885.

(Wittenberg.) February 16, 1542.

To Justus Jonas at Halle.

Luther requests him that he should order the messengers who deliver his letters to demand the answer to the same. News: of Carlstadt's death, the Turkish War 2c.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 365, printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 187 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 434.

Grace and peace! What I have ordered verbally to the worthy man, Dr. Kilian, 1) your syndic, the same I show you with this pen dipped in ink and filling the paper, namely that you may not continue to demand an answer from me if you have not first made the messengers or postmen do this small favor, namely that they, when they have delivered the letters, at least return and demand the answer. For they deliver your letters to me in such a way as if, after they have thrown them away or handed them to someone they meet, they were obliged to attend to other matters or, in the meantime, to kill the Turk. Or, if thou care not for this, doubt not that I can answer nothing. I am too poor (you know that) to be able to send letters to you with my own messengers, and too busy to be able to find out who from here might be going to Halle or travelling away. This [in reply] to your four letters, or if there should be more.

By the way, Dr. Kilian was a very pleasant guest, and would have been even more pleasant to me,

1) Cf. no. 2815.

...if he had been my companion at table. But he said he must hasten so, that I asked him in vain. Whatever it may be, the agreement of the minds is a great and joyful banquet, however far apart we may be in body, according to the saying, "The union of the saints is the church. Farewell and pray for me; the Lord be with you, amen.

Greetings on behalf of all of us to your very dear wife, the fruitful one and the one blessed with children. About Carlstadt's death 2) I also wish to know whether he died repentant. His wife will be here around Easter, from whom we will learn everything. Again, farewell. On Thursday after Valentine [16 Feb] Anno 1542.

Bucer's wife died in the plague, all his daughters and one son. Many learned men died, which I believe you know.

A certain friend writes from Basel that Carlstadt has died, and adds a strange story: he assures us that a ghost is prowling around his grave and in his house, making noise in various ways by throwing stones and rubble. According to the Attic law, one may not revile the dead, so I will add nothing.

We have arranged for the Hungarian reports to be published by print. The Poles indicate that the Turkish tyrant is seeking autocracy in Europe, and that there is no doubt that he will invade Germany and desire the passage of the Poles. They promise that they will fight if they receive help from the Germans. But if out of this Diet at Speier, as at the others, there will be a sophistical dispute, then the matter will speak that Germany will be carried away by a fate. I keep myself upright by this one consolation, that I know that God cares for the Church. It has been written from Hungary that the eldest son of the Turkish tyrant has fallen away from his father and is making war in Syria because, as they say, the father will hand over the empire to the younger son. Eck has

2) He died on Dec. 25, 1541.

published a very angry writing about the Regensburg actions 1), and proves to be more biting than Archilochus in ripping Bucer to shreds, although he also directs his attacks against others. Your Martin Luther.

No. 2886.

(Wittenberg.) February 16, 1542.

To Georg Schud in Silesia.

Luther rejects marriage to the wife of the deceased brother as quite unchristian.

From the Ludwig Collection in Halle in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 191 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 436. German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1485.

Since you seek counsel in the matrimonial matter of a brother who has married the wife of his deceased brother: Flee thou these abominations of the devil, and be not laden with other men's sins. It is not a question whether they are to be divorced, but they are to be considered unchristians (*a Christo alieni*), if they do not immediately divorce and for the sake of the greatness of the offense go to foreign countries full of each other, the one here, the other there. Otherwise there are sins enough by which we are oppressed, that we must not also bear these enormities. If your Silesians continue to anger God in this way, it is safer to leave them. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. On Thursday after Valentine [16 Feb.] 1542. Your M. L., D.

No. 2887.

(Wittenberg.) February 23, 1542.

To Count Albrecht of Mansfeld.

(Unauthentic letter.)

This letter, which is found in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 437 (with your wrong date: "February 24th") and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 56, p. 6, is in our opinion spurious, a combination of No. 2865 and the remodelled beginning of the letter of March 14th 1542. That this letter belongs to the year t541, is also proved by No. 2866, the letter to Duke Moritz, in which Luther indicates that he writes at the same time to Count Albrecht. De Wette brings this letter from the alleged "in ice".

1) *Apologia pro reverendis et illustribus Principibus Catholicis.* Bucer replied to this in his Sctirift: *De vera Ecclesiarum in doctrina de cerimoniis et disciplina reconciliatione*, and in 1543 gave against it from this: *Replica Joh. Eccii adversus scripta Buceri Apostatae*. (De Wette.)

He considers it necessary to add: "This is officially assured; however, the orthography and grammar are not entirely Lutheran. It is superfluous to print the entire letter here, because the largest part is found word for word in No. 2865; but for those who might doubt the correctness of our judgment, we place here the beginning of the letter, remodeled from the letter of March 14, 1542. The address is as in No. 2865.

Grace and peace in the Lord and my poor *Pater noster etc*. Most gracious and dear Sovereign! Your Grace would graciously hear my poor sighing, if I cannot cheerfully begin my letter to Your Grace because of the speech and cries, which I must hear daily with great sorrow because of my dear sovereign, without it not being my fault, so I am well sorry, and my childish heart hurts me. (This is followed by the two paragraphs indicated in No. 2865).

No. 2888.

(Wittenberg.) 24. 2) February 1542.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

About the campaign against the Turks, for which one prepares oneself with all kinds of vices and contempt of the Word of God, so that there are worse Turks in Germany than the Mahomedan Turks. God will punish the despisers and blasphemers in His wrath.

The original is in Dessau. Handwritten in Aurifaber, Vol. III, p. 366. Printed in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 192 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 438.

Grace and peace in the Lord! What you write about the campaign of our princes against the Turks, I do not know whether they are equipped or will be equipped, but even that. I do not even know whether it is useful for us to agonize over when or how they will arm or be armed, because they themselves, as you write, do not believe that the Turk is armed, they who are the most obstructive hinderers by being equipped with avarice, prosperity, usury, and (what is frightening) with contempt for the Word (which they consider to be the word of men, not of God). I received letters from Silesia yesterday, which I am sending you (but dll have to send them back), which almost killed me, because I saw that son

2) De bet wrong: "February 25." In the year 1542 the Matthiastag fell on Friday dm 24 February.

3) Luther plays here with the word *expedio* iu various forms and meanings.

God's words and sacraments are so trampled upon. Although we (as carnal people) love Him exceedingly coldly, I could not, if there were any other 1) feeling in us, suffer a pig or a dog to be despised with such words, since I believe of Him at least with a little spark that He is the Son of God and Sheblimini, and with my weak love for such a Savior 2) I would not stand, as I hope, to give up at least one life in gratitude to Him. But these things are the monstrosities of Carlstadt. Whether these are milder or lesser things, which are said about ours, the matter will show, since they say: "I am your pope! What do I ask of Dr. Martinus?" Since, then, therefore, for this reason the world pays us such thanks, since we are still alive, why do we pray, why are we anxious that the Mahometan Turk should kill such Christian and worse Turks? 3) As if it were not better, if one must be wickedly subservient to the Turks, to be subject to the Turks, enemies and foreigners, than to be subject to the Turks, friends and natives. And if they laugh at GOD in their sins, may GOD also laugh at [them] in their sins, that, just as they do not hear GOD, since He speaks, asks, exhorts, pleads, does all things, endures, suffers, yea, bears in the heart of Noah's sorrow, and cries out in the godly prophets, and rises up early: so may He also, again, at their ruin, since they howl, wail, and cry out in vain, neither hear nor see. "They will have it so; they know that [it is] God whose word we speak, and yet say": we will not hear. Summa: they are driven by raging furies, because the wrath of God has come upon them to the end. Why then do we want to consume ourselves because of these shameful people? Let it go as it goes. Let us pray that 4) the name of God may be sanctified, and that His kingdom may come, and that His will may be done.

1) Instead of *nullus* we have assumed ullus.

2) According to Burkhardt, we have inserted here from the original: *amore non dubitem, ut spero in ejus gratia unam*. This is the only improvement that Burkhardt communicates.

3) Instead of *Turcis occidit* we have adopted *Turcas occidat.*

4) Instead of *et,* we assumed *ut.*

...be done. Meanwhile, let the world perish, perish, perish... "I will have done for such vile Furies."

There is no news, only that Mr. Philippus tells me that he has received a letter from Poland that the Turk has sent two armies, one to Austria, the other to Silesia, and also a Pasha who is to attack Poland with a strong crew of Tartars. I at least know of nothing that is being prepared against these forces, unless, since we despise the enemy, we have the confidence to kill them by drinking Torgau beer, or by playing dice with masked persons (*personaticis*), that is, by silence, to repay them in kind. 5) So I pour out my words to you, my dear Jonas, after I have conquered my anger, my thoughts, and my temptations in a great struggle. Praise be to GOD, who comforted me and said: What cryest thou? Let it go as it goes. But even now I cannot let it go as it may, since I cannot so easily let go of my beloved Saul, and I wish with heartfelt sighs that Germany, my fatherland, may be saved, which before my eyes, and while I live, is perishing and gone. But God's way is just, which I must not resist. God have mercy on us, since no one believes us. Farewell, my dear Jonas, and greet all of us, especially yours, whom I beg you not to grieve with this letter, because I have written this in agitation; after all, God wanted it to be completely wrong, amen. On Friday, St. Matthew's Day [24 Feb.], Anno 1542. Yours, M. Luther.

5) Instead of *perdendum* (?) we have adopted *pendendum.* The meaning is not doubtful: we seek to overcome the Turks by drinking beer and playing dice. To justify the translation we have given, we include a passage from the exhortation that the then Rector, Dr. Jakob Milich, addressed to the students on February 18 (*Corp. Ref. ,* Vol. IV, 780): "We, which is our office, wish to maintain good discipline and to dampen the will to anger. Therefore we forbid nocturnal shouting and noise, likewise the running about of masked persons and the game of dice, which has its name from silence (*mussitatione*). For with such a great corruption of manners what else can sensible people assume than reenactments when they see that unknown masqueraders. who keep silent and talk with waving, break into other people's houses ? This is not compatible with a decent and noble behavior."

No. 2889.

(Wittenberg.) Perhaps in February 1) 1542.

Admonition to the university, the council and the citizens of Wittenberg.

Exhortation to the maintenance of Christian discipline and Order.

Printed under the title: "Vermahnung Doctoris Martini Lutheri, in abwesen Doctoris Pomerani, An die Vniuersitet vnd den Rathe vnd Buraerschafft zu Wittenburg. 1542." quarto. This print is in the Royal Library at Berlin. Then in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 302.

That the preacher earnestly exhort to prayer, and first of all, also to mend, both the city and the school. Forsooth, the wrath of God, greater than anyone believes, has come upon Germany. The regiments are nothing (this is an evil sign, as Isaiah 3 says), so the enemy, the rod of God, is at the door.

Therefore, I ask both the city and the school for God's sake that they do not let the cry come over them that they have heard God's word so long and so abundantly, and yet not only have they not improved, but also have become more and more angry the longer. For that would be a terrible thing to hear before God and the world, that all these thirty years I have been preaching the gospel with great effort and labor, and that others have been preaching the gospel beside me for many years, and that now, at the end of my life, I have had to experience and hear that things have never been worse than they are now. Which should grieve me greatly, even the Holy Ghost, that it should not be good, and a sure sign that this city hath deserved a special destruction, as Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum.

So the council wanted to be diligent in punishing the vices, and to control the citizens' avarice. For, dear God, what is that, if now the grain is all cheap, and yet the city, neither in bread nor other things, no longer helped, because it was very expensive. So

1) Seidemann thinks that this admonition could also have happened in November, but we give the above time determination preference because of the admonition of the Rector to the students of Feb. 18, 1542, mentioned in the previous number. Bugenhagen was also no longer absent in November, but returned from Denmark to Wittenberg around Pentecost. See Burkhardt, p. 405, note.

even in other trades and crafts, that God will indeed punish such injustice and avarice, and make the bag (as Haggaeus says) leaky, so that they will not become any the richer, but only poorer; and though they do not feel it now, yet their children will feel it too much. For so it is said: *Radix omnium malorum avaritia*, avarice corrupts everything, country, people, and what is to be nourished. This gives and teaches in experience...

I also ask my brother Studium, a poor old preacher, for God's sake, to keep quiet, chaste, and honest, to wait for them to be sent here, and to keep them here at the heavy cost of their own, so that they may learn art and virtue, because the time is here, and such fine preceptors are available, and yet they would accept this request and admonition of mine as full of God Himself. For God says: You shall honor the gray head.

But if they grieve my spirit, that I should hear, as Noah heard his world, that God complains [Gen. 6:6] that it grieves him, they shall not escape their flood of sin. Oh my brother Studium, spare me, and do not let it come to this, that I must cry out like St. Polycarpus: Oh God! why did you let me experience this? I did not deserve it, but there is my faithful work and that of your preceptors, which serve you for the best, both in this life and in that. I hereby command God, who will help you to resist the devil, the flesh and the world, amen.

If I could have preached myself, I might have said more.

No. 2890.

(Wittenberg.) March 5, 1542.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 117, no. 1258.

No. 2891.

(Wittenberg.) March 10, 1542.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

Luther comforts him in his temptations and reports news from France, the Netherlands, Cologne 2c.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, fol. 367 and in *Cod. chart. 402. f. Goth*. Printed in *Heckelii mannip. epist.* , p. 94; in Kapp's Nachlese, 4th Th., p, 670; in the Litterar. Wochenblatt, 2nd Th., p. 370; in Schütze, vol. I, p. 189; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 297; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 440; in *Redenstock, Colloquia, tom*. II, *fol.* 227 (wrong 127) and in *Bindseil, Colloquia, tom. II, p. 303;* German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1315.

To the man to be highly honored in the Lord, Anton Lauterbach, pastor of the church at Pirna and bishop of that region, his exceedingly dear brother in Christ.

Grace and peace! "Wait for the Lord, and be of good cheer" [Ps. 27:14], my dear Anton. If there were no temptation exercising the faith of Christians, let what would happen to safe, idle, pleasure-seeking Christians mean the same thing that has happened to Popery. Now since the temptations are rhubarb, myrrh, aloes, and the antidote to all the worms, pus, putrefaction, and dung of this body of sin, it follows that they need not be despised. But neither must we seek them or choose them according to our will, but rather receive them, of whatever kind God wills them to be laid up for us, since He knows which ones, of what kind, and how great are most useful and suitable for us. Therefore, let us be strong, and think that if we have to bear any trials (as is true), we will rather bear them than worse and heavier ones. Let go, and bear all that the centaurs (nobles) and the papists undertake. But do not fail to act, to write, to supplicate, and to try everything with the Prince, and wherever it is at all necessary. Who knows when God will give a good hour? Do not be afraid, lest we be found to have grown weary and to have given way to your devil, the tireless enemy, and then too late feel remorse for what we have done and be ashamed of our softness. So may you not torment yourself on account of your mother, who would rather live in Stolpen under the papacy than in Pirna, to the annoyance of the Gospel. Pray for her without ceasing, and you have done enough. Surely it would not be good if everything that we desire or ask for were to happen soon and immediately. God takes better care of us in ...that he may see how foolish is that which we are about to desire.

We have no news about the Turks, not even about a campaign of ours. In Belgium, the Emperor has forbidden by public edict to rage against the Lutherans. Since there had been peace in France for two years, the Gospel had gradually crept in through the introduction of books. When the monks, the sophists, and the parliament learned of this, they began to rage in such a way that they burned 50 books, but under such great indignation of the people that the king, lest a noise and uproar should arise in Paris, was compelled to interfere and control the cruelty. The Bishop of Cologne has begun to change the abuses in his district. Praise be to God who glorifies his Gospel, so that if our countrymen, like those of Bethsaida, Chorazin, and Nazareth, do not receive the Prophet in his fatherland, the Samaritans and the Cananaean woman 2c. will receive him, and those will be left in their disgrace. Let us only go on preaching, praying, and forbearing. There is a reward there for our labour, and we labour not in vain. In haste. Thou art well pleased in the Lord, and at the same time pray for me that I may slumber at some good hour. I have run the race, I have kept the faith, I have fought the battle as much as I was able according to my measure.

Give my regards to your Agnes and Elisabeth. Greetings to you, my [Lord], Mrs. Käthe, and all of us. On Friday after Reminiscere [March 10] 1542. Yours M. L.

No. 2892.

(Wittenberg.) March 10, 1542.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Of a Diaconus whom Jonas seeks; of the bad conduct of a messenger; of the Rath's love for the Gospel in Halle; of the Turkish war.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, Vol. III, p. 328 (as from the year 1541). From the collection of Caspar Sagittarius at Jena in Schütze, Vol. III, p. 247 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 442.

Grace and peace! With regard to the son-in-law of the provost at Kemberg 1) I cannot do enough for your wishes, my dear Jonas, therefore you must look for another first Diaconus (*protodiaconus).* But I wrote to you yesterday in anger at the abusive messenger, and even now the anger is not yet spent; therefore I remind you again that you must not send such messengers to me, or I will see to it that he is dragged to prison with his neck tied up and rewarded for his virtues. Be it remembered that this is told thee. For I will not suffer a messenger from hell to revile in a stranger's house, that is, in mine, and to think that I, that is to say, my family, is subservient to him. He may freely revile and command as much as he pleases, but in his Hanse and his own, not to Luther, or his house and his own. "Or else I'll have his tongue torn out at the back of his throat." How? do even servants and rags (*centones*) think that they are rulers?

By the way, what you write about the Senate is very pleasing, that it loves the word; I have heard it gladly and give thanks to the Lord, who will continue the work he has begun. Of a warlike armament against the Turk I know nothing; it seems that the Turk unfern Centauren is a zero 2). For at a court, I do not know which (I think it is ours), they say that this boastful speech was made: the Turk has not yet seen any men of war. And M. Philippus told me that he had heard at Regensburg from some Poles that Margrave Joachim the Elder, the father of the present one, had boasted with these words: the Turk had hitherto fought against red boots (so he called the Poles and Hungarians), but when he would have begun to fight against greased boots, then he would realize what kind of people they were. God likes to hear these boasts (as you know) and gives them His blessing.

1) Bartholomäus Bernhardt from Feldkirchen. His son-in-law was M. Matthias Wankel of Hammelburg (see No. 2670).

2) Instead of infra, we assumed with Aurifaber (*cifra*).

new blessing. The summa is this: God has thrown us into the midst of these great braggarts, and compels us to act with them and to pray for them, and at the same time to suffer what happens or will happen, for the sake of the Word, which He has willed to reign so abundantly and powerfully in us; "otherwise I also would know what is to be done in this". We are men like Atlas, the saviors and victors over the world, the devil, and hell, only that the world does not understand this, nor is it worthy of it. Let us therefore be strong and bear up. "It will not be otherwise." One does it who is not praised, another is praised who does not. So the world does not know that it stands by the strength of another, that is, the church, and thinks that the church stands by its strength and the strength of the world.

Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honoros [This I composed, another gained the honor]. Fare well in the Lord, whom thou confessest. In haste (as I use to do). On Friday after Reminiscere [March 10], which is on the day of the equinox. 3) Greet your wife and all yours and ours, also in the name of my mistress Käthe, who commanded me to do so when I wrote.

Your Mart. Luther.

No. 2893.

(Wittenberg.) March 13, 1542.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Luther agrees with Jonas in his complaint about the general depravity of the German people and seeks comfort in prayer. A message about the Turk.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 370, printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 194 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 444.

Grace and peace! Although I had nothing, my dear Jonas, to write, for after the spewing (*vomitum*) of the news I have spewed out in the last letters I am exhausted, yet, since a messenger of such great name and with such great love has presented himself, Brother Bartholomew Drachstädt, 4) I did not send him to you empty.

3) The Aequinoctium is so early according to the old style; according to ours it would be March 21.

4) Cf. no. 2866.

rather want to paint at least alphabetical signs. Since you write that perhaps everything is full of falsehood and hypocrisy, I know, not perhaps, but most certainly, that everything is colored (*fucata*), even in all the nobility of both parties, as much of it is in the administration [of the offices], or in a high position either of honor or of wealth. Nor is our court pure. The sum is: all that will be good and salutary, that will be (doubt it not) the power of our prayer alone, by which the Church is mighty with GOD, as it is said [Jac. 5:16.], "The righteous prayer is able to do much, if it be earnest," and again [John 14:13.], "Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do." In this I leave it, and cooperate by praying, sighing, and constant longing, as much as is given me. With regard to all other things, whether they be counsels or remedies, I endeavor to banish thoughts from my mind, since I know how deceitful and futile they are, as we have hitherto (since we were slow to believe it) experienced too much. Wherefore thou also shalt pray, and counsel to pray, except thou have good hope toward the children of men, which is not counselled. Christ has begun to awake, who shall neither sleep nor slumber henceforth. To him let us leave the management of affairs.

But we have recently heard, or rather read, written from Hungary, that the most invincible (as the Turks call him) Emperor Soliman has given Michael Bock as property (*pro servitio*) a strip of land from the borders of Poland to the Danube. In the same letter he commands them to come to him on pain of death and the loss of all goods and the removal of their wives and children, and to obey his orders. And so it was done. But with all these punishments no voice is yet heard, either in Hungary, or in any part of the world [Ps. 106:6.], "We have sinned, we have transgressed, we have been ungodly." We detest the punishment, we do not acknowledge the sin, nor do we change, but we defend it to a great extent. And we hope

or pray that God should have mercy on these people who are as hard as Pharaoh? But that day is coming which will destroy all things by the revelation of the future of Christ, and will deliver us from sin and death. Fare well in the Lord, and pray for me. On Monday after Oculi [13 March] Anno 1542. Greetings to all yours and ours; my mistress (*meus Domina*) greets you.

Your Mart. Luther, D.

No. 2894.

(Wittenberg.) March 14, 1542.

To the Counts Philipp and Georg zu Mansfeld.

Luther asks them to resist the tyranny of Count Albrecht against his subjects.

The original is with the acts in Eisleben. Printed by *Joh. Georg Leukfeld, Historia Spangenbergensis*. Quedlinburg and Aschersleben 1712, p. 8; in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 998; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII,p.571.; in Walch, vol. XXI,463; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 445 and in the Erlanger, vol. 56, p. 8.

To the noble and well-born lords, Mr. Philipps and Mr. Hans Georgen, brothers, counts and lords of Mausfeld, my gracious, dear sovereigns.

Grace and peace, and my arm noster. Gracious Lords! I am well sorry that I cannot begin my first letter to E. Gnaden, as my dear countrymen, more cheerfully, without [it] not being my fault. 1) E. G. certainly know what talk and clamor have been going on for a while now about my gracious lord, Count Albrechten, which I truly have to hear with great sadness every day, how S. G. force and urge their subjects, also publicly take them to themselves, which, however, is not J. G.'s right. But I, as one could easily come to, answer that I should have nothing to do with this, or what it concerns me, or that I should ask about it. That's true. But I am a countryman in the dominion of Mansfeld, whom it behooves to love his fatherland and his lords, and to wish the best, and also a public preacher, who is obliged to give the best of himself.

1) Cf. no. 2887.

admonish, where a man, deceived by the devil, cannot see what wrong he is doing.

Therefore I ask, E. G., to graciously hear my poor sighing, or if that could not be, to be my witness (as they must do) on that day that I have faithfully warned and done my part.

I think that the evil spirit tempts some to help destroy the rule of God to the ground. For God has given the Lord a dominion that one would not want to be displeased or disfavored without a reason, according to the world, or, as they say, out of envy. For four have what, he has his enviers, and of them much more, who all wanted that E. G. were beggars, and perhaps, as I think, because that the wretched heretic Dr. Martinus is the sovereign's son, so that they would have to boast: "Behold, how God lets all the cursed perish, who cling to the Gospel; as a sign is his own fatherland, the noble and praiseworthy county of Mansfeld, in which the boy was born, so corrupted to the ground. Because now God the Lord has placed E. G. in such dominion and commanded him to do right, I humbly ask and urge E. G. to see to it and help that such injustice does not continue, otherwise God will demand it of E. G., as they can do and yet do not do. For the G. have to consider, if such an example should break, to take from the subjects what is their own, then every overlord will devour the underlord, and as the nobleman the peasant, so the prince the nobleman and count. For if it be lawful here, it is lawful there: what then shall be at the last but a regiment worse than the Turk hath, yea, a diabolical regiment. And if this were not to happen, God would let a curse go, for he cannot stand injustice. So let E. G. beware, I am innocent.

For that my lord, Count Albrecht. Lord, Count Albrecht, perhaps thinks that the dominion and all goods are his own: God says no to that, and will not suffer it. For peasants, burghers, and nobles have their own goods, but they are subject to fiefdom, according to imperial law, which is confirmed by God, and thus they have it by divine right. Now whoever wants to seize the property and take it with him, even the fiefs, is not to suffer.

Not to have God's grace and blessing is to steal and rob in the sight of God, as his commandment says: You shall not steal, nor covet your neighbor's goods. For although Count Albrecht is lord over land and people, he is not lord over the fief and property of the goods which the emperor gives; for he is not emperor, but a count.

All in all, God's blessings are in the land, and they want to see to it that God does not take them away, and that the descendants, God's heirs, do not have to complain: Oh how a rich, blessed dominion our ancestor, Count Albrecht, has spoiled for us. The evil spirit through envious people seeks E. G. and my dear fatherland, that hurts me; for what else do I ask about it, I who walk on the pit, and can seek nothing else, but that I would like to meet the blasphemers, who will boast of the Gospel to the shame, my fatherland and sovereigns would have had to destroy only for my sake. For it is certain that if E. G. do not do so, and defend M. G.'s lord, Count Albrecht, who is truly overtaken by the evil spirit, then E. G. will also be guilty. For so it cannot stand, as I hear from many, and most of all from those who laugh at it, and like to see such ruin, which also moved me to write so vehemently. For where the mine falls, the county lies, and all enemies laugh. But if my lord, Count Albrecht, had a lack (oh, Lord God! Lord God! it will not be him) that the citizens live so superfluously, then the matter would be easier to advise: punishment laid by abundance; from this the lordship would become richer, and the subjects also fatter, as happens at Nuremberg and elsewhere.

But here is an angry devil who wants to work so that neither master nor subject shall have anything. All books say it is better to have rich subjects than to be rich oneself. For even if one is rich, he will soon be ruined, but rich subjects can always help.

But I ask once again that E. G. would graciously grant me such an earnest letter; for be it as it may, I cannot be unhappy with E. G., my dear sovereigns, and grant my fatherland nothing bad, as I want to be with E. G. as with my gracious sovereigns.

I hope that my dear sovereigns will provide me with such a childlike heart towards my fatherland in the best possible way. Hereby commanded by God. Tuesday after Oculi [14 March] 1542.

E. G. willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 2895.

Basel. 17 March 1542.

Oswald Myconius to Luther.

(Regest.)

Myconius sends Luther a letter from Carlstadt's widow, the content of which is unknown to him. About Carlstadt he reports that he had been plagued by an evil spirit for some time before his end. He recommends to him a young man (Philipp Bechius), who wants to study in Wittenberg, the bearer of this letter, to whom he has the confidence that he will perhaps rebuild what Carlstadt has torn down.

The original concept is at the Stadtbibliothek zu Zürich in *Epist. T.* 46, p. 375, in *Bibl. Car.* Printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p, 378.

No. 2896.

(Wittenberg.) March 26, 1542.

To the Justus Jonas housewife in Halle.

Luther jokes about Jonah's repeated promises that he would write; of the cheapness of food in Wittenberg 2c.

From the *Cod. Dessav. A* by Prof. Lindner at Dessau in the theol. Studien und Kritiken of 1835, p. 356; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. LI and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 303.

To the honorable, virtuous woman Katherin, Docter's Ionian, provost at Wittenberg, my favorable friend and dear godmother.

G. and F. Kind, dear Doctor and Godfather! I humbly beg you to admonish your dear master, Doctor Jonas, that he would not write so often urgent letters, for I do not like them, but would like to show the urgent once. For so his letters are: I will write soon, I will write more soon, I will write you strange things. If he does not want to write anything else, he will let that stand; but that he has now written to me from the coadjutor, that I understand. Everything is still right here (praise God!), without that the coin

or else it is as cheap as it has been for a long time, a bushel of grain for three pennies. Hiemit GOtt befehlt sammt den Euren. My Käthe and Lord of Zülsdorf greet you all kindly and will have to let herself be estimated at nine thousand guilders with the monastery house, if she does not have a hundred fl. income after my death. But my gracious lord has graciously offered more than I desire. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Sunday Judica [March 26] 1542. Martinus Luter, D.

No. 2897.

(Wittenberg.) March 26, 1542.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther thanks for a favourable legal judgment, a gift of wine and the exemption from the Turkish tax, which he wants to carry however partly.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Pp, pag.* 298. Printed (incomplete) in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 100, No. 185, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 466. Complete in De Wette, vol. V, p. 448, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 11.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg. Roman Empire Archmarshall and Elector, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

G. u. F. in Christo and my poor *Pater noster*. Most noble, highborn prince, most gracious lord! I must once cut loose the notoriety, for I have not answered E. C. F. G. for a long time. First of all, I thank E. C. F. G. humbly for the judgment that E. C. F. G. has let pass between my daughter and those at Kiritzsch; for the judgment pleases us well, and in kindness (where it has pleased that part[1]) we would have granted more for the sake of peace and good neighborliness.

On the other hand, I also thank you for the wine, although that is a gift left over.

Thirdly, the gentlemen, Rector and University, have indicated to me, as E. C. F. G. commanded, [that they would] the valuation of my houses

1) "gelückt" == succeeded.

and goods shall not demand from me, but suggest the protégé; 1) I also thank you humbly. But I must thank E. C. F. G. my thoughts, and ask that he graciously hear them.

The large monastery house, if I had to, I would not be able to estimate it; for I am in despair that after my death my wife or children would have to pay for it, if I can hardly keep it with roofing, glass and iron, even though the third part is not finished, and the best thing about it is that E. C. F. G. Lauts has the preemption on it. So I also hear, and can easily believe, that if the time should continue in this way, it might happen that the Halls and Collegium would have to be filled up as a defence; therefore I had previously considered buying Brun's house for my daughter and child the closest room to it, [have bought it] for 400, and 20 fl. to pad the same, but have paid nothing on it, without 120 fl., which I owe, without the time of day, as in 10 years to pay, having moved me: of which I can hardly give an estimate, because I enjoy nothing, and is vain debt.

But in return I will humbly request that E. C. F. G. will accept the other goods from me at an estimated price: namely the garden for 500 fl., the farm with the garden for 90 fl. and a small garden for 20 fl. And is the reason that I would like to be in the army against the Turk with my poor penny, besides others who give it willingly. For there is enough of the unwilling, so that I would be an example, and the evil eyes would not have to envy too much, because Dr. Martinus would also have to give. ...because Dr. Martinus must give too. And who knows whether our, the willing, penny might please God much with the poor widow, who put in more with her Scherflin than the rich, neither the unwilling florins, and I would like to be among those who would also harm the Turk with bodily action, or would suffer harm from him. For if I were not too old and too weak, I should personally like to be among them.

1) For the levying of the tax on the Turks, Luther himself drew up a list of his possessions, which the university sent to the Elector in copy. Burkhardt, p. 409, has communicated the same, and we attach it to this letter.

But my prayer with the churches prayer has long since been in the field, because I fear that our Germans will be too presumptuous, and beforehand despise without repentance the enemy, who is not to be despised, but who has with him all the devils in hell, and where God will not be with us with his angels, I have little hope of our power or armor 2c.

Most recently I read Julius Pflug's writing, although I got it too slowly, but at the end I patched something into it. 3) But it is a very bad thing that he should seize us with the spiritual law, which they themselves do not touch with a finger. And where they hold it, all must of course resign their positions, the pope first, all bishops, canons, as condemned by their own right and appalled, as they shall hear when they come again.

Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befehlt, Amen. And please, E. C. F. G. would graciously grant me such a spoiled answer; for I am now in a work to paint the Mahmet in German a little, 4) that I cannot think much before nor care for anything else. Sunday Jlldica [26 March] 1542.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Mart. Luther, D.

[Luther's own handwritten signature on his property, for the levying of the Turkish tax].

Doctor Martinus Luther wants to appraise his house for 6000 fl. Doctor Martinus goods, situated under the council: valuation 420 fl. Brown house, wolves bought, although I do not want to accept it now so dear. But I will estimate it of the purchase, makes 6 fl. 6 gr. 8 pf.; 5) 20 fl. Wolf's garden [makes] 6 gr. 8 pf.; 500 fl. the garden on the Zairische Strasse; whether it would be worth so much to me, I do not know. But I will not give it below that;

2), See St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 61, no. 1255.

3) This will probably refer to the conclusion of Luther's writing: "Exempel, einen rechten christlichen Bischof zu weihen," St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVII, 88 ff.

4) It is meant "Brother Richard's laying of the Alcoran" (St. Louis ed., vol. XX, 2218), which appeared in April, 1542, as appears from the next following letter.

5) One sees here that the Turkish tax amounted to 1-1/2 %, and the same was paid in gold florins @ 22 groschen.

makes 7-1/2 fl. - 90 fl. for the hoof and garden belonging to it in the Eichenpfull, which I estimate completely at 100 fl., because so I would give it; God knows who would do it, makes 1-1/2 fl. Summa: 15 fl. 13 gr. 6 [1]pf. The third part makes 5 fl. 4gr. 6 pf.-5cows worth 15 fl.; 9 calves, [2]one of which makes 2 fl., makes 18 fl.; 1 goat with 2 young makes 2 fl. 8 pigs make 8 fl.; 2 pig mothers, both for 5 fl.; 3 small ones for 1 fl., and 3 small ones for 1 fl. *Adde* 1 fl., so it is 50 fl. Summa: 15 gr. [3]9 pf. The *tertia* [the third part] 5 gr. 3 pf. There it all lies! This time 5 fl. 9 gr. 9 pf. One year 16 fl. 7 gr. 3 pf. [4]

No. 2898.

(Wittenberg.) March 26, 1542.

To Jakob Probst in Bremen.

Luther complains of the depravity and contempt of God in Germany. Of Amsdorf's ordination; of Carlstadt's death; of Luther's literary works 2c. Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 320. Printed by Schütze, vol. I, p. 195 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 450 f.

To the man to be highly honored in the Lord, Jakob Probst, the right bishop in the church at Bremen, your fair theologian, his exceedingly dear brother in faith and word.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Although I do not have time to write much, my dear Jacob, for I am exhausted by age and work, "old, cold, out of shape" (as they say), yet even so I am not allowed to rest, since I am plagued daily with so many things and writing business. I know more than you of the doom of this world. The world threatens ruin, that is certain; so Satan rages, so the world runs wild. Only this one consolation remains, that that day is near at hand. It is true that after the world has had its fill of the Word of God and has begun to grow extremely weary of it, fewer false propositions will be made.

1) It should read: "4 Pf.". Here there is an arithmetical error on Luther's part, which runs through the following.
2) Instead of "gros" we have adopted "yrer".
3) Burkhardt wrong: "15 fl.".
4) From this it can be seen that the tax was paid in three instalments during the year.

phets stand up. For how should those excite heresies who despise the word in an epicurian manner? Germany has been, and will never again be, what it has been. The nobility is intent on dominion over all, against which the cities seek counsel for themselves (and rightly so); thus the empire, divided in itself, must meet the army of the devils who rage in the Turks. And we do not care much whether we have a merciful or an angry Lord, for through ourselves we shall triumph and rule over the Turks, the devils, over God and everything. So great is the utterly frantic confidence and security of the perishing Germany. But what shall only Hiebei do? In vain we lament, in vain we weep. It only remains that we pray: Thy will be done, that we pray for the kingdom and the sanctification of God's name. When this is done, may we let it go, fall, stand, and perish as it will. Let it go as it goes, for it wants to go as it goes. Why do we torment and consume ourselves in vain because of the vile people who will perish and must perish? There is no injustice to him who wills it.

I am surprised that you have not heard the news, namely that Nicolaus Amsdorf has been ordained bishop of the church of Naumburg by the heretic Luther, on your Fabian's Day [Jan. 20], a Friday. A bold deed, which has aroused much hatred, envy and displeasure. Now my book on this matter 5) is being printed. What will happen, God knows. The Lord Philip writes about the same thing. By God's grace he is healthy and well, but the very heaviest Atlas that carries heaven and earth. Brenz is alive, Carlstadt died of the plague at Basel, which itself was a plague for the church at Basel, as the bishops of that church write to us; they also add that, since he was ill, he was plagued by evil spirits, and that they still make noise in his house after his burial. I always wanted and have wanted him to be blessed, but his impenitence to the end I cannot want nor approve.

5) St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 88, no. 1257.

are called. God, the judge over all of us, will see sense in this. I am now occupied with the translation of a book entitled "Refutation of the Alkoran Mahomet" 1). Dear God, how great is your wrath against the Church, but especially against the Turk and Mahomet. The beastly nature of Mahomet exceeds all faith, Dr. Jonas still gives Christ a form (*Christum format*) against the will of the cursed Heinz and Meinz, the most abominable monsters. Christ can easily be given a form there, thank God. Would to God that they [the people of Halle] would persevere and not despise everything proudly like us. About that at another time.

My Margarethlein, your daughter by baptism, has received the gold florin given and says thank you. Greetings to you and yours, my lord and my Moses, the Käthe, reverently. Greet your chancellor, Johann Zelst, and pray for me that I may depart at a good hour. I am weary of this life, or rather of this exceeding bitter death. The Lord be with you, amen. On Sunday Judica [March 26] 1542. M. L.

No. 2899.

(Wittenberg.) 1. April 1542.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther asks the Elector to take care of Count Gebhard of Mansfeld, whom his brother, Count Albrecht, tries to deprive of his own.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N, fol.* 108. 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 98, no. 183; in Walch, vol. XXI, 461; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 452 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 13.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshal and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg. Roman Empire Archmarshall and Elector, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

G. and peace in the Lord and my poor *Pr. nr.* Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Though I come at an untimely hour with this writing, yet necessity compels. How Count Albrecht of Mansfeld acts with his brother, Count Gebhard, I respect, be it E. C.

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 2218.

F. G. unconcealed. I have read all the contracts and letters (although I have enough to do otherwise), and lament me of the good pious lord that Count Albrecht acts so shamefully with him, is even judge and part, wants to take also the goods and county from him, and so to him alone the use, or usufruct, 2) he wants to take it all, land and soil, and disinherit him of the county; A fierce merchant that buys the apples, and wants to take the tree and garden with him; does not do otherwise, for as a lodge he has no overlord. Where shall the good count go now, where he shall not have protection and help from the princes of Saxony, his sovereigns? Although the county is in fief of Duke Morizen in this part, E. C. F. G. are also heirs in the case; has therefore asked me to write to E. C. F. G., and if Dr. Brück had not indicated to me that I might not meet E. C. F. G. now, nor would I otherwise come at an inopportune time, I would have set out today to serve the good lord, regardless of my inconvenience. So now I humbly ask, E. C. F. G. to graciously help in this matter, and to let Duke Moriz act, so that Count Albrecht does not make such a mess in the dominion to the ruin of the dominion and princely fiefs and honors. For if Duke Moriz were to do nothing here, as his profession and office require, and thus leave the good lord unprotected and unheard, it would bring E. C. F. G. an evil cry in heaven and on earth, and greatly anger God, who everywhere in the Scriptures prophesies against those who neither save nor help the oppressed, of which I hereby also write to S. F. G.. E. C. F. G. would graciously grant me this necessary writing; for the good Count has personally come to me for the sake of these matters, and desires such writing in addition to my personal journey. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befehlt, Amen. For it seems as if all the devils in the world are otherwise idle, and have laid themselves upon us Germans, because he does not want to suffer God's word. Saturday after Judica [April 1, 1542.

E. C. F. G. undersigned Mart. Luther.

2) "prescribe" resolved by us with: "prescribed".

No. 2900.

(Wittenberg.) 7 April 1842.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich and Duke Moritz of Saxony and their basalts in the field camp.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1440, no. 1443. - To the locations given there is to be added: De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 304, where this writing is printed from an official copy in the Dresden Archives, 9438 l. l. fol. 12 f. - Brück returned the original to Luther. By another contemporaneous hand is noted on the copy, "This writing Doctor Martinus Luther wished to send to both camps, but Doctor Brücken ultimately sent alone. 1542."

No. 2901.

(Wittenberg.) April 7, 1542.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

About the disagreement between the Elector and Duke Moritz about spices; about Carlstadt's death.

The original is at Dresden in *Cod. Seidel.* Printed by Schütze, vol. I, p. 198 and again there, p. 304 (as from 1544) and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 454. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1485 f.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Nicolans von Amsdorf, the extremely faithful bishop of Naumburg, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace! Since Georg Blank (for that is what we call him), your organist, wanted to return to you, my dear friend, I did not want to leave such a reliable messenger without a letter from me. I hope, however, that you will be confirmed in the office which has recently been laid upon you, and that Christ will act in you and govern the church purchased by his blood, which I desire with constant sighing and longing of my heart, as we also pray and desire constantly in the spirit that the name of God may be sanctified.

You see what a terrible trouble Satan has caused between our Prince and Duke Moritz. May God defend and humble the nobility, especially in Meissen, a type of people that is completely corrupted by luxury, indulgence, pleasure, avarice, usury and godlessness. But perhaps the iniquity of the Amorites must become full, and the
The gospel has enemies, of which it would have either none or contemptible ones today, if the nobility were not the only ones raging against us. Thus they fear that they may be thrust out of the dominion by which they have hitherto had the princes and bishops for subjects and servants. I often remember a certain saying of thine concerning the adulterous princes, and it seems the word in the book of Wisdom Cap. 3, 16. and 4, 3. is fulfilled: "The children of adulterers do not prosper, and the seed from an unrighteous bed will be destroyed," and: "What is planted from fornication will not take deep root, nor will it establish a certain foundation." May God hear justice, amen. That ingratitude hurts me very much (which no doubt is detestable to God), because Moritz would not even have been born nor become anything if Duke Frederick and John had not preserved his father against Duke George. But those who are destined to perish must perish in this way.

You know that Carlstadt died, of whom the Basel clergy wrote that he had been an exceedingly poisonous pestilence for their school. But he died by being killed by the devil. For they write that while he was preaching, a man of very great stature appeared to him and to many others, who entered the church and stood beside a certain citizen in an empty pew. He went out again and entered the house of Carlstadt. There he found the son alone, and picked him up with his hands as if he had meant to hurl him to the earth, but he let him go unhurt, and ordered him to tell his father that he would return after three days and fetch him. Thus, they say, he died after three days. They added that after he had finished preaching, he approached that citizen and asked him who that man was. But the citizen said that he had seen nothing. So I believe that he, seized with sudden terror, died of no other pestilence than from fear of death. For he was in the habit of being miserably afraid of death.

This George desires that, when your consistory is established, he may be notary public, and has asked that I may request this of you.

...would like. You'll do what's right. He is, it seemeth, a man that is apt to all things. Be well in the Lord. And my letter, I pray thee, tear up, because thou wouldst not suffer me to attach to thee the titles of bishop and prince, but I would not have this known to others, lest it appear that I have despised the majesty of thy bishopric. This little is enough for a man of understanding. On Char Friday (*Parasceues*) [April 7] 1542.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2902

Oschatz. 8 April 1542.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther and Melanchthon.

The landgrave asks both of them to present ideas to the Elector Johann Friedrich to stop the Wurzen feud.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. B*. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 410.

Our gracious greetings beforehand. Venerable and highly learned, dear faithful! We are working very hard to put an end to the unfriendly disputes that have arisen between our dear cousins, brother, son and godfather, the Elector and Duke Mauritzen of Saxony, by proper and appropriate means and ways, so that they do not take up arms any further, destroy the land and the people, and thus cause irreparable harm to the Gospel in these parts. But we find both parts quite hard-hearted, so that we cannot judge whether and what result we will obtain from them or not. Now, according to the enclosed copy, we have thought of several means which seem to us to be uniform and useful for the removal of this error, for both gentlemen are concerned almost exclusively with the passage through Wurtzen, which Duke Moritz, at the request of the Elector, believes to have free and unobstructed, and the Elector intends to allow him only *jure familiaritatis.* Because the matter is not worth talking about, that both princes and rulers should have such a difficult time with each other, that there are so many dangers, not only for their loved ones and the same lands and people, but also for the whole of our Christian religion and the same relatives, as you yourselves can reasonably judge, and we believe that our dear cousin and brother, the Elector, is in danger,

you both, as pious, Christian men, before others: herewith our gracious request is to you, that you write to his beloved as soon as possible for the good of all peaceful beings, also for the good of the whole religion and countries and people, and to ask and admonish them in the highest way, that they bring this dangerous ruin and apparent destruction to mind, and for this reason, in this highly important matter, since it concerns only the temporal and not the eternal, not to be too harsh, but also to give in a little, and to let it come to harmless these means, which we send you here. So we did not want to restrain you in haste out of faithful good opinion, and we are graciously favorable to you and well-disposed towards you. Date Oschatz, on the evening of Easter [April 8] Anno 1542.

Philips, L. z. Hessen.

No. 2903

(Wittenberg.) April 8, 1542.

To Chancellor Brück.

Luther is glad about the peace negotiations in the dispute about spices and sends to the chancellor his writing (No. 2900), which is already half finished in print and which he wanted to send to both camps.

The original is in the Dresden Main State Archives, *Locat* 9138: "Allerhand Sendschreiben, *Relationes*, Zeitungen 2c. anno 1546-49", fol. 8. Printed by De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 310 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. LI f.

To the respectable, highly esteemed, Mr. Gregor Brück, Doctor of Law, Chancellor of Saxony, my favorable lord and dear cousin, to hand.

Praise be to God, the Father of all grace and peace, for E. A. has written us a good new newspaper, and although in such sudden misfortune I was worried that God might let an attack happen, I still had good hope that Duke Moritz (whom all the world now considers foolish, even his own people, so let him be cautious) should have a bloody head with his own and suffer a defeat, so that the sword would not sting him so quietly. But God, as is his way, hears further than we may understand or ask, that it also came off without blood.

I send you herewith my poem, 1) which is already half set, and should have been today from

1) No. 2900.

go with haste, for such a hasty misfortune I learned only yesterday morning; then I also hastened and wanted to have it sent to both armies, because H. Moritz did not want to hear anyone; for the haste did not want to let you overlook it before, [it] also urged ours and the despondent as if it were all lost, and the *Jura* almost wanted to doubt or dispute my G. Lord. ...my lord or dispute. But now it shall not come to pass. You shall know well enough to send it again... For from your speech in your house I did not understand that it should be such a sudden hurried thing, especially on such high holidays. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. *Hora sexta maue die Sabbatho sancto Domini* [At six o'clock in the morning on the holy Sabbath day of the Lord] [8 April] 1542.

E. W.

Martinus Luther.

No. 2904

(Grimma.) 09 April 1542.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther.

(Regest.)

He had found the circumstances in such a way that there was a prospect of settling the disputes between the Elector and Duke Moritz. He had been informed that Luther was being incited against him, but he hoped that Luther would not allow himself to be moved against him and against what God had left to the fathers, against which he also wanted to do everything for the preservation and spreading of the divine word 2c.

Communicated by Max Lenz in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, IV, 144. The above regest in Kolde, p. 380.

No. 2905

(Wittenberg.) April 9, 1542.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

At the request of the Landgrave of Hesse Luther asks the Elector to be gentle and kind in the peace negotiations with Duke Moritz.

The original is in the Dresdner Hauptstaatsarchive, *Locat* 9138, fol. 9. Printed in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 56, p. LIII and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 311.

1) In this letter he reports that he arrived in Grimma on April 8, in the evening, and that now, after he had dealt with both parties, a contract was to be hoped for. (De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 312.)

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, Arch-Marshal and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious (gt.) Lord! My lord, the Landgrave, has Lord, the Landgrave, has sent his) urgent messenger[s]) messenger to us, who woke us from our sleep at eleven o'clock and requested that we ask E. C. F. G. most earnestly that they not be too hard and stiff, and especially that they grant us passage or a passport, so that we may find a way with the tax and other things. To which we answered: We would do so most diligently. In addition, we again asked S. F. G. to act with m. g. Duke Moritz so that E. C. F. G.'s protection would not be weakened. And although we knew nothing of the secular law, especially of this case, we nevertheless consider that H. Moritz would do wrong to establish his law himself with such pernicious, bloodthirsty furnishings, before such dark (Tunckel) and disputed law would become bright and clear; for because it is disputed, it is not bright, and one *dispute* will continue to bring another for and for. Accordingly, we ask that whatever E. C. F. G. is ever able to do, to honor God and to let such misery degenerate, be found gentle and kind, God will know how to honor E. C. F. G. again for it. From time to time, one must move the foot out of the way of a mad dog and light two candles on the devil or throw a mash into the mouth of the *Cerbero* (as the poets say). It is true that the passport to Erfurt is that of Mainz, but with moderation, without harm to the sovereign in his protection. I have delivered letters to Doctor Bridges of the Landgrave here, if they wanted to see E. C. F. G.. On Easter Day [April 9, early 1542.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Mart. Luther.

2) "to us," namely, to Luther and Melanchthon. See No. 2902.

No. 2906.

(Wittenberg.) 10 April 1542.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

Answer to No. 2904. Luther expresses his joy about the prospective settlement of the dispute about spices, and assures, he carries no dislike against the landgrave, but only the book of Huldrich Neobulus has annoyed him.

The original is in the government archives at Cassel. Printed in C. von Rommel's Geschichte von Hessen, Dritten Theils zweite Abtheilung (Vierter Band), Cafsel 1830. note 157, p. 242, and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 312.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord! Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! I am very glad to hear that E. F. G. have won hope for a treaty of this grievous, dangerous discord. May God grant further and final mercy, as we earnestly pray and now calmly hope. But I would not have thought that H. Moritz should be so ungrateful and unkind to the Elector, when all the world knows that he would not have been born, much less become such a prince, if H. Frederick had not done so. Well, he wrestles for God's wrath. It will come to him before he thinks, when he will not pay handsomely for such an evil deed for the sake of a muck that he could have accomplished with a word. God protect the people who are to march against the Turk, so that H. Moritz does not have to be in the field, otherwise not only the Turk, but also thunder and lightning will strike us, where such an unpunished bloodhound, who has committed father-murder, brother-murder, brother-in-law-murder, even father- and son-murder so stubbornly. [1) I will speak against him with a Lord, who shall be man enough for him, and shall sit secure from his works at the right hand of God.

The other things that E. F. G. write to me about, I know [they] well, how faithfully I have always meant E. F. G., and also carried over it hard enough to spare E. F. G.. But the wicked book of Huldrich Neobuli would have spoiled it so badly that it would have published such [lazy] 2) jokes, which are not only unprofitable to the matter, 3) but also unacceptable.

1) Inserted by us in the gap located here.
2) "lazy" or even "lame" is to be inserted in the blank.
3) "alone unmeritorious" put by us instead of: "all meritorious," which will be read.

which also introduces very harmful with useless gibberish, and I also remembered that someone had made E. F.G. to shame and scorn. I know no repugnance. For I must have and lift up E. F. G. in my prayers, for now there are such heavy regiments that it is necessary to pray for the overlords. They are in such a bad way, and in great trouble, where they should administer justice. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. Monday in Easter [10 April] 1542.

E. F. G.
willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 2907.

(Wittenberg.) April 12, 1542.

To Chancellor Brück.

Luther thanks for writings sent to him and report about the Wurzener dispute, and speaks sharply about duke Moritz.

The original is in the Dresdner Hauptstaatsarchive, 9138, iol. 10. Printed in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. LIV and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 313.

To the respectable and highly esteemed Mr. Gregor Brück, the Right Doctor, Chancellor of Saxony 2c., my favourable lord and dear cousin.

G. and F. I have received all your writings and reports, my dear Lord and Godfather, and thank you very much for them. God be praised that the matter on my lord's side holds up so well, I can now pray all the more cheerfully, for as you know, how I am not shrewd enough to inquire about the princes and high estates, and therefore must doubt what is right or wrong between them, our ears have been blown wide open here, as if my lord did not have good reason. For this reason I have had to place my defiance and consolation on the emergency and the right offered, but now be it done and go as God wills, he will not despise our prayer, I know that, and God will find the evildoers in Meissen as he found S. George. How deeply the same damned man is in their blood and flesh; yesterday morning I wrote a sharp letter to the Landgrave against the foolish bloodhound H. Moritz, even though I have not been able to find him.

He did not know himself what they needed his unfunny youth for, but this does not excuse him, because he owes much more gratitude to this part, because he can always enjoy more than he was born with, if he had not become such a prince, when H. Friedrich and H. Hans seliger would not have stood by his father against H. Georgen's fratricidal malice. O how shall such ingratitude stink in heaven before all the angels of S. Moritzen and arouse a terrible wrath against his cops. Praise be to God that we are worthy to receive evil for the sake of good, and that not we, but others [against] 1) us, are found ungrateful 2). For this is a noble and precious treasure in the sight of God. Well then, may God strengthen, comfort, and sustain my Lord and all of you in His grace. Lord together with all of you in His mercy and good conscience, and grant to the bloodhounds of the Gospel of Meissen on their heads what such Cain and Absalom, Judas and Herod deserve, amen, and soon amen, in praise of His name, which S. Moritz is disgracing to the highest degree with this abominable nuisance, and is singing such a blasphemous song of joy to the devil and all enemies of God. Midweek in Easter [12 April] early 1542.

E. A.
willing
Mart. Luther.

No. 2908.

(Wittenberg.) April 13, 1542.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1446, no. 1444.

No. 2909.

(Wittenberg.) April 18, 1542.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

About the war between the Elector and Duke Moritz; about the Chancellor Pistorius.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 373, printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 203 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 464, German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1488.

1) Inserted by us for ease of understanding.

2) "invented" put by us instead of: "invent".

Grace and peace in the Lord! This treacherous and unruly war, which would have been quite patricidal if it had continued as it had begun, has also made us weary. 3) God has heard the prayer of the Church, who may also repay the authors according to their works, undertakings and plans, so that their joy may be turned into sadness, just as our sadness has been turned into joy. And Christ hath in truth adorned and rehearsed this paschal season with a new death and a new resurrection.

I do not know what to think of the Communion of Pistorius 4). These times give birth to many monsters under sheep's clothing. May the Lord be with you and yours, and pray against the wiles of the devil, warned by this danger and the example of these days. Tuesday after Quasimodogeniti [18 April] 1542. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2910.

(Wittenberg.) April 19, 1542.

Ordination certificate for Balthasar Hausmann.

Ludwig Klöppel von Elkershausen, owner of the Compturhof zu Dommitsch, from which court the parish of Kreischau is in fief, had appointed Hausmann 5) as pastor and presented him as such. The electoral confirmation for Hausmann took place from Torgau on April 30 and is signed by the chancellor Dr. Melchior von Ossa.

Printed in the "Fortgesetzten Sammlung von Alten und Neuen Theologischen Sachen," 1735, p. 539, and in Seidemann's "Lutherbriefe," p. 66 f.

We pastors and preachers of the churches at Witteuberg confess that after the witness of these writings, Balthasar Hausmann of Belgran, brought testimony that he was called to the pastorate at Kreuschaw and was of honest, Christian morals, and we requested that he be interrogated and ordained, so we have diligently tried him.

3) We have adopted De Wette's Conjectur: *sicut ortum* instead of: *sortitum.*

4) This translation of: *De Pistorio comrnunicato* is justified by comparison with the letter to Lauterbach of May 7, 1542 (No. 2918), since it can be inferred from the same that Pistorius also communicated "under both forms. - Walch offers: "What I should think of the pastor of whom you write" 2c.

5) Seidemann offers "Hauswald" here.

and found that he has good sense in the pure Christian truth of the Gospel. He has also promised to carry out his ministry diligently, and to remain steadfast in the Christian truth of the Gospel, as it is confessed and taught in our churches by God's grace in harmony with the true, Catholic Church of Christ. For this reason, the named Balthasar Hausmann has been publicly ordained here in the church according to the command of the Holy Scriptures, and he has been commanded to preach the Holy Gospel and to administer the Holy Sacraments as he is called. And pray our Lord Christ to grant him his grace and Holy Spirit, that he may serve for the glory of God and the blessedness of the churches. Since he will also need counsel and instruction, we admonish the worthy pastor of Torga, Superintendent, to take care of this Balthasar's learning and manners, and to instruct him in a Christian manner. We also order this, 1) Balthafar, that he should request the mentioned, Mr. Superintendent conducive, and show him this our writing. Date Wittenberg, au, 19. day Aprilis A. 1542.

Pastor Ecclesiae Witebergensis et ceteri Ministri Evangelii in eadem Ecclesia, Martinus Luther, D.
Sebastianus Froschel, Vice Pastor. Andreas Hiigel, M.

Fridericus Bachofen, M.

No. 2911.

(Wittenberg.) April 19, 1542.

To Hieronymus Weller in Freiberg.

About the Wurzen feud.

This letter is found in Latin in *Cod. Gud.* 214 *Bibl. Guelph*; in the Cloßische Sammlung, p.541 and in the Börnerscherr Sammlung at Leipzig. Printed in Hummel's Bibliothek seltener Bücher, I, p. 236; in Schütze, vol. I, p. 204; and in *Bindseil, colloquia, tom.* II, p. 201. in German translation in *Cod. Jen*. L. 24 n, *fol.* 102 and in Walch, vol. XXI, 1489. According to an alleged German original, which, however, is evidently a bad translation, German in den Unschuldiger: Nachrichten 1714, p. 726; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 100, no. 186; in Walch, vol. XXI, 468 (as translated from Latin); in De Wette, vol. V, p. 465, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 21. We Haber: newly translated after Bindseil.

1) Seidemann: "this one".

Grace and peace! This sudden noise of this war has revealed the thoughts of many hearts, namely, how deceitful and faithless and hypocritical the Meissen nobles (*Centauri*) and the swamp 2) of Leipzig are in caring for and nurturing the Gospel. God grant these shameful tyrants, to whom there is no hope because of their indulgence, usury, avarice, presumption, faithlessness, hatred, godlessness, hypocrisy, sedition, deceit, perjury and all iniquity and wickedness, their reward in His time, who have instigated such a patricidal war, Amen. God has heard the prayer of His Church and will continue to hear it against those devils, so that they may not accomplish what they are doing; and pray for the Church of God as it prays for you and all of us. On Wednesday after Quasimodogeniti [19 April] Anno 42.

No. 2912.

(Wittenberg.) In April) 1542.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for Johann Mantel and Georg Rörer for further retention of their fiefs.
After a copy of 1548 in *L, pag.* 157, from the original still existing at that time, printed by Burkhardt, p. 411.

God's grace through His only begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour, beforehand. Most illustrious, highborn, most gracious Prince and Lord! E. C. F. G. know without a doubt that the weak old man, He Johann Mantel, has been ordered an elemosyna from Gotha, which has amounted annually to 40 fl.; in addition, Magister Georgio Rörer has also been given 10 or 12 Thaler annually. But because your C. F. G. has changed the administration of the monasteries, Johann Mantel cannot obtain his usual Elemosyna without a new C. F. G. order, even though the poor man would have to suffer hunger without this help. Thus Johann Meier can report that this Elemosyna

2) Instead of *Cerua* Haber: we assumed *Lerna.*
3) Instead of *ij* we have assumed *qui.*
4) Instead of *exaudiit, exaudiet* will be read.
5) According to one: Documente im Weimarschen Archiv, Mm, fol. 57a. 15, the castle in Gotha received the order to comply with your request on May 4, therefore this letter will have to be placed in April.

He Johann Mantel graciously consented throughout his life, therefore bitterly, we humbly and for God's sake, E. C. F. G. graciously want to continue the thought of Elemosyna to poor Marin and order that 14 fl., to be received at Leipzig, be given to him at every Leipzig market. E. C. F. G. also want to be graciously heard of the rest (vberichen) that Magistro Georg Rörern has been. E. C. F. G. see for themselves that these are necessary, well-preserved and Christian elemosyns, which the one God will undoubtedly reward abundantly, who will preserve E. C. F. G. at all times.

No. 2913.

(Wittenberg.) April 28, 1542.

To Prince Wolfgang zu Anhalt.

Luther asks him to unite with his cousins (Johann, Georg and Joachim) in the reformation of the monastery of Mönchennienbnrg in such a way that, with equal rights of the princes to the monastery, strife is prevented. - Cf. No. 2570.

First printed in 1830, after the original, in Lindner's "Mittheilungen," vol. II, p. 75; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 233; and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. V I, p. 315.

To the illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien and Lord of Bernburg, my gracious Lord.

G. u. F. in the Lord. Gracious Prince and Lord! I have learned that the lords, my lord princes, E. F. G.'s cousins, are not well off, that E. F. G. has taken and occupied the monastery at Munich-Niennburg without their consent, and that they have just been about to carry out a reformation of it, and have been too slow in finishing it. Now that they have the right and power over the same monastery, I would like to humbly request that the F. F. G. help to promote such a reformation with their support, so that there will be no further ill will between the two parts. For even if they were to place a superior there, the *reformatio* would turn out badly, and more than the monastery is capable of would be lost, even though E. F. G. in their good opinion wanted to set the goal for the abbot, and have done the best. Where now E. F. G. would unite with them in this.

the way that pleases both parts, then E. F. G. could proceed all the better; as E. F. G. will probably know how to deal with their part; for I do not like to see discord and displeasure between E. F. G. on either side, nor is it good to see it. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. Friday after St. George [April 28] 1542.

E. F. G.
willing

Mart. Luther, D.

No. 2914.

(Wittenberg.) April 30, 1542.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

A message from the Turkish War and about Carlstadt.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 374. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 204 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 465 f.

Mercy and peace! This bearer, whoever he is, my dear Jonas, forces a letter to you from me, as if he confronted me that I have long since written nothing to you. But if he has invented this, or if he has done it because of his duty, I have interpreted it as if dll wanted a useless letter from me. Behold, therefore I write, Be well in Christ. But this, which I may also have written before, - if thou hast received it, read 1) it again: that in Hungary the Turk has been robbed of the gold and the camels which were sent to Buda, yea, Ofen or Pesth itself has been retaken, and the Turks have been slain by these same robbers of the gold, and the Hungarians are gathering under not evil leaders against the Turkish power. God grant that the beast too may fall with the Pope, the worst of prophets. Carlstadt's wife has written a letter here, which is full of grief, and severely accuses the tyranny of her husband (even after his death), that he has left her naked and bare, and she no longer has her valuables (*clinodiis),* is in debt, is without a home, is burdened with five children, has nothing of her own 2c. If you take the tree

1) Instead of De Wette's Conjectur: *repeto* we have adopted the original reading: *repete.*

If we must judge a man by his fruits, then he has danced straight to hell; indeed, he has plunged himself headlong into it, only that we cannot be the judges of the dead. But it is frightening that the woman speaks in this way, especially against her husband, that is, against her flesh. On Sunday Jubilate [April 30], Anno 1542, your Martin Luther.

No. 2915.

(Wittenberg.) 1. May 1542.

To Justus Menius, pastor in Eisenach.

About an economic matter. Luther wishes to depart.

From *Cod. Gud.* 214 in Wolfenbüttel at Schütze, vol. I, p. 205 and at De Wette, vol. V, p. 466.

Grace and peace! The money which is received there from the castle, my dear Justns, you can send either by a random or by a hired messenger, as it will seem good to you, although the one to whom it has been given is quite poor. Besides, there was nothing I could write. About your conversation (*Dialogo*) 1) at another time, when I shall have received news. Here it has been heard that the plague has again become more violent among you. May God give us peace. Farewell, and pray for me that the Lord may grant me a good hour. I have lived enough, and the devil is weary of my life, and I am weary of the devil's hatred. On the day of Philip [1 May] 1542. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 2916.

(Wittenberg.) May 5, 1542.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

Luther asks him to work with Duke Moritz so that the Counts of Mansfeld, as his feudatories, get along with each other.

In von Rommel, Geschichte von Hessen, Dritten Theils zweite Abtheilung (Vierter Band) Anmerkungen. Note 157, p. 243, from the original in the Cassel government archives, and with De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 316.

G. u. F. im HErrn. Most noble, highborn, gracious... ...Prince and Lord! I pray you, E. F. G.

1) Meant is Menius' book against bigamy. See No. 2874.

graciously grant me this request. It moves me greatly that my dear sovereigns, Count Gebhard and Count Albrecht, have grown so quickly into one another, as E. F. G. may perceive from the enclosed print, and I, the fruit of the same country (be I good or evil), fear with great sorrow for the damage and ruin of my fatherland that may come from such discord and unbrotherly accident. I humbly request that H.F.G. do so much, and be a good instigator with my lord, Duke Moritz, that H.F.G., as a feudal prince of the counts, take the matters to himself and before him, interrogate them, and separate and reconcile the counts, so that one is not oppressed by the other, or great harm may come from it. E. F. G. want to think in this, that they, as a father Duke Moritz, may raise something 2) and, because it is God's will, use it as mediator and expiator, as he has also used it now in the Wurzen's displeasure. For therein E. F. G. got the name: *Beati pacifici*. This is what E. F. G. also wanted to affirm in this case, which (as E. F. G. suggest) pleases God well and is a dear service and pleasant sacrifice to Him (as He is a God of peace). Service and pleasant sacrifice, of whose grace and mercy I command E. F. G., Amen. Friday after Jubilate [May 5] 1542 E. F. G. willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 2917.

(Wittenberg.) May 5, 1542.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

Luther asks him to comfort the widow of Johann Cellarius, pastor in Dresden, over the loss of her husband.
From the Kraft collection at Husum in Schütze, vol. I, p. 206 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 467. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1489 f.

To the worthy man, Mr. Anton Lauterbach, bishop of the church at Pirna, his exceedingly dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I was busy and the messenger was hurrying, my dear Anton, so that I could not answer your letter. I

2) "lift" == to raise, to align.

...and will write tomorrow also by a new messenger. In the meantime, I beg you to comfort the poor widow as much as you can. For though she has very great cause to weep, yet she has a husband in heaven who reigns with Christ, and with Christ also will judge the angels and the whole world. For he now lives more strongly than he lived here; she is now only deprived of his company in this wretched and miserable life, which grieves her not without cause. But the cross is the most certain mark and characteristic of all believers. More at another time, for the messenger departs. Farewell. Friday after Jubilate [5 May] 1542.

Martin Luther.

No. 2918.

(Wittenberg.) May 7, 1542.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

Luther exhorts him to be cautious towards the great men of Meissen and advises him not to trust them in anything.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 374. Alls of the Ludwig Collection at Halle in Schütze, vol. I, p. 207 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 468. German in Walch, vol. XXI, l490.

To the man highly esteemed in the Lord, Magister Anton Lauterbach, the extremely faithful bishop of the church at Pirna, his very dear brother.

Grace and peace! What you write, my dear Anton, about Pistor and the episcopally minded, 1) I have understood, and I am glad that you have also understood it, and in the future see that you are careful, and constantly hold on to this sentence, namely that you do not believe any words and deeds that you realize are directed at you by the bishop and his fine followers, but be sure that you and all of you are sought with treachery and persecution. The landgrave himself has told me that there is none but the only one, Duke Moritz himself, who has the matter at heart. This saying coin thee

1) *episcopizantibus*. De Wette remarks: "the followers of Julius Pflug. We, however, think that it refers to the Bishop of Meissen, through whom the Wurzen feud was instigated. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1436, no. 1442.

...in your memory. He added Rivius, to whom you may say greeting in my name. We see that the great men of Meissen are a people of the wrath of God, therefore despised 2) by those who belong to the house of Lot in this shameful Sodom and Gomorrah. They are wicked, usurers, adulterers, envious people, summa, with God and the holy angels, even with men, though they are wicked, hateful and detestable. Until therefore thou hast not heard this word from them: We have erred, we repent, we will amend; be deaf to all their words. It is quite certain that they are satanic and deceitful, though they have often communicated under both guises, because the Epicureans do not care much whether they communicate or not. Then, because they have also repented, it must be demanded that they approve of what has been done by us hitherto and is to be done in the future. Otherwise, what repentance would it be if they condemned our deeds, that is, if they fortified all theirs by a fictitious repentance? Greet your wife and child, 3) especially the widow of Cellarius. Fare well in the Lord, and pray for me. On Sunday Cantate [May 7] Anno 1542.

Yours, Martin Luther, D.

No. 2919.

(Wittenberg.) May 8, 1542.

To the widow of Joh. Cellarius, pastor in Dresden.

Consolation for the loss of her husband.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2034.

No. 2920.

(Wittenberg.) May 15, 1542.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Luther wishes him luck in recovering from his illness, and reports news.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 208 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 470.

2) Instead of *contemtis* we have assumed *contemti.*

3) Instead of *filium* is to be read *filiam,* because he had only one daughter, the Elschen or the Elisabeth.

Grace and peace! I was very sorry, my dear Jonas, when I read that you too had suffered the evil of my illness in Schmalkalden, namely the urinary compulsion, and I give thanks to your Lord who has delivered you. Furthermore, you must keep to a certain diet against such a treacherous enemy. I have a quite reliable remedy against it, our beer, which is very diuretic, the physicians call it *diureticotata, in* this respect it is the queen of all beers; then sparingly drinking wine. Thanks for the quinces.

There is no news, except that Satan begins to be sure, since only slumbering and idle praying, which I take from many things, then also from the fact that the pastor at Ronneberg 1) has begun to teach that baptism with warm water (with which the children are baptized when it is cold) is not a true baptism, because another element, namely fire, has been added, by which it is made warm, it is also not pure water. Behold the audacity of our assured enemy. Of the thousands of soldiers sent against the Turk I have little hope, as also of the whole campaign, unless God wants to perform miracles because of our truly cold prayers. Today we are supposed to have advanced with such decorated horses, as if we were traveling to a pomp or a dance of the deer, not against the Turks. Fortune presseth us, sins press us, and we are one against another senseless with rage. Admonish, I beseech thee, thy Church, that it pray earnestly, that it pray fervently, that it pray continually. The wrath of God is greater than even we, the godly, believe, and nowhere is there repentance but indomitable tenacity. May God have mercy on us, amen. Greetings to all of ours. On Monday after Vocem Jucunditatis [May 15] Anno 1542. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

No. 2921.

(Wittenberg.) May 17, 1542.

To the Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg.

Luther wishes him luck for the assumed supreme command of the army against the Turks.

1) Melchior Freuzel, to whom Luther wrote on July 13, 1542.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. B* 24, fol. 90 and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 39Ir Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 999; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 428; in Walch, vol. XXI, 469; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 471 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 23.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most noble, highborn prince, most gracious lord! That E. C. F. G. has become supreme field commander against the cruel enemy of Christ, we wish E. C. F. G. God's grace and all good; as it is then also necessary to wish and to ask earnestly before God, which we want to do with all our might by God's grace. For we truly also heartily consider for ourselves how not only E. C. F. G. Person, but many other more fine people, who are going on this journey, which is so great that God Himself, moved by the prayer of the churches, must be present, or nothing good will come of it. For our Germany's previous and present sin, blaspheming God's word and persecuting His servants, is so overwhelming that my prayer has often been weakened by it. Accordingly, my humble request is again, that E. C. F. G. would have their preachers admonish the people, that they, out of simple hearts, for the praise and honor of God, for the benefit of the church or Christianity, also give up their wives and children, police and discipline, as E. C. F. G. themselves point out, and not risk their lives for the sake of their own honor, glory or enjoyment. For the Turks and the devil, our sin and God's wrath are four mighty, great enemies that lie at our necks, against which we are much, much too weak with bodily power. We can certainly be sure of this, and have often (unfortunately) experienced it all too miserably, so that it will be necessary for the C.C.F.G. to keep a good discipline, to forbid and punish the blasphemy and torture of the sinners, and also to encourage prayer and godliness through the preachers. For thus the Scripture teaches us that where God is not present, no power, art, or wisdom will help, especially among his people who boast of his name. For the stranger, his enemy, he letteth fortune, and passeth away: but his people shall be holy, or else he

2) "Martern" - swearing. - Instead of "Scharhansen" (sic) reads *Cod. Jen.*: "sharp and hard", which seems better to us.

will punish them, Pf. 89, 33. But because we know that ECFG and so many fine people (who are serious) are here, we want to be with you faithfully with our prayers as much as God gives us, regardless of the fact that there is so much loose trash mixed in with the crowd, and we want to take care of you, help you pray, and do what we can. Let E. C. F. G. have no doubt of this. For E. C. F. G. will have to believe this, and be sure that we cannot wish the Turk luck against E. C. F. G., nor stand by him, but must stand by E. C. F. G. and ours against the Turk, that is, against the devil, God's wrath and our sin. This help us our dear Lord Jesus Christ, and look not at what we deserve and are worth, but at his holy name, and give us grace that we may at last cheerfully boast that we have served his holy name, have sought his honor and kingdom, also his will, amen. If we would do this, or could do this, I hope it would not be necessary, without me also being a little weakened by such great wickedness of the papists; which God, the dear Father, also helps us to overcome, and let us not be rewarded for it. For we are all innocent of them, and we are sorry for what they have done. I hereby give my prayer and blessing in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen. *Vigilia Ascensionis* [17 May] anno MDXLII.

E. C. F. G. willing servant

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2922.

(Wittenberg.) May 23, 1542. 1)

To the locksmith Johann Schulteis in Pirna.

A joking letter to make acquaintance, prompted by Anton Lauterbach.

Printed by *H. P. Rebenstock, colloquia, tom. I*, *fol.* 147 b and in Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 58 f.

1) In *Rebenstock, colloquia, tom*. I, *fol.* 148, dated May 31, 1541, and also Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 58, but the latter says: "perhaps this letter is also only dated May 23, 1542, because according to *Rebenst*. I, 217 b, Lauterbach came to Wittenberg on May 18, 1542, on a visit to Luther." The year and date set by us becomes even more probable by the fact that Schulteis became only Jacobi (July 25) 1541 Schösser in Pirna.

Peace in Christ. Honorable and prudent 2) friend! M. Anton Lauterbach, your pastor and my special friend, has told me many good things about you, which is why I have presumed to address this letter to you as to an unknown friend. I know very well, however, that M. Anton is not lying, but I have disputied sharply with him about the success or the outcome of his proposal, because it has often gone differently than I would have meant. For I have freed from a weighted conscience many of your state, *publicanos (*== public*ans*), who had stained themselves with abominable sins in this country; I do not know whether I have brought all of them to heaven. But since I can say nothing good of the wicked, nor anything evil of the good, I will therefore now be satisfied that thou art a righteous castor, or publican. For this is a new thing in the world. For Antony willed that I should have it with him, and would have it so from me. If, therefore, you are a new castor among the old, as I am a new theologian among the old theologians, God grant that I and you and all who love the gospel may persevere steadfastly in the true faith and in the knowledge of Christ. I ask you not to take offense at my joking mockery, which I made with an unknown friend, but rather to attribute it to M. Anton, who must defend me. In the meantime, I entrust you to the mercy of Almighty God. Give my best regards to the Amtmann, about whom M. Anton has informed me of many good and new things. On Tuesday after Exaudi [23 May] Anno 2c. 41 [should read 42).

No. 2923.

(Wittenberg.) May 23, 1542.

To an unnamed person.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1814. - According to *Cod. Goth. A* 398 Hans Kegel, citizen of Hettstedt, is supposed to be the addressee (Burkhardt).

2) *prudens*. The choice of this expression shows that Seidemann's assumption that we are dealing here with a translation of a German letter into Latin is justified.

(Wittenberg.) **No. 2924.** 9 June 1542,

To Prince Johann von Anhalt.

Luther asks this prince, who was governor in the Mark, for protection for the pastor Erasmus Alberus, who was challenged by some of the council in the new city of Brandenburg.

From the original in the Dessau Archives in Lindner, vol. II, p. 77; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 234 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 317.

To the illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascania and Lord of Bernburg, my gracious lord.

G. u. F. in Christo. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! I have had to hear several times how the people of Brandenburg in the new city, but not the common man, but some of the council, are making themselves exceedingly angry against their pious preacher, M. Alberum, whom the common people love very much, and are doing 1) this especially now, because of the absence of the Prince of the Land, my lord Elector 2c. Herr Churfürsten 2c., they let themselves think that they are lords 2c. For this reason, I humbly request to E. F. G. that E. F. G., as Vicarius in the Mark, protect the aforementioned preacher against such wanton people, so that he is not forced to turn away from the Mark. E. F. G. understand well how cunningly the devil intends to eradicate or drive out the Gospel. I also hereby send to E. F. G. the same M. Alberi's writing and complaint to me, from which E. F. G. may hear his request. May the Father of all mercies grant us all his Holy Spirit, that we may be grateful and not deserve to have his word taken from us again, Amen. Friday after Trinity (June 9) 1542.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther, D.

(Wittenberg.) **No. 2925.** 9 June 1542.

To Duke Albrecht of Prussia.

Luther gives his advice to the Duke because of the participation in the war against the Turks demanded by the Elector of Brandenburg, as the ruler of the Empire.

From Faber's collection of letters, p. 41, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 474, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 26.

1) "thun" put by us instead of "yhm".

Your Serene Highness, Most Reverend Prince, Most Gracious Sir! I was very pleased to receive E. F. G.'s letter as well as the Secretary's verbal solicitation. I also ask, as before, that Your Grace (as you heartily request) see to it that the sects do not break down; for attention must be paid, because the enemy is not a painted or carved image, but, as Christ says, a living, yes, a ruling Prince and God of the world, as we well experience every day.

That E. F. G. are required for the war against the Turk by my lord Elector of Brandenburg 2c., I like to hear, and would like that such a great, powerful enemy is resisted in a proper manner. But that it should be a *Vocatio,* that is nothing, because E. F. G. are not required by the realm. If it were, it would be a friendly service as from a neighbor, so that E. F. G. could stay at home without danger to their conscience, as well as being necessary. Where now E. F. G. wanted to go out of close duty, only for friendship, then E. F. G., (their) ?) If they so desire, here are the two scholars who are capable enough for the office of army preacher, eight also, where they would demand E. F. G., should they be found willingly. For the sake of the surgeon I know not how to give an answer here, for they are not here, or have already all been called away. Our dear Lord Christ bless E. F. G. and keep her in all graces, Amen. Friday after Trinity [June 9] 1542.

E. F. G.
willing

Martinus LutheR.

No. 2926.

(Wittenberg.) June 15, 1542.

To Albrecht, Philipp and Johann Georg, Counts of Mansfeld.

Luther exhorts the counts to unity, who quarrelled about the right of patronage of a parish.

Printed in the Hallische Theil, p. 460; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 573; in Walch, vol. XXI, 471; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 475, and in the Erlanger Ausg. vol. 56, p. 27.

2) Inserted by us.

To the noble, well-born Lords, Albrecht, Philipps and Johann Georgen, Counts and Lords of Mansfeld, my gracious and dear sovereigns.

Grace and peace and my poor *pater noster*. Gracious sirs! I have experienced it too certainly, how E. G., so close friends, cousins, brothers, father, son 2c., ...have come together over the parish and schools of St. Andrews in Eisleben... Andres at Eisleben, which is only sorrowful from the heart; for it is fair that I, as a country child, serve my fatherland and natural sovereign with all loyalty, and see to it, especially when I see what the wretched devil has in mind at this last time and need of all Germany, since it would be well needed that there be unity and love between all estates, but most of all between such close blood friends, because the Turk, God's wrath, lies so hard on our necks. But it seems as if God does not want to hear any prayer, but wants to punish the old, previous sins, committed in the papacy, along with the contempt of the outgoing Gospel, in heaps, and leave room for the devil in all kinds of willfulness. And it is grievous enough to me that there should be dissension among you friends concerning the word of grace and peace, that is, concerning the parish and schools 2c. God, the merciful Father, forbid the wicked devil, and forbid the wicked mediators, who cause such discord between us, amen.

Accordingly, my heartfelt and guilty request to your church, my dear country lords, is that they humble themselves in honor of God and His Word, and conduct this matter with gentleness and not with sharpness (as the devil would like), and act kindly toward one another (as God would like). For by going against each other in a sharp manner, the Gospels will not only lose the gospel themselves, but will also give cause for both the parish and the school to disintegrate.

For that I tell E. G. before: You will get no capable persons for the parish and school, and I will and can also not consider him for a conservative, who will let himself be used in such discord, much more for a capable and evangelical pastor or schoolmaster 2c. It may still be God's grace, where the rulers are in complete harmony, and the school and parish are also in harmony.

are the same, that among the church and school servants harmony may remain before the devil, who is hostile to both offices. And what one starts in God's name and favor is hardly obtained with effort through earnest prayer and much suffering; what good should come of it that is started in the devil's name and will, that is, with pride and arrogance?

Has there been fine unity since the uprising or even longer, since the parish has been papist and the preacher evangelical: how much more should it be so now, because the Gospels have accepted and want to have the Gospel in both parts? And it is indeed a special temptation from Satan that it should be over the *Jure Patronatus*, which is foreign and of the bishop of Halberstadt, whether the present one has given it for his person, but after his death it will fall to the monastery of Halberstadt, which will not easily provide the parish with Christian pastors or preachers, as this bishop has done out of fear and in rebellion, and would thereby gain more than he had before, or had ever lost with God and all honors, namely the preaching chair and school (as it was little respected without them). Therefore, my gracious dear sirs! Let us be for it, and not improve other gentlemen with our own harm, for which they will mock E. G., laugh in their fists, and consider E. G.'s quarrels as foolishness or child's play.

It also means what a great annoyance and a joy to the devil and his followers this will be, that such fine and highly famous lords and counts, evangelical on both sides, will be so angry with each other about such small, foreign *Jus Patronatus.* It does not read, it is not suitable, it does not please God, nor any pious Christian man. But may the counsellors of both sides be able to lower their voices, and in their kindness let such things be calmed and settled. And what I and all of us can do, we would gladly do. And ask God, the Father of all graces and unity, to give E. G. a gentle, soft heart towards [one] another, to accomplish his work (if E. G. wants to mean both), contrary to the devil, in a grave and blessed manner, Amen. Thursday St. Viti s15. June) Anno 1542. A. G. williger

Martinus Luther.

No. 2927.

(Wittenberg.) 16 June 1542.

To Daniel Cresser (Greiser, [1]Greser), pastor at Dresden.

Luther wishes him luck and prosperity in taking up his pastorate at Dresden, and pronounces him:/Muth.
Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. From the collection of Sagittarius in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 209 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 477.

To the highly honored man, Mr. Daniel Cresser, the extremely faithful pastor of the church in Dresden, his very dear brother.

Grace and peace! I thank you, my dear Daniel, for your exceedingly godly letter, in which you command me to GOtte. I believe, however, that the preaching ministry assumed in the church at Dresden is a difficult one for you. For I know certain Meissen centaurs who are very hostile to the word and at the same time exceedingly hypocritical. But the Lord, the truth, will put an end to their plots and pretensions. And I was pleased with thy magnanimity, in which thou writest that thou fearest not the adversaries, but thyself, that thou mayest not be equal to the works. But He who is with thee in this generous disposition will not leave thee alone against the adversaries in bearing the works. In Him we are, live, and weave, and again He is, lives, and weaves in us, and is mighty in our weakness through His power. Therefore be of good cheer, and be strong, and fight the wars of the Lord, as thou art called, in this corrupt and frenzied time. For the church hath need of thee and of thy like, which we cannot forsake, lest we be robbers of God, seeing she is so afflicted, troubled, and wearied, laboring, weary, and sick, and crucified with her Bridegroom. Fare well in the Lord, and continue, as thou hast begun, to pray for me also. On Friday after Viti [June 16] 1542. M. L.

1) Thus Köstlin writes this name; Seidemann: "Greser"; in the text: *Cresserus* and afterwards in De Wette: "Cresser".

No. 2928.

(Wittenberg.) June 26, 1542.

To Prince George of Anhalt, Provost of Magdeburg Cathedral.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1340, no. 155.

No. 2929.

(Wittenberg.) July 5, 1542.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 378, printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 210 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 479, German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1492 (in poor translation).

Grace and peace! My dear Anton, may you believe Pistor so that you always remember what I have said and written. The Mainzer is to me a great cautionary example of what and how characters of this kind are wont to act. Carlewitz is Carlewitz, and has people who keep him warm. Therefore, you should not trust the words until you have seen the deeds. I would easily excuse the prince himself, who according to his age is still clumsy and inexperienced, but the nobility and the host of Satan are raging, so that it is necessary to pray for everything, to fear everything, but to hope for better things, because Christ lives. Greet the Lord Rivius and Greser (*Cresserum*), 2) and admonish them that they should not doubt that they are (because they will persevere) men of war of the Son of God, who is called the Lord of hosts. For they fight not with flesh and blood, that is, of the courtiers, 3) not for this mortal life and stinking matter, but against the evil spirits under heaven, that is, for life, which is eternal and glorious and incorruptible and imperishable. Therefore let us do so, Ps. 27:14: "Harvest thou the LORD, be thou confident and undaunted, and wait upon the LORD." [John 14,

2) The spellings occur: Greser, Gresser, Greiser and Cresser occur. See Burkhardt, p. 414, Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 488, note 2.
3) The words: i. e. *aulicorum* stand in Latin at the end of the previous sentence, after *exercituum*. We have moved them here.

(19) "I live, and you also shall live," though we die, as you know better in this, in which I wish you and all yours well. Pray for me and give my regards to Agnes (*Nisae*) and your Elsa. Wednesday after the Visitation of the Virgin [5 July] 1542. M. L.

No. 2930.

Wittenberg. 10 July 1542.

Faculty certificate for Heinrich Schmedstädt.

Schmedstädt was appointed professor of theology in Rostock.
Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. 186. 4. printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 211 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 480.

Martin Luther, Doctor of Theology, Dean of the College of the Theological Faculty, says his greetings to all who read this letter.

Heinrich Schmedstädt from Lüneburg stayed at the school of our church in Wittenberg for about eighteen years, 1) with extraordinary praise of virtue and godliness. And since he had made excellent progress in philosophy, and had been adorned with the degree of Master, he took good care to teach others at the school. In the meantime, however, he always added to his other work the study of Christian doctrine, diligently listening to the interpretation of the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures, researching the antiquity of the church, comparing the opinions of all, and speaking out about the whole doctrine in a precise manner. And because he rightly understands the doctrine of the church of Christ, and accepts the pure opinion of the gospel, which our church professes in one spirit and with one voice with the general church of Christ, he has also been commanded to preach here with me, and he has given a *specimen of* his learning, and testified quite clearly that he has the same opinion which our church professes. Now that the noble prince, distinguished by wisdom and virtue, is here,

1) Instead of *commotus* we have assumed *commoratus.*

When Duke Heinrich of Mecklenburg called Heinrich Schmedstädt to the Academy in Rostock to teach theology and asked him to bring our testimony with him, we were pleased that the noble Prince, Duke Heinrich, would take care that the churches were advised and that the sound doctrine was preserved and propagated. For truly this must be the first care of all rulers, that they teach the nations the true knowledge of God and glorify the honor of his Son JEsu Christ, as the word of the Psalm [Ps. 72,11.] reminds us, that the nations should all convert, and the kings that they serve the Lord. And because we approve of the morals and scholarship of Heinrich Schmedstädt, since he lived with us for so many years and taught publicly, and promised faithfulness and constancy in godly doctrine, we have gladly given him a testimony. So that this would be a public one, according to the usual custom of the schools, the degree of Doctor of Theology has been conferred on Magister Heinrich Schmedstädt by the judgment, vote and approval of our College, after a public disputation. And we implore God to govern his actions, and we also commend this Doctor Heinrich to the noble Princes, the Dukes of Mecklenburg, and ask that they may well protect him. For it is useful for the church and for the community that good teachers are protected and assisted by the prestige of the princes. And that this service is pleasing to God, many sayings of God (*coelestes*) and examples testify. How rich a reward does God promise to the prince Ebed Melech [Jer. 38, 7. ff. 39, 16. ff.], who pulled out Jeremiah, who had been thrown into the pit, and received him. We also exhort Doctor Heinrich to endeavor to maintain the harmony of the church and academy at Rostock with ours, especially because it is to be desired that the academies, to which the leadership in doctrine is commanded, sing in one spirit and with one voice with the angels the glory of God and peace on earth. For God wants the teachers to be the comrades of this choir and ministry of the angels. Given at Wittenberg, July 10, 1542.

Martin Luther.

No. 2931.

(Wittenberg.) 13 July 1542.

To Spalatin.

About the tree trunks given to Luther by the Elector. Cf. No. 2876.

The original is in the Anhaltische Gesammtarchiv at Dessau. Only the first (Latin) half is found in *Buddeus*, p. 273; in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 482, and in German translation in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1317. Lindner has communicated the missing part from the original in Dessau in the Theologische Studien und Kritiken 1835, Heft II, p. 354. The same is printed in the Erlanger Ausgabe, Vol. 56, p. LV and in De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 317 f.

To the highly famous and valuable man, Magister Georg Spalatin, Superintendent of the Churches in Meissen, his exceedingly dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace! Although I, my dear Spalatin, care (as Paul does) very little for what serves in this life to preserve life or the belly, so far as I am concerned, yet, since I am a husband, I am also, as the same Paul says, a debtor to my household; whoever neglects the due care towards these has denied the faith, and is worse than a heathen (1 Tim. 5, 8.): therefore I beseech thee, that thou do me that service in this matter, which thou wouldst wish done by me against thee, and wouldst justly and rightly desire, namely, that I be not deceived, or abridged, or cheated, concerning the gift of the prince (which I greatly esteem). Thou knowest the manners of these birds of prey, who easily find out what serves them, with setting aside love towards their neighbour. And in addition to this, it is difficult in that region to obtain such trees as I have obtained, and they may have wished to avail themselves of this advantage through me. However it may be, I want the trees that you listed to me in your letter, which are left to me, to be preserved for me as my own, whether they be taimen or oaks, that is, instead of the sold ones, to remain unharmed and in full number until I have claimed them. 1) *De tremulis*, or that I commit no error.

1) In the following supplement, there are only a few Latin words in the beginning and at the end, the rest is in German.

go in the words, the aspens, my Käthe wants to drive herself, because she must build a barn.

We do not understand the other of the four trees, for she asked that they be cut from the trees she had previously cut down and hewn. If she had sold them, how could she have cut others and brought them out from the courtyard? Those who bought them must do so, 2) and restore such trees to me without harm, or it will be like a practice to deprive me of the wood that I will send to my most gracious lord. For I will, as your letter also testifies, have my wood, which the pious prince has given me and which is difficult to obtain in this place, completely and utterly and will not knowingly let anything be taken from me. You shall thank the Lord of Einsiedel very kindly and I will earn it (where I can). But how shall he have boards cut, if he has no wood that is mine? For the sold was mine. Now shall I buy it new and bring it out from the yard. When will this be done? So I come for my wood that the lord hath given me. But it shall not be hushed, nor come to their use. *Vale in Domino. Cursim et occupatiss*. [Fare well in the Lord. In haste and very busy]. 1542. *s. Margaret*. [13 July].

Your Martinus LutheR, Dr.

No. 2932.

(Wittenberg.) July 13, 1542.

To Melchior Frenzel, pastor in Ronneburg.

Luther rebuked him for two whimsical opinions. Cf. No. 2920.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 376; in *Cod. Goth*. 168. 4. and in *Cod. Jen*. B 24. n, *fol.* 181. Printed by Schütze, vol. III, p. 204, and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 483. Incomplete (only the first half) by *Buddeus, p.* 296, and German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1350.

To the highly venerable man, Melchior Frenzel, pastor in Ronneberg, his (friend) in the Lord.

Mercy and peace! As for me, my dear Melchior, I bear it with equanimity that you have not yet joined us. You

2) Instead of "bought" it should probably read "sold".

but in these questions you could have consulted others beforehand, since you wanted to be taken for an inventor of new doctrine (*novus auctor*). For that you say that warm water is not a pure element, but mixed with fire, I wonder what may have entered your mind. With the same wisdom another will say that cold water is not a pure element, but mixed with earth, because the philosophers say that the earth is cold and dry. Another will say that moist water is not a pure element, because moisture is the proper property of air. Let us therefore desist from these inconsistencies. 1) In the other question also thou dost not properly distinguish the properties (*idiomata*) of the natures in the person of Christ. For the Godhead did not die, but that God, namely Christ, who is not God according to his nature, but according to his person, or has the Godhead, died, just as again it was not mankind that created heaven, but the person who is man, or has assumed mankind, created heaven. If thou understandest not these things, depart from thy thoughts, and consult men more learned than thou, lest thou fall on the right hand with Eutyches, or on the left hand with Nestorius. Be well pleased in the Lord. On St. Margaret's Day [July 13] 1542.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2933.

(Wittenberg.) July 13, 1548.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Of a matrimonial matter which Luther rejects from himself; of the war against Duke Henry of Brunswick 2c.

The original is in Cod. *Seidel.* at Dresden. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 213 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p.484. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1493.

To the ill Christo venerable man, Mr. Nicolaus voll Amsdorf, the right and exceedingly faithful bishop of Naumburg, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! There came this postman, dear man, who sent me a

1) The following is missing from *Buddeus* and Walch.

...in the matter of the marriage. Since I recognized that it belonged to your district, I sent it back to your consistory so that the parties could be summoned and the matter discussed, for we do not admit even our own to an interrogation when the other party is absent. Therefore, according to your office, you will see to it in this matter what is right.

For a long time I have not received a letter from you, nor do I know how you are, or what you are doing, or rather suffering in your episcopate. I think only the best of you and pray [for you]. Because of the episcopate I am anxious for thy sake, with so great a multitude of things and troubles. But it is the LORD whom we serve, whom we live and die, as Paul says [Rom. 14:7.], "Our none liveth to Himself, our none dieth to Himself." Since He comforts us, we are able to do all things, or what we are not able to do, those are such things as are not pleasing to Him. This war against the murderer Heinzen, I pray, let it be ordered to you and your church; besides the prayers, it is absolutely necessary for the defense of many oppressed, but nevertheless the help of the gracious God is necessary, so that he will not look at our misdeeds and debts, but at the exceedingly distressed cries [of the oppressed], and the blasphemy of the shameful papists, amen. Besides, we have no news. Pray for me that the LORD grant me a good hour, for I, who am without juice and strength, have no strength left in my head. The Lord be with thee for ever and ever, amen. My Käthe sends you her respectful greetings. On Margaret's Day [13 July] 1542.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2934.

(Wittenberg.) July 23, 1542.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Luther expresses his indignation that the abbot of Walkenried, Johann Holtegel, and the mayor of Nordhausen, Michael Meienburg, send the old, blind monastery treasurer Johann Kraus with letters on the begging, while they themselves splurge from the monastery goods, which should be used for the supply of the poor.

Latin in the treatise on the learned curse of books, p. 37; in Lenckfeld, *Antiquitates Walkenreid, P. II,* k. II, p. 93; in Schütze, vol. III, p. 205; in *Strobel-Ranner*,

p. 304 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 485. A copy is found in *Cod. Chart. Goth*. A 1048, with many variants, also in *Cod. Goth*. 185. 4. German in the Unschuldige Nachrichten, 1727, p. 12 (without date); in Walch, vol. XXI, 1262 (under the year 1534); from the gräflich Stollbergische Archiv at Wernigerode in Schütze, vol. I, p. 397 (as of the year 1538), and an old Uebersetzung (perhaps by Jonas himself, without date) in the Lutherhause at Eisleben. - The correctness of the above time determination set by De Wette is confirmed by several letters of Melanchthon to Meienburg, *Corp. Ref.,* Vol. I V, 844. 883 and 900.

Your highly famous man, Doctor Jonas, provost at Wittenberg, Christ's envoy in Halle, his superior in the Lord).

I had hardly sealed the other letter, my dear Jonas, when M. Philippus came, who would bring me public, prescribed letters, which were to be handed over in our name to M. Johann Kraus (Ousio), that poor Lazarus, and no doubt one of the least of Christ's, so that he should use them to beg where he could, after having demanded in vain, with so many writings, journeys, efforts, cries, the crumbs which fall from the table of that feaster at Walkenried. It cannot be said nor written how much I have been moved by the baseness of so great a cause, and I have virtually cursed all the goods not only of the abbot, but also of Michael Meienburg, who enjoys in a pleasant manner the goods of the monastery and feasts from the same, from which, nevertheless, this old man, who is blind and now a public beggar, should have been provided. What is it that we pray against the Turk, implore God, teach the people, while in the meantime those who want to be evangelicals certainly provoke the wrath of God through avarice, robbery and plundering of the churches? just as the people let us teach, pray and suffer, and in the meantime they palliate sin against sin. Therefore I beseech thee, my dear Jonas, that, if thou hast any fellowship with them, thou cease the same for Christ's sake, and be not troubled with their sins and their cursing. For Christ, without doubt, esteems this Crans, his poor Lazarus, higher than the whole world, to say nothing of those two bubbles of water,

1) Here we have followed Schütze's reading; De Wette offers only: *suo Domino*.

How beautiful it would have been, since Michael received such rich gifts from the abbot, if he had been mindful of this poor Lazarus and had said to the abbot: My dear lord, I will spare it so that this Lazarus may have the crumbs! Abbot, saying, My dear lord, I will spare this, that this Lazarus may have the crumbs! But this is how we do it: we forget God, so that we in turn are forgotten by God. This is what I wanted to write to you, excited by anger, so that you would know that I hate Michael and the abbot out of zeal for God, and that I will not cease to curse them as long as this Lazarus begs. May God curse their goods, and may fire blaze forth from Walkenried and at the same time also consume what they could otherwise rightfully possess, Amen, Amen, Amen. On Sunday after Magdalene [23 July] 1542.

No. 2935.

(Wittenberg.) July 25, 1542.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Of Bibles to be sent and the printing of Links *Annotationes in Genesim*.
From the manuscript in the Helmstädt library in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 216 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 486.

To the respectable man, Mr. Wenceslaus Link, Doctor of Theology, the extremely faithful servant of Christ in the church at Nuremberg, his very dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! You complain, my dear Wenceslaus, that your Bibles are late, but you have forgotten my letter in which I informed you that the workers are overwhelmed by the great number of books to be bound. There are so many that many cannot get theirs before a full half year. And I myself, who gave three copies to be bound, have now wrung one out with difficulty a month ago; the remaining two will hardly be returned to me after Michaelmas. The princes from all regions have their copies bound here, and these precede us, you, and all, which one must suffer for the sake of the favor that the workers thereby acquire with them.

You will get your two copies, which can happen in a short time anyway.

I cannot promise anything about your Genesis; our printers and booksellers are reluctant to print large books because, as they have learned, they often could not sell the copies and would have spent the costs in vain and suffered damage. Otherwise, if I could do some good with my preface, what need is there to ask for it, since you know that I am willing? 1) You would have done well if you had given it (as you write) to Secerius, or could give it to another in Upper Germany. For these are so idle that I almost want to burst when I see such good paper, such dainty letters, such careful workmen employed with exceedingly useless, even harmful books. Bucer and his like write who ought to write nothing. Thou understandest me. Fare well in the Lord. On the day of St. Jacob's [July 25] 1542.

Martin Luther.

No. 2936.

(Wittenberg.) July 25, 1542.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

Of suicide and other annoyances.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 377. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 215 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 487. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1494.

Grace and peace! What dll write about the powers of the devil in the three people, 2) who hanged themselves, I read with fear, my dear Anton. GOD is giving us ingrates and despisers a prelude to the wrath to come, since He allows such great things to Satan within our Church. What will be the end of those who do not believe in the Gospel? Such things must be presented to the people so that they may learn to fear God and not despise the power of Satan with such certainty. He is the prince of the world, who, to our contempt, invents that these people have hanged themselves, while he is the prince of the world.

1) On June 20, 1543, Luther sent the preface to Link.

2) Cf. Tischreden, Cap. 4, z 98. The event narrated there is from the year 1539.

and by a conceit imprinted on their minds, compels them to think that they have hanged themselves; this proves that it is impossible (as you write) 3) that a sitting or standing man can be suffocated by so small a hammered-in stick. Satan is to be recognized. By the way, of that whore who opened her sister's womb, write carefully. I am anxious to have some such examples printed, so that they may be told in the sermon, whether the untamed security of the common people could be broken a little. Farewell and pray for me. Mine greet thee, and mine greet thee, and all thine. On the day of St. Jacob [25 July] 1542.

Martin Luther.

No. 2937.

(Wittenberg.) 3. August 1542.

To Prince Johann von Anhalt.

Luther asks that the prince, as governor in the Mark, takes care of the poor priest in Bernau.

Alls the original in the archives at Dessau in Lindner, Mittheilungen, vol. II, p. 79, no. 54; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 237 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 318.

To the noble, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascania, Lord of Bernburg, Elector of Brandenburg, my gracious Lord.

G. u. F. in the Lord. Sublime, highborn Prince, gracious Lord! The priest of Bernau has been with me and handed over this book, also desires my advice 2c. Thereupon I promised him to procure such his booklet to E. F. G., as governor absentee of my gracious Lord Elector of Brandenburg. Lord Elector of Brandenburg. Accordingly, my humble request to E. F. G. is that E. F. G. should take a serious look so that such poor priests are provided for, or they must '(so to speak) run away. Such a complaint is probably more in

3) Walch remarks: "At the margin stands: To a small wood, which is not put over a cross finger in the wall, has standing to a straw rope erhenket Hans Frank."

4) Instead of *stantern, aut* we have adopted *aut standem.*

of the Mark, that I fear we must raise up some, and supply them elsewhere, which I would not willingly do out of the presence of the Prince. But poor Christ is too much forsaken and despised in his least, that is, preachers. But it is not good, especially now, when we need him against the Turk, the Pope, the world, the flesh, the devil, God's wrath and our own sin, all of which are now attacking us very quickly. E. F. G. will (I presume) know how to show themselves Christian, gracious and helpful in this and other matters. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. August 3, 1542.

E. F. G.

willing

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2938.

(Wittenberg.) August 11, 1542.

To Justus Menius in Eisenach.

Luther praises the children of Menius because of their perseverance in writing letters, and evaluates the attempt of Menius to raise the difference between 1 Kings 6:1. and Acts 13:20. 13,20.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Gud*. Printed by Schütze, Vol. III, p. 207 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 488.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Justus Menius, the exceedingly faithful bishop of the churches in Eisenach and Thuringia, his exceedingly dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace! It is extraordinary, my dear Justus, how the urging and impetuosity of your sons pleased me, who, in order that they might be like you and represent you, their father, by the example of perfect diligence, left me no peace until they pressed out an answer. May God grant that they may be so in all things and persevere as such, especially in that which belongs to godliness and honorableness; I wish and desire that this also be done in my children according to the will of God.

With regard to the money full of Weissensee, do what you do. For that Magister, a new husband, to whom it is given through the mediation of Dr. Brück, is quite poor. Those may watch who have practiced a fraud, or have not practiced.

This is my opinion about your calculation [of years]: I have encountered six very similar difficulties in one book alone, namely in the One Book of Judges, as you have. And I would still follow your thoughts, if I had not overcome them then, when I was at work, and they tormented me. For that thou wouldest have the word 1 Kings 6:1 so understood, as if the 480 years were said of the good judges only, and not of the people or subjects, as of Saul only two years, and of Joram 1) only eight years, seem to be reckoned,-then thou mayest see how many inconsistencies thou wilt bring up in history here, yea, in the church. For this inference is void: that the people were sinful, therefore there was no people of GOD at that time, or no GOD of the people, especially of that which had the promise. Balaam says Gen. 23:2, 21 [Vulg.], "There is no idol in Jacob." Whereas Amos says [Cap. 5, 25.], "Have ye sacrificed unto me in the wilderness the forty years?" If, therefore, under Moses (yea, under Christ there was a Judas and a godless people) there were idolaters at the time when there was no idol in Jacob, even according to his own testimony, where he says, Deut. 12:8 [Vulg.], "Ye shall not do as we do this day, every man what seemeth him right," how much more were there such men under Joshua and others. Yea, Ezekiel saith [Cap. 23:3. f.], that the breasts of Ahalibah 3) were touched. And the other prophets say (as also Moses), that from the beginning they were rebellious against the Lord. What is this but that the Church of God is praised as constantly holy and chaste, and yet at the same time it is shown that there are children of the devil in it, yes, Satan among the children of God! Therefore, I cannot agree with you that 1 Kings 6:1 is to be understood only of the good judges, but rather I will

1) Instead of *Horam* we have assumed *Joram.* See Luther's Chronikon, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIV, 617.

2) De Wette: Num. XXI V.

3) Instead of *Aalibas, Aalibae* will have to be read. In the Vulgate: *Ooliba*; in the Hebrew: xxxxxx. - De Wette has put his Conjectur *tactus* in the text, but the Vulgate reads: *fractas*.

believe that Apost. 13, 20. the number 400 is wrongly set for 300, as I have indicated in my Chronicon, 1) since also the narration of Stephanus Apost. 7, 6. must give way to the Chronicon of Moses, as I have shown in my Chronicon 2). Therefore you must bring another balance of Paul in Acts Cap. 13, 20. with 1 Kings 6, 1. This opinion of yours is not sufficient for me. Fare well in the Lord, and pray for me. Friday after Laurentii [Aug. 11] 1542.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2939.

(Wittenberg.) August 18, 1542.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Luther, together with his "College", advised to open the Moritz Church in Halle, which the Cardinal had closed, for the Protestant service.

The original in Luther's hand is in the library at Basel, in *Autograph*. Vol. 25, fol. 46. printed in *Seckendorf, Hist. Luth. lib. III, p.* 373, *sect*. 24, § 91; in *Strobel-Ranner, p.* 305, and in De Wette, vol. V, p.490. German in Frick's Uebersetzung Seckendorfs,p. 204l; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXI, p. 412, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 475 (among the letters originally written in German).

To the highly famous man, Mr. Justus Jonas, Doctor of Theology, Provost at Wittenberg, Christ's envoy at Halle, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace! What is it that you ask, or have misgivings, my dear Jonas, about opening the third church, that of St. Moritz? These are the days which, as we judged in our last deliberation, should have been expected when your mayors and the Syndicus, Mr. Dr. Kilian, were here. The trampled Son of God has also glorified himself on his enemies. This unexpected and unbelievable victory has been given to us; with all, both with ours and with the adversaries, the appearance of the Lord has become manifest. And although I do not wish the wrath of God and damnation upon this monster of Mainz, I rejoice that this wicked old rascal (Dau. XIII, 52. Hist. von der Susanna)

1) See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 600.

2) St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 584.

has lived so long that he has had to see this dreadful falling victim to his exceedingly diabolical counsels and the irretrievable fall. Praise be to God, who creates justice on earth and catches the wicked in the works of their hands, so that they cannot bring their days to the half. Now let him weep as he is worthy, and live to his own punishment, since he has hitherto had so many triumphs in the joy of his unworthiness, against God and all that is of God. Give thanks, I beseech you, publicly and solemnly with us, for GOD has done wonders with us for His glory, and has not despised the supplications and groanings of His poor, but in a short time has directed the vengeance of His own who cry out to Him. So may all thy enemies perish, O Lord, Amen. Given the 18th of August 1542.

Your Martin Luther, D.

Johann Bugenhagen, Pomeranus, Dr. Caspar Cruciger, D.

Philip Melanthon.

No. 2940.

(Wittenberg.) August 23, 1542.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for Christoph von Schulenburg, who had been harmed by Heinrich von Braunschweig.

The original is in the archives at Weimar, RoZ. X, fol. 108. 4l. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 101, no. 187; in Walch, vol. XXI, 476; in De Wette, vol.V, p. 491 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 31.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg. Roman Empire Archmarshall and Elector, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

G. and Peace in Christ. Most noble, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! Christoph von Schulenburg has asked me diligently to write to E. C. F. G. on his behalf, that E. C. F. G. would graciously support him in his cause. I have seen his printed report, how the Heinz Mordbrenner so thoroughly mänzisch and päbstisch with

bypassed him. Although I now know that, without my letter, E. C. F. G. must be more justly opposed to the desperate man than I am, but because I can well be sure that many such things will be found, so that E. C. F. G. will have to do well (for the desperate murderer will not be the only one), I ask all the more humbly for this Christoph. have to do (for the desperate murderer will not have done it to one alone): so I ask all the more humbly for this Christoph that E. C. F. G. will do the best for him, so that he will not be so completely abandoned, so that he will be eaten clean by the envelope. May the merciful God be with E. C. F. G., and help all things to a good end, to His praise and honor, Amen. Wednesday after Agapiti [23 Aug.] 1542.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Mart. Luther.

No. 2941.

(Wittenberg.) August 26, 1542.

To Marcus Crodel, schoolteacher in Torgau.

Luther sends him his son John as a pupil.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 380, printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 217 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 492,

To the worthy man, Marcus Crodel, the exceedingly faithful instructor of the youth at Torgau, his very dear [friend[in the Lord.

Grace and peace! As agreed between me and you, my dear Marcus, I am sending my son John to you, so that you may put him with the boys who are to be trained in grammar and music, and at the same time that you may take care of his manners and improve them, for I have great confidence in you in the Lord. I will pay the expenses generously, and you will tell me in due time what progress he has made and how far he is to be brought. I have added the boy Florian, especially for the reason that I see that this boy needs the example of a group of very many boys.

1) Florian von Bora, inscribirt in Wittenberg in the winter of 1543 (Album, x>. 208).

...to do me more good than private instruction, separated from others. But you will treat this one a little more harshly, and if you can place him with any citizen, you will do so; if not, send him back. May God prosper this undertaking. If I see good success with this son, you will soon have my other two, if I remain alive. For my thoughts are such that after you there will be no schoolmasters equal to you in diligence, especially in grammar and strict adherence to good manners. Therefore mau must be aware of the time; the time flees with a quick foot, and careful teachers go much quicker still. Afterwards they will return here more prosperously to higher studies. Fare well in the Lord, and tell Johann Walther that I wish him well through my prayers, and that he may have my son commanded in music. For I give birth to theologians, but I also desire to give birth to grammarians and musicians. Again, farewell and greet Gabriel [Gemini] also with his own. For the third time and forever GOtte commanded. On Saturday after Bartholomew [26 Aug.] Anno 1542.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2942.

(Wittenberg.) August 27, 1542.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

Of an economic affair; of a displeasure, which Luther had because of one of his letters with the ducal Saxon ministers, and of the capture of Wolfenbüttel.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 379. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 218 and in De Wette, vol.V, p. 493. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1495.

To the highly esteemed and worthy man, Magister Anton, the faithful and diligent pastor of the church at Pirna and bishop of the neighboring churches, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace! My Käthe has received my daughter's fur, my dear Anton, which is truly too valuable and precious to be worth my person and

...to send my fortune. We thank you for your diligence and faithfulness. She will send the rest of the money as soon as she can. "If you will, let it be heard that Dr. Martinus, in all the nobles' wrath, that boast in Meissen of my letter. If they ventilate it, they attack me, they shall see cream, 1) better than Duke George. I am astonished that they should make themselves so ashamed against me, since they are not the people whom my smallest finger could fear," but it is hope. "Let them come"; yes, they may watch themselves, and some of them, especially the godless Carlwitz, how they may answer to their letters, which are found at "Wolfenbüttel," 2) "there it will be done." But let them rage and run. "Heinz, the murderer, will reward them, and they in turn will reward their enemies, just as Abimelech did[3]the Shechemites, and again. Let us only pray as before; the prayer, of the church does wonders.

I would write news if I did not believe that you knew everything from somewhere else. It is clearly a divine victory: the impregnable "Wolfenbeutel" has been conquered in three days, which could have withstood a siege of six years, as everyone is crying out. But the things are too great and too much to be comprehended in one letter alone. Summa, it is God who does everything in this matter, or (as they say) the *fac totum*. It is not human things that are happening these days, so that there is some hope that they are all the forerunners and harbingers of the blessed day of our redemption, Amen. Greet your two relatives and all of ours in the Lord. Sunday after Bartholomew [27 Aug] 1542Your

M. Luther.

1) We have adopted Aurifaber's reading "saw Rahm" (not, as De Wette indicates, "glory"). See our edition, vol. XVII, 2255 8. v. "Ram." De Wette offers: "empfahen"; Walch: "heran fahren." Immediately following, instead of "Herr Georg," we have shredded: "Herzog Georg." Luther thus points to his "Schrift von heimlichen und gestohlenen Briefen," St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 518, no. 100.

2) Instead of invectas we have assumed iiiveutas.

3) It should be read: VdinaolsoU instead of: VoUirnolooli according to Richt. Cap. 9.

No. 2943.

(Wittenberg.) August 28, 1542.

To Marcus Crodel, schoolteacher at Torgau.

(Regest.)

Luther exhorts him to thoroughly punish Florian of Bora for a misdemeanor.

According to *Cod. chart. bibl. Dorpat, No. 44, fol.* 5, communicated by O. Waltz in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, II, 146. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 386.

No. 2944.

(Wittenberg.) August 29, 1542.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

Luther gives his concern about a case of conscience. From the victory over Duke Henry of Brunswick.

The original is at Gotha in *Cod. chart.* 122. f. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 274; by *Schlegel, vit. Spalatini,* p. 249; by Schütze, vol. I, p. 220 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 494. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1318.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, Magister, pastor of the church in Altenburg and superintendent of the churches in Meissen, his brother who is highly venerated in the Lord.

"G. and F." Best Spalatin! What you write about our friend, Mr. Heinrich 4) 2c., I have read, and with admiration I have read this example of such rare conscientiousness. And in the first two pieces he brings himself, weiln no more, yet sufficiently in harm, and perhaps, if he dealt with them according to the will and during his lifetime, the peasants would be satisfied with less expense. About the third there is no question, after they have voluntarily accepted those provisions. Therefore, you may tell him to be sure and of good cheer, since in many dangerous matters one neighbor should and must give way to another (as they say) for the sake of the good of peace, and in doubtful matters (where there is a good sense) one should not anxiously seek doubts (*perplexitates).*

4) Already Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 667, *s. v. Henricus* assumes that Heinrich von Einsiedel is meant. This assumption is confirmed by Luther's letter to him of April 30, 1545, which concerns similar circumstances.

more you have to go over it when you find it.

You rightly write that it is miracles of God that are performed against Heinz Mordbrenner. We see with our eyes and hear with our ears great things, which, if they had happened in earlier centuries, would have produced great books of history. God grant that we may be of a humble mind, and ascribe victory to God Himself (as it is in truth) with praise, and fear His judgments, because neither are we without sin, nor is that man punished for our sake, but God has been compelled to inflict punishment, as it is written [Ps. 140:13]: "He will execute the cause of the wretched and the right of the poor." Tomorrow my Käthe will travel to Zülsdorf, where her wagon will bring the logs (*trabes*), and, God willing, will carry out other things. In Him gehab you quite well with all yours. Tuesday after Bartholomew [29 Aug.] 1542. Yours M. L., D.

No. 2945.

(Wittenberg.) 3. September 1542.

All Justus Jonas in Halle.

About the treaty to be concluded between the Elector of Saxony and the Cardinal of Mainz concerning the Burgraviate of Halle, and about the victory over Henry of Brunswick stained by plunder.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 381. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 221 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 495.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Justus Jonas, Doctor of Theology, Provost at Wittenberg, Christ's envoy in Halle, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I too have heard, my dear Jonas, that a treaty has been made or is to be made between our [Prince] and yours, but in such a way that I was persuaded that the most noble Prince, although he does not want to let go of that title in vain, will by no means suffer any harm to come to Halle as a result. But I know nothing about the conditions of which you write. I therefore write to Brück in the camp, at your expense [through the messenger[, 1) whom you have sent, that through him my opinion may be indicated to the prince, and I write to the prince himself. How infinite is this Cardinal's cardinal malice (*cardinalicitas*)! But I hope that in a short time he will be killed by the tears and prayers of the godly, amen.

This exceedingly gratifying victory is tainted for me and for others by evil rumors. For there is talk of such great rapacity both on the part of ours and of the great, that there rises in me the fear that the countrymen would one day, under favorable conditions, rather fetch back their Mezentius 2) than suffer these robberies. "How utterly is it nothing" with men in these corrupt times, and how frightful it is to have a man of war and friend, even a believer, in the army. But the end comes, the end comes. The princes keep exceedingly strict discipline, but what care this licentious sort of people for discipline? In haste. Farewell. Give my love to all our people. On the 3rd of September, Anno 1542.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2946.

(Wittenberg.) September 5, 1542.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

About the contract concerning the burgrave of Halle.

From the original in the university library at Helmstädt in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 222 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 496.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Justus Jonas, Doctor of Theology, Provost, and Messenger of the Word at Halle in Saxony, his superior.

Grace and peace! At the moment, my dear Jonas, when I had closed the other letter, your son Jonas entered with your sad and lamenting letter. What shall I do, my dear Jonas? Yesterday I sent the hurried messenger to Brunswick, who will not find the Prince there. For I am told today that he has gone away and is on his way to Humboldt.

1) Added by us.

2) Duke Henry of Brunswick.

melsheim in Thuringia, where the children and the Princess 2c. are. We hope that **Dr.** Beneken 1) will be there today. I hope that the contract for the purchase has not yet been concluded; if it is concluded, I hope that this will be done under conditions that are not harmful to Halle. For he will not lift the gospel after peace is granted; but I will hear it from Beneke, and I would do otherwise if I knew what. Your Hallensians, I pray, may also write, cry, and send to the Prince himself. If there is no other remedy, at least the crocodile must be killed by prayer. But I cannot persuade myself that the people of Halle have been handed over to the crocodile so unprotected (nude), for the matter of Schönitzen (*Schaniz*) 2) is also still pending. May the Lord hear our prayers and grant us salutary counsel and help in these matters. Fare well in the Lord. On the fifth of September, 1542. Martin Luther, D.

No. 2947.

(Wittenberg.) September 6, 1542.

To Marcus Crodel, schoolteacher in Torgau.

Luther sends for his son Johannes quickly from Torgau, so that he can see his dying sister Magdalena once more.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 381. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 223 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 497.

Grace and peace, my dear Marcus Crodel! I beg you to conceal from my son John what I am writing to you. My daughter Magdalena is almost in her last days, and will shortly go away to her right father in heaven, if God has not decided otherwise. But she has such a longing to see her brother that I have been compelled to send the carriage; they were very fond of each other, whether she might recover through his arrival. I do what I can, so that I do not later feel that I have neglected something,

1) Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 645, points this to Brück.

2) Cf. "Luther's writing against the Bishop of Magdeburg, Cardinal Albrecht, concerning the innocently hanged Hans Schenitz". St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 1888.

...to torment him. Therefore you may command him to hasten hither in this chariot, concealing the cause. He shall soon return, when she either is asleep in the Lord, or riseth up again. Be well in the Lord. Thou shalt tell him that there is something which shall be secretly committed unto him. For the rest, all is well. September 6, 1542.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2948.

(Wittenberg.) September 18, 1542.

To Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt.

Intercession for the woman of Selbitz.

The original was in the Luther House in Eisleben and lay there openly. Through much touching it fell apart into pieces that have been lost. Printed in the Haifischen Theile, p. 418; in the Leipzig edition, Vol. XXII, p. 573 and in Walch, Vol. XXI, 460. In all these editions dated: "Montags nach Circumcis.", which is from January 2. From the original in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 97, no. 182; from it in De Wette, vol. V, p. 497 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 32.

To the illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien and Lord of Bernburg, my gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Sublime, highborn Prince, gracious Lord! Mrs. Selbitz and her son, Georgen von Selbitz, have kindly asked me to make this written intercession to E. F. G.. After E. F. G. had spent a thousand gulden in thalers and silver pennies, the thaler at four and twenty gl., and the silver pennies at one [and] 3) twenty for one fl., with the promise that they would be presented again in the same kindness at the time of redemption; but now they receive the thaler, as it now goes, at five and twenty gl, which I can well judge that E. F. G. did not mean to seek any disadvantage for the good women and their son, but the bailiffs are now doing the same everywhere, and want to make the lords rich with small benefits (where they are otherwise so pious and do not mean themselves), although it basically helps nothing, but rather as a break-off of the neighbour to the break-off man.

3) Added by us. The florin had 21 groschen: the gold florin 22 groschen.

If she does harm, her request and mine is most humbly that E. F. G., in accordance with her promise, let the same kindness suffice, and not let the harm come to her. For E. F. G. would be of little help with the foregoing, and would nevertheless cause a sting to the conscience. So indeed there is not much else. May E. F. G. graciously give me credit for such intercession, and show himself Christian and princely towards the good woman. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Mondays after *Crucis* [18 Sept.^ 1542. E. F. G. williger

Mart. Luther.

No. 2949.

(Wittenberg.) September 23, 1542.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

About the sale of the Burggrafenthum in Halle; about an admonition of Luther to the son of Jonas, and about the death of his daughter Magdalena.

The original is in the library at Wolfenbüttel. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 224 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 498 f.

Your highly famous man, Mr. Justus Jonas, Doctor of Theology, Provost at Wittenberg, Envoy to Halle in Saxony, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I stand by my opinion, my dear Jonas, namely, that it will never happen that the Satan of Mainz buys the burgrave of Halle, 1) especially at such a high price, and with such an adjunct that he should let the Gospel have its free course. Everything that this child of cursing and destruction does or says is a lie and hypocrisy. You remember I used to say that even the sun has seen nothing more devious than this head. He makes but play and laughter of our prince, as of all men. Therefore I hold that you Hallensians are frightened in vain, and as by a flash of lightning from a pool, which has been very agreeable to that monster, who lives solely by being the most

1) The text says vendat (sell); De Wette remarks on this: Luther probably made a mistake and wanted to write *emat,* since the Elector already attaches the Burggrafenthum to himself. Compare No. 2791 and our note there.

devilish devil, namely, that he sees the misfortune of the wretched, or, if it is not a real misfortune, yet rejoices that they are tormented by a fictitious (*falsa*) misfortune.

I have reminded your son, as you wrote, with a stern and serious admonition that he should obey his father gratefully, and indeed such a vain father, and be mindful that God has blessed him with such a great blessing that the father saw the years of his [the son's] manhood while he was still alive, through whose counsel and help such a frail age and original sin could be governed, given the great wickedness of the world and the fury of the devil. He vowed that he would be obedient and await your and the teacher's counsel.

I believe that the rumor has told you that my exceedingly dear daughter Magdalene has been born again into the eternal kingdom of Christ, and although I and my wife should only give joyful thanks for such a happy escape and blessed end, through which she has escaped the power of the flesh, the world, the Turk, and the devil, the power of natural love is so great that we cannot do it without sobs and sighs of the heart, yes, without great mortification. Namely, the looks, words, and gestures of the living and the dying exceedingly obedient and reverent daughter cling deeply in the heart, so that even Christ's death (and what is the death of all men in comparison with his death?) cannot entirely take this away, as it should be. Therefore give thanks to GOtte in our stead. For 2) He hath indeed done a great work of grace in us, in that he hath so glorified our flesh. She had (as thou knowest) a gentle and sweet and altogether amiable character. Praise be to the Lord Jesus Christ, who called her, chose her, and made her glorious. Would that God would grant me and all of us such a death, but rather such a life, which I ask only of God, the Father of all comfort and mercy. In him be well with all your relatives, amen. Saturday after Matthew [23 Sept.] 1542. Yours, Martin Luther.

2) Instead of *Non,* we assumed *Nam.*

No. 2950.

(Wittenberg.) Perhaps in September 1542.

Luther's expert opinion on a disputed marriage case.

Simon Blick (Plick) had become engaged to Hedwig Spitzkirchen, who had lived separated from her husband Veit Zan for 12 years, but not divorced, about which a trial had been initiated by the Wittenberg Consistory. The lawyer of Blick, who had last been abbot in Pegau, had appealed against the verdict.

According to a copy in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, pag.* 459, printed by Burkhardt, p. 415.

In response to the heard, read out, large, useless drivel and humbug 1) of the lawyer [of] Simon Blick against the verdict, spoken here in Wittenberg in the Consistory, I say for myself or my person, regardless of such dreadful, terrible drivel of the lawyer, that I like the verdict (vrtel), so allhie gesprochen ist, wollt's noch heute (heute) Tag selbst noch sprechen und stärken, eben nach und durch des Anwaltes Elstergeschrei, und hiemit Simon Blick Glück zu seiner ander Ehe, das einem öffentlichen Eherecher GOtt beschert hat und gegeben wird.

If he and his magpies and spouts seek other judges and sentences that will make him right and us wrong, we will let that happen, but our consciences will be unburdened by it, because we are well accustomed to being condemned, and our own books will be used against us in a wicked way. *(Manu propria.)*

Martinus Luther, D.

Johanns Bugenhagius, Pomeranus, D., sspt.

No. 2951.

(Wittenberg.) October 5, 1542.

To Johann Angnsta in Leitomischl.

Luther thanks him for the preserved memory, asks for his continuation and requests fine intercession. - Augnsta was in the years 1536, 1540 and 1542 envoy of the Bohemian brothers to Luther. Seidemann-De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 466.

Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 275; in the *Fontes rerum austr.* XIX, 28; from the Börnerische Sammlung at Leipzig by Schütze, vol. I, p. 226 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 500. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1319.

1) That is: common vituperation (see St. Louis ed., vol. XVII, 2249, s. v. "Holhipler").

To the venerable brother in Christ, Joh. Augusta, servant of the divine word among the brethren at Leitomischl, his very dear [friend].

Grace and peace in the Lord! My dear John, your brother Lorenz 2) of Leitomischl has requested a letter from me to you, and has informed me of your opinion of us, how true and sincere it is, and that you remember me in your prayers. Therefore I am grateful to all of you, and I ask that you will continue to pray for me. For I am convinced that the time (*horam*) of this miserable life of mine will not last long. But I wish that God may take my soul from here in peace; may He grant it in mercy, Amen.

Furthermore, I exhort you in the Lord to persevere with us to the last end in the fellowship of the Spirit and of doctrine, as you began. And fight together with us by word and prayer against the gates of hell, which without ceasing set themselves against the true church of God, and against the Lord and Head thereof, Christ. Although at times he seems to be no match for the power of Satan, yet his power is mighty in our weakness, his wisdom is glorified in our foolishness, and his goodness is glorified in our iniquities and sins, according to his wonderful and incomprehensible ways. May he fortify, protect, preserve, and perfect you with us in the same image of his, and to the glory of his mercy, which must be praised forever, amen. On the day after Franciscus [Oct. 5] Anno 1542. Respectfully greet all the brethren in the Lord. M. L.

No. 2952.

(Wittenberg.) 9 October 1542.

To Jakob Probst, pastor in Bremen.

Of God's judgment on Duke Heinrich von Braunfchweig; 3) about a plague of locusts and Magdalen's death.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 368, printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 227 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 501.

2) Lorenz was a clothier (Burkhardt).

3) This is indicated in the text of the letter by "N.".

Grace and" peace! It is true, my dear Jacob, what you write, that N., the child of destruction, was afflicted by God, as he deserved, and as the previous prophecies against him wanted. But this example of God is not only presented to the tyrants of our time (as the examples of all times also go over the tyrants), but also to the despisers of the Word, whose Germany is full, and especially to those who begrudge your N. his misfortune very much, but do not hate their own sin very much. And thou, Scotist, set us apart what difference there is between an exceedingly ungrateful despiser of the word and a manifest tyrant. Both say in their hearts: There is no God, only that N. has been angry in a way that is not usual. Otherwise our sins also press us enough, as you know, but in vain we complain. Let it go as it goes, because it goes as it goes.

We have new monsters of grasshoppers around, which I have taken in general sight. They have not yet been here, but in the not distant neighbourhood there is such a great cloud and multitude that wagons and horses move for one, two, three miles as it were through rattling crabs. The plague rages on all sides. From Hungary we have little or nothing. My extremely dear daughter Magdalena has gone away to the heavenly father, having fallen asleep in complete faith in Christ. I have overcome the paternal movement of the heart, but with a certain threatening murmur against death; through this displeasure I have soothed my tears. I loved her well. But death will suffer vengeance in that day, together with him who is the author of it. Fare well and pray for me. On the day of Dionysius [Oct. 9] Anno 1542.

My Käthe greets you, still sobbing and her eyes wet from crying.

Your Martin Luther, Doctor.

No. 2953.

(Wittenberg.) In October 1542.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

(Missing letter.)

Intercession for his cousin, Hans Schützmeister zu Eisenach, for a dispatch from the Eisenach monastery, in to which he had turned his fortune. - The letter is missing until now. The resolution thereupon to the sequestrators of Thursday after Galli [Oct. 19] 1542 was that the etc. Schützmeister 60 fl. were to be given from the sequestration fund.

The resolution is found, as Burkhardt, p. 415, states, in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. OO, pag. 792, Eisenach.*

No. 2954.

Wittenberg. 28 October 1542.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, jointly with Cruciger and Melanchthon.

Concerns about a marital case. - By way of explanation Burkhardt notes: Blesing Hupman, whose wife had given birth before the time, had subsequently gone to Zeitz and separated from her. He insisted on divorce, since he could not have married her as a virgin, whereas the defendant pretended that she had already performed the marriage ceremony before the marriage. The consistory and the theologians were of different opinions; the former judged the matter according to the old ecclesiastical law, the theologians based it on Deuteron. 22 - The verdict was that the plaintiff had to acknowledge his wife, submit to the punishment of fornication, and pay the court costs.

The original, signed by Luther, Cruciger and Melanchthon and sealed by Luther, is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, pag. 509, H 18*. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 416.

God's grace through His only begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour, beforehand. Most noble, highborn, most gracious Prince and Lord! After E. C. F. G. has sent us a letter from the highly respected gentlemen appointed to the Consistory, concerning a case in Zeitz, we ask first of all that E. C. F. G. will graciously hear our counter-report, for the gentlemen of the Consistory have answered without our prior knowledge, - which in such an important matter nevertheless surprises us, - and in addition have reported something further than was necessary. For the fact that they say in such a case, how it is to be held, if one takes a pregnant woman for a virgin, 2c., nothing has ever gone out from us about this case in writings, but when we are asked for advice, before and after the appointment of the Consistorii, we have thus held ourselves in it: Firstly, we have admonished and worked that the man keep such a person, who has not broken with him, even now offered to keep himself chaste and honest.

And in this he would consider, first, that she had not broken with him; and secondly, what misery might follow the woman from such abandonment. For if she were cast out, greater evil would ensue from poverty and misery. In this case, therefore, the husband should show mercy for the sake of God; moreover, customary laws do not separate them, so that such persons are often kept together.

It also happened with a butcher here at one time that he did not want to keep such a wife and did not accept a warning. In addition, it has been reported that the man who slept with her also promised to marry her and offered to take her, which we have therefore allowed to happen. As also the other day, with our considerable misgivings in the Consistory, such a one has been granted a marriage, which, however, had been promised to another, who, however, had not yet slept with her.

That the gentlemen in the Consistory also report: we do not suffer them to speak contrary to our doctrine (lahr),- there is no doctrine or article of this matter written by us, as far as we know to remember, and let it remain with this rule that the persons are spoken together, but so that the judge nevertheless considers the circumstances of the cases, and seeks after the same opportunity measure, which may serve the persons for improvement, unity, and salvation. For if the divine law of Deut. 22 has separated these persons with death and punished the wife, such wives shall not now be left without punishment. For God wills that fornication be punished by authority. After such an example, the judge may consider where a divorce is to be made.

But we have written clearly and distinctly of other cases, namely, of divorce on account of adultery, item, of abandonment, and that in such cases the innocent person, after interrogation, is again permitted to be free in a Christian way, according to the clear text in Matthew and in Paul; item, of other more questions of secret betrothals without the will of the parents. What we have now written about these matters we consider to be Christian and necessary, and we stand by it;

[It] made 1) also inaccuracy in the churches, if the gentlemen in the Consistorio would speak against it, therefore it would not be sorry for us. This report of ours will be graciously heard by E. C. F. G., from which we also expect that the Reverend Nicolaus, Bishop of Naumburg, will easily conclude what he has written in this case. God keep E. C. F. G. always. Date Witteberg, 28 Octobris Anno 1542.

E. C. F. G. subservient

Martinas Luther, Dr. Caspar Creutziger, Dr. Philippus Melanthon.

No. 2955.

(Wittenberg.) 29 October 1542.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Answer to Amsdorf's letter of consolation on account of the death of Magdalena; from Duke Henry of Brunswick; from the Turkish War, and others.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 382. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 228 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 502.

Mercy and peace! I thank you, dear man, that you have tried to comfort me about the death of my very dear daughter. I was indeed fond of her, not only because she was my flesh, but because of her gentle, quiet manner and her great obedience to me. But now I rejoice that she lives with her father in sweetest sleep till that day. And as our times are, and shall be worse and worse, so I desire in my heart, for myself and all mine, and also for thee and all ours, that we may be given such an hour of departure, with such great faith and gentle rest; that is, in truth, to fall asleep in the Lord, not to see death, nor to taste it, nor to feel a hair's breadth of fear. I hope that now is and will be the time of which Isaiah says, Cap. 57:1, 2: "The righteous are raised up, and come to peace, and rest.

1) In Burkhardt: "Mechte," which he probably resolved by "would like," for he makes the incorrect remark at the end of this sentence: ,.Fehlt der Nachsatz im Orig."

in their chambers," that when he gathereth the corn into his barn, he may deliver up the chaff to their fire [Matt. 3:12], which the world hath deserved, and still deserves, by its dreadful ingratitude, contempt, and hatred of the word of grace, so that it grieveth me to live and see anything in this dreadful Sodom.

I wish I could write to you more often, but I have no messenger and you write very seldom. That rumors are spread about Heinz and threats, I believe easily. Thus your Meissners have become vain, especially by this larva at Merseburg, since they fancy that they are brave, and we fearful. But we despise them. In what concerns the war, there is nevertheless the suspicion that a conflagration might also arise from this noise. May God protect us. I had thought before that only against the Turks nothing would be accomplished but losing money and being ridiculed. What would God do through such people? But one must pray persistently that God, by Himself or by the angels, will destroy this beast, as He has done with the papacy and its alarming hypocrisy and abomination.

I do not know whether my letter in which I inquired whether you had a position for a theology lecturer had reached you before. I had been asked by Dr. Hieronymus Weller had asked me about it, who also complains about the very great coldness of his Freibergers and the quite icy contempt of the word. But in the meantime it has occurred to me that this will be done in vain, since not everything is yet in order with you. Be thou confident in the Lord, and be thou strong; for Christ hath willed that thou shouldest sit in that place, lest his enemy should have a place there. Thou servest Christ by the very fact that thou sittest in the seat, and takest the place of the devil, though thou doest nothing else at all times: how much more, since thou art not idle, but fightest, and turnest away sins from the people by the word of God? In Him you are quite at ease. Greetings from my Käthe, who in the meantime is still sobbing at the memory of her extremely obedient daughter. On Sunday after Simonis and Judä [Oct. 29] Anno 1542. Yours Mart. Luther.

No. 2956.

(Wittenberg.) 1. November 1542.

To Leonhard Beier, pastor in Zwickau.

On the Elevation of the Sacrament.

Handwritten in *Cod. Palat*. 689, p. 41. Printed by De Wette, vol. V, p. 503 f.

To Magister Leonhard Beier, pastor of the church at Zwickau, who is to be highly honored in the Lord.

Grace and peace. My dear Leonhard! I hold that the Elevation of the Sacrament is free, and have always held that opinion. But I have never condemned the churches of Saxony which I knew to have the elevation. This is indeed true, that there is sin on neither side. In the beginning, when Carlstadt cried out that the elevation of the sacrament was a crucifixion of Christ, I resisted him and kept the elevation out of contempt against the devil who blasphemed so furiously, otherwise I might have dropped it. Now I let each of the two parts have its own way: each may do what he wants and seems suitable to him. That is why I did not want to oppose our bishop, and did not want to fight for a cause in which nothing was at stake, when he wanted to abolish the elevation. For my part, I would not have cared about it, just as I still do not care if the elevation continues. I do not want a sin or a snare of conscience to be made in any part of it. Do therefore what pleases thee. Be well in the Lord. Wednesday, All Saints' Day [Nov. 1], 1542.

Martin Luther.

No. 2957.

(Wittenberg.) November 6, 1542.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

On Luther's mocking note on the sanctuary of the Cardinal of Mainz.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1930. - The mocking note (which even De Wette did not yet know) same Col. 1932.

No. 2958.

(Wittenberg.) 10 November 1542.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

About the death of Luther's daughter; about the Turkish War; about the lewd Rosina (see No. 2831).
Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 313, printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 230 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 506, German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1496.

To the worthy man, Anton Lauterbach, pastor of the church at Pirna, his exceedingly dear brother in your Lord.

Grace and peace! You write right, my dear Anton, that in these very evil times the death, or rather the sleep, of our children and all of us is to be desired. And although I was not a little moved by the death of my very dear daughter, I rejoice, since I am sure that she, as a child of the kingdom, torn out of the mouth of the devil and the world, has slumbered so sweetly in faith in Christ.

All news, especially good news, there is nothing. From Hungary we have carried away ridicule, and just by it lost thirty times a hundred thousand florins and above. "It is finished." Ezekiel hath said [Cap. 7, 2. 6.], the end is here. He that is righteous, let him be righteous after all; he that is unclean, let him be unclean after all; he that perisheth, let him perish after all [Revelation 22:11.]. Let it go as it goes, for it does want to go as it goes. We are pardoned, and clean from blood.

I believe that you have heard of the whore Rosina, who is quite unclean, who has defiled my house with every kind of dishonor, and even now she is not sorry, but she goes about cheating, stealing, and lying with the priests, as she did with me; but since I poor man did not know it, she has given birth to a child because of her whoredom, and like a fool she almost boasts of this birth. If I were not a servant of the word, I would long ago have procured a sack 1) for her. Even though I do not know whether I will not do so yet, I am displeased by this.
Mockery of Satan. Fare well in the Lord, and pray for me a good hour. Greet your relatives in the Lord. On the day before Martinmas [10 Nov.] Anno 1542.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2959.

(Wittenberg.) November 10, 1542.

To Spalatin, pastor in Altenburg.

How to punish a girl who has blasphemed the sacrament and the office of preaching; of elevation; of the delivery of logs (cf. No. 2931 and 2944).

The original is in Dessau (judging from the inscription on it, Spalatin received the letter only on 9 January 1543. sBnrkhardt.^). Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, *fol.* 230. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 276 and by De Wette, vol. V, 507. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1321.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, the extremely faithful bishop of Altenburg and Meissen, his very dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I hold, my dear Spalatin, that the girl who, no doubt instigated by others, has mocked the Sacrament and the ministry of the Word, should be punished with imprisonment for about a month with meager food, so that she may learn not to blaspheme, as an example to others.

With the elevation of the Sacrament you may do as you please. I do not want any rope to be laid in these neutral things. Thus I write, have written, and will write to all who daily trouble me with this question.

My Lord Käthe thanks you for the note. She also has others to whom she has put it, to see one day how everything will be brought. In the meantime, your faithfulness is sufficient for Iins, who will not suffer us to be deceived by these birds of prey who have the administration. 2) Fare well in the Lord. On the day before Martinmas [Nov. 10] 1542. yours Martin Luther, D.

1) to drown. Walch: "I would have had them taken to a penitentiary".
2) *Harpyias provinciales*, by which are meant the Amtleute, Schösser 2c.

No. 2960.

(Wittenberg.) In November 1542.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Concerns whether the Protestants, who were in the minority both in the council and in the citizens of Metz, should be accepted into the Schmalkaldic League? Luther refuted this. Cf. Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth. lib.* III, p. 599.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, fol.* 442, No. 158. Manuscript in *Cod. chart. Goth.* 451. 4 Printed in De Wette, vol. V, p. 508 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 34 f.

It is true that one potentate may help another in right causes, and may also unite for this purpose, as John says: As Christ died for us, so we are obliged to lay down our lives for our brethren, but each according to his state and profession: a preacher differently from a prince; a private person differently from a potentate; and it would be in vain for a private person from Germany to run into France to save the poor Christians there against the rulers. For such works have their order and their measure, namely the office and possibility. Potestat should protect, but as far as possible, as Christ says [Luc. 11, 41]: "Give eleemosynes from what you have, that is, not higher than you are able. Subjects are to follow, preachers are to confirm their confession with their suffering, a private person, if it is made in particular, is to confess. There have always been covenants on earth between the saints and the wicked, but there has always been a great deal of driving, and the hardest wars on earth have been caused by covenants, as between Carthage and Rome, between Athens and Sparta 2c. Abraham protected Sodoma as a neighbor and saved his brother, and did right in doing so; Solomon had an alliance with Hiram; Constantinus protected the Christians against Licinium, with whom he otherwise had an alliance, but did right in resisting public tyranny; Theodosius protected the young Valentinianum against pagan practices, and did right 2c. On the other hand, covenants have often been made among God's people, not only among pagans, who have displeased God and have not prospered, as Israel and Judah then clung to Egypt, then to Syria, then to Babylon, and yet they were not helped. For the heart must first be united with God,

and not look to human aid alone. It is more proper for a government to unite with a government in just matters than with private citizens, since the latter may take advantage of the fact to invite foreigners into the city and cause riots and murders. But it is right that a government should, if possible, help poor private individuals against public tyranny. But we have often seen how it is with foreign nations, England and France, and the same people are full of practices, and mean not one thing, which they pretend, but seek all other advantage besides. Where the hearts are not equal in reason, and not directed to God, there will always be unstable alliances, as experience shows; and it is very much to be feared that the Popes in Metz will cause a riot by bringing foreign people into the city 2c. Lotharing, Burgundy and the French are well disposed to do so, as is known that the Lotharingians, over a promised peace, 1) miserably killed 20,000 men in the peasants' clamor without need, and Lotharing and Burgundy will move much more easily while the city is still divided, so that they may set foot in the city, and will pretend to save the oppressed party.

From all this it is easy to see that it is much more annual to make an alliance with a part of the city than with the whole city. Therefore, the lords, who by the grace of God are themselves of sound mind and know the occasion much better than we do, will consider for themselves: that it is strange and out of the ordinary to make an alliance with one part of a city; item, that it brings much more trouble with it, and may give the city itself cause for unrest; item, how it is possible for ours to save it; item, one must also consider here that one will have to deal with Lotharing, Burgundy, and France. However, we place all of this in the hands of God, and ask that the gentlemen themselves consider how to moderate this action, so that those at Metz are not left entirely without comfort.

E. C. F. G. subservient

Martina's Luther.

1) That is, after peace was promised.

No. 2961.

(Wittenberg.) 19 November 1542.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

About the Matrimonial Case of Franz Zülsdorf. - After the banns had been made, since the wedding was to take place in Cranach's house the next day, the Elector received a colored report in which objections were raised against this marriage. The Elector wrote immediately to the Consistory and to Luther, who immediately gave him this answer.

Pas original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, pag. 623. Z 7*. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 418.

G. u. F. in Christo and my poor *pater noster*. Most illustrious, high-born Prince, most gracious [Sir]! I have read E. C. F. G.'s writing Franz Zülstorf's half to the gentlemen of the Consistorii. Thereupon I humbly inform E. C. F. G. that it seems to me as if such a report was ordered to E. C. F. G. out of a malicious mind, because he remained silent for so long after being summoned, until one was indeed sent 1) on the wedding day, to the poor man's scorn and great harm. And what is even worse, E. C. F. G. has not been informed that I, Dr. Martinus, together with the theologians and church servants, have pronounced the verdict in place of our pastor, as an honorable councilor will receive a copy from me, and perhaps send it to E. C. F. G.. For I have acted long and diligently in this matter, and would much rather have denied than granted the mead to Zülsdorf, where I might have been justified in doing so. But since I searched a lot, it turned out that Franz had done everything behind his father's knowledge and will. They say three maidens were betrothed to him... But there was none that would confess it or confess it. A widow in Lübeck had him spoken to, since the council of Lübeck answered my three writings three times and sent testimony that 2) a betrothal had taken place, but that they did not have his father's knowledge or will, which I personally heard from his mouth at his deathbed, and that I was also shown letters and seals that Doctor Brücke saw.

1) "has" put by us instead of: "until"; otherwise "until" would have to be deleted here.

2) These letters are all missing (Burkhardt).

and then said: let it happen that way, even though he said he would have heard it much differently. So Franz was also punished by the honorable council for such a transgression, and I ordered him, in accordance with the gospel, to give the widow of Lübeck such a great insult, or he should not go to church. I have had to pronounce such a sentence to remedy the matter, because our pastor is not at home, and the Consistory, regardless of the person, could not do anything, as we often have to be the Consistory's stopgap for this reason, which we would rather not have to do. Herewith E. C. F. G. has the right report. Please, therefore, let E. C. F. G. give that false reporter a proper answer to his false report and dangerous silence about other circumstances. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. Sunday Elisabethe [19 Nov.] 1542.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2962.

(Wittenberg.) November 20, 1542.

To the council of Altenburg.

On the complaint of the Altenburger council about Spalatin Luther exhorts to the patience, until he would mediate next himself between them.

From the original in Joh. Aug. Bergner's "Etwas von denen Superintendenten - Adjuncten in Chursachsen" 2c. Bautzen 1781. 8. p. 61; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. LVI and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 322 f.

To the honorable, wise gentlemen, mayor and council of Altenburg, my favorable, good friends.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Honourable, wise, dear lords and good friends! I was very sorry to hear of your complaint against Magister Spalatino, and that he should be so unkind to you. But I ask you very kindly: for Christ's sake, be patient until I can talk with him, which, I am sure, will not be long delayed. Help us, however, to bear the cross, as we truly bear, get, and work much beyond all measure.

in all manner of things, almost all the world's. So you have to consider that such an old servant of the Electors of Saxony, and now an experienced man, does not want to hurry us with sharp writings, to prevent further unrest and trouble. Thus the article, indicated in the note, is put in such words that it may easily be interpreted as if it were not a compulsory sentence. But I will do so, and, if it will be necessary, act between you; have patience for a little while. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Monday after Elizabeth [20 Nov] 1542.

Martinus LutheR, D.

No. 2963.

(Wittenberg.) November 23, 1542.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

On the Establishment of a Consistory and the Concilium.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 383. Printed from the collection of Sagittarius at Jena in Schütze, vol. I, p. 231 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 510.

Grace and peace in patience and in the love of Christ! Certainly, as much as is in me, I persevere, urge, and complain to my court that the consistory and the theological lection be established with you, for your consistory is very necessary also for the churches, and very conveniently located. But so far wars and unrest have been a hindrance; they have indeed promised that they will act soon. May God prosper with His blessing and hinder Satan who opposes it.

It is said that the Concilium has progressed, but so obscurely and contemptuously that the end of the same seems to want to become full of mockery, if God does not fight for us through the angels; we will be a mockery to them, and our sins and impenitence because of our offenses greatly help. GOtt have mercy on us. More at another time. The messenger hurried. Fare well in the Lord.

On Thursday after Elizabeth [Nov. 23].

Anno 1542.

Dell! Martin Luther.

No. 2964.

Venice. 26 November 1542.

The friars of the church at Venice, Vicenza and Trevigo to Luther.

(Regest.)

In this letter, written by Balthasar Alterius (the secretary of the English ambassador in Venice), they pay their respects to Luther, as the champion of the holy gospel, and apologize for not having expressed it in a letter long ago, which necessity now compels them to do, since the Christians are being persecuted. They ask Luther, through the Protestant princes of Germany, to influence the Council of Venice to suspend the persecution until a council is held. They deplore the fierce sacramental controversy, which, brought there from Germany, has also aroused unrest and discord among them and has done harm to the Church of God. Finally, they ask for news about the religious movements in Germany and express their desire for Luther's writings, which are unbelievably distributed to them by the dishonesty and greed of the booksellers to the detriment of the Church. - Luther answered this letter in great detail on June 13, 1543.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. H, fol. 421. n. 154. a. Printed in Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth.* lib. III, p. 401. the translation in Frick's German Seckendorf, p. 2117. a regest in Burkhardt, p. 419.

No. 2965.

(Wittenberg.) November 27, 1542.

To the council of Regensburg.

On the employment of M. Nopus as a preacher.

From the original in the preface to Kindervater's Nordhusa illustr.; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 102, No. 159; in Walch, vol. XXI, 478; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 510 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 37.

To the honorable, prudent gentlemen, mayor and council of the city of Regensburg, my favorable gentlemen and good friends.

Grace and peace. Respectable, prudent, dear sirs, good friends! From your letters and requests I have spoken to M. Hieronymo Nopo 1) to accept your church office, because he complains of great humility. However, after M. Philip and I had urged that he should display such a gift of God and great understanding in the Scriptures, and serve God with it, he surrendered in such a way, and he

1) Nopus, from Herzogen-Aurach in Würtemberg. On February 23, 1543, he preached his inaugural sermon in Regensburg.

After he had practiced little in preaching until then, he wanted to practice better on Shrove Tuesday and hear himself and let you try him; and although such attempts seemed unnecessary to us, since we know that a good schoolmaster cannot be a bad pastor, we still did not want to press him harder than that he should certainly appear with you on Shrove Tuesday. But out of your food and board. So I hope that those at Nuremberg can advise your foresters to friendly Christian service for as long as possible. 1) This is what I wanted to give E. Ehrb. as an answer. And to serve E. Ehrb. and city I am willing to serve. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Monday after Catharine [Nov. 27] 1542.

Mart. Luth., D.

No. 2966.

(Wittenberg.) November 27, 1542.

To Johann Förster at Regensbnrg.

On the appointment of Hieronymus Nopus to Regensburg. Luther gives an explanation of mysterious letters.

In the Innocent News 1708, p, 721 and again 1715, p. 406; in the preface to Kindervater's *Nordhusa* iilustr., at *Strobel-Ranner, p.* 307 and at De Wette, vol. V, p. 511 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1321 f.

To the worthy and in the Lord highly venerable man, Doctor Johann Forster, Provost of St. Lawrence in Nuremberg, Christ's envoy in Regensburg, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace! I have written to your council about Nopus, what we have done and what he has promised. He made difficulty, as you write, but we induced him to present himself in person at the beginning of the fast, to make inquiries, and to be reconnoitered. In the meantime, take care, and let it be your concern, that they do not let the preachers suffer want in this exceedingly difficult time. For the hands of the givers are everywhere cold, yea, they turn to ice, and against this

1) Förster had been called from Nuremberg to Regensburg to introduce Protestant worship there (De Wette).

the hands of those who steal and scant where there should be giving, glow.

About your Lndwig with his letters:

A. G. V. H. S. Dr. 2) this is my opinion, that they are words of a despairing man: "All happiness **vnd** salvation are gone." So they are worth, others something else. For they care for nothing, neither what is God's nor what is man's, but care only for their belly and what is in their belly. Whom the LORD calleth, let them come; and let the rest go. Fare well and pray for me. Nov. 27, 1542.

No. 2967.

Königsberg. 29 November 1542.

Johann Brismann to Luther.

(Regest.)

Since Lohmüller travels to Germany, he did not want to let him go without a letter to Luther. He reports about Gerhard Westerburg, 3) Doctor of Laws, from Cologne, who had sought a position in the schools to be established in Königsberg, especially a lecture in theology; now he had also come to the court of the Prince. Brismann had already seen Westerburg 20 years ago in Carlstadt's house, when the enthusiasts from Zwickau, Stork and Marcus, were coming and going. Afterwards Westerburg married the sister of Carlstadt's wife in the village of Segren near Wittenberg. Even today, he is full of annoying opinions and superstitious errors, such as the preaching of the gospel in the underworld, and the purification of the souls of Christians in purgatory. There are also many other ungodly errors in a confession of faith which he handed over to the Duke of Prussia. However, he knows how to cunningly conceal and cover up his errors, just like the fanatics in Silesia. Therefore Brismann prays: "Our Lord JEsus Christ, who has graciously preserved us and our churches in Prussia from M[artin] Cellarius, from the false prophets of the Silesians and the Dutch, may he save them from this drunken Westerburg, who has drunk up and blasphemed the ungodly errors of Muenzer, Stork, Marcus, Zwingli, Sebastian Frank, Carlstadt, and all the enthusiasts, also graciously deign to deliver us and our church, and especially our prince, Amen."

From Msc. Dresd. C 342 after a copy of Seidemann printed in K. Krafft and W. Krafft, Briefe und Documente, p. 84.

2) What Seidemann brings to the explanation of these letters in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 496, note 2, does not serve the point.

3) The same was present at Luther's conversation with Carlstadt at Jena in 1524 (see St. L. Ausg., Vol. XV, 2030 and 2036).

No. 2968.

(Wittenberg.) 10 December 1542.

To the house of Ponnecken, princely Saxon caretaker.

Intercession for Luther's brother-in-law, Hans von Bora. - It was a reduction of the rent for the monastery of Cronschwitz.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, p.* 792.

Cronschwitz. Printed in the Innocent News 1706, p. 19; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 102, No. 190; in Walch, vol. XXI, 479; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 516 (incorrectly dated: "December 9") and in the Erlangen Edition, vol. 56, p. 42.

To the strict and firm, Hans von Ponnecken, churfl. to Saxony chamberlain, my especially favorable lord and good friend.

G. et P. Gestrenger, firm Herr Kämmerer, good friend! My brother-in-law, Hans von Bora, has asked me to write to you this memo. And is my amicable request, as I asked you yesterday, will you favorably promote it against M. G. Herr. Then you shall hear from him that it is his need, and not his avarice or his rashness. Otherwise I would not ask so diligently for him. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befehlt, Amen. Sunday early after Lucii [10 Dec.] 1542.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 2969.

Marienwerder. 11. December 1542.

Paul Speratus, Bishop of Pomesania, to Luther.

(Regest.)

Speratus and Duke Albrecht of Prussia (who wrote at the same time) ask for Luther's opinion on the elevation of the sacrament. The letter is dated: *Ex nostra insula Mariana, sede Pomezanensi*. Luther answered the Duke on February 17, 1543.

Printed in *Cosack's Speratus*, p. 202. The above regest in Burkhardt, p. 420.

No. 2970.

Königsberg. 15 December 1542.

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

The Duke asks them to give their opinion as to whether the supply of the prelates in his country, according to the plan submitted, is sufficient.

An extract from the Duke's letter is found (according to *Faber*) in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. V, 44. The above regest in Burkhardt, p. 420.

No. 2971.

(Wittenberg.) 21 December 1542.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

About the printer Hans Frischmuth, who was imprisoned in Halle. Luther writes against the Jews.

From the original at the university library in Helmstädt in Schütze, vol. I, p. 232 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 517. Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 384, has a worse text.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Justus Jonas, Doctor of Theology, servant and envoy of Christ in Halle ill Saxony, Provost in Wittenberg, his extremely dear [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! That I did not answer your two letters, my dear Jonas, - I had to think so, I would have written before what my opinion would be. For you wrote that Frischmuth had also allegedly acted against the council, so that he was detained. Now, if he has no other fault upon him than that he has sinned against the bishop, and you cannot drive back force with force, or undo one trick with another, then it is done for him. For I will easily avenge and defend myself. But if these furies of insatiable vengeance should have even one thing, that a hair has been lifted from the alley, they will not cease to want to sate their insatiable mind on you and yours. If therefore you lack counsel against violence, how shall I have it? But I believed that the prisons were under the right of the council, which could release the prisoners against the will of the bishop, if he wished to convict an accused or guilty person. If you now dare nothing, then I for my part will easily defend my petition 1). But he who leaves you full will not be freed by this, but will be driven more into a corner. That is my opinion. Therefore I have thought it good not to follow your advice, so that I do not want to burden the poor man any more, as he will indeed be burdened, if I take revenge sooner.

1) We assume that here the "Spottzettel" (see No. 2957) is meant and that Hans Frischmuth had printed the same.

than he is free. For the Cardinal is a devil, on whom only force, or a resistance grown to him, exerts a commanding influence. Fare well in the Lord. Hitherto I have immersed myself in the frenzies of the Jews 1); since you advised that one must keep still while you tried another way, I have not yet come out [of this work]. Given on St. Thomas' Day [21 Dec.] Anno 1542.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2972.

(Wittenberg.) December 25, 1542.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Luther consoles Jonah over the death of his wife.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 384, printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 233 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 518.

Grace and peace in Christ, who is our salvation and our consolation, my dear Jonas. I do not know what to write, this sudden accident of yours has crushed me. We have all lost a very dear companion. Not only was she dear to me in truth, but the sight of her was always extremely pleasant and full of comfort to me, since we knew that she received and held all our affairs, whether they were good or bad, as if they were her own (that is certainly a bitter separation), and I had hoped that after my death, surviving me, she would also be the greatest and most distinguished comforter of all women to my own. I am stricken with immense pain when I remember her exceedingly sweet character, her gentle manners, her loyal heart. The grief over the loss of such an important woman, who distinguished herself through godliness and respectability, discipline and kindness, brings forth such sobs in me. What it may bring forth in you, I can tell from my own...

1) Luther means the writing: "Of the Jews and their lies", St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1860, which appeared at the beginning of the year 1543. Not long after followed his "Scripture of the Shem Hamphoras and of the generation of Christ," ibid. col. 2028.

Exemplar easily take off. The flesh has no consolation here; we must go to the spirit, that it has in happy course preceded us to him who has called us all, and will also lead us through to himself at his blessed hour out of this misery and wickedness of the world, amen. In the meantime, I beseech thee, bear sorrow in such a manner (for there is cause for it) that thou mayest remember our common Christian lot, that however much we may be separated according to the flesh by the exceedingly hard separation, yet we shall one day in that life see ourselves united and gathered together in the sweetest union with the One who so loved us that by his own blood and death he brought this life to us. We die, but we live, as Paul saith [2 Tim. 2:11.] And it is well with us if we fall asleep in pure faith in the Son of GODr. Truly this means that thy better mercies go beyond life. Dear, how far from this glory and consolation are the Turks, the Jews, and those who are worse than these, the Papists, the Cardinals, Heinz and Meinz, who should mourn lest they should mourn for eternity. We who are sad for a little while will receive unspeakable joy, to which your Käthe and my Magdalena, with many others, have gone before us, calling, exhorting, and enticing us daily to follow. For who is not at last wearied by the monstrosities of examples in this world? if it must be called otherwise a world and not the hell of wickedness itself, with which these sodomites torment our souls and our eyes day and night. And they grieve, as we read was the case with Noah, the Holy Ghost, so that he also repented of the whole creature, which at the same time groaneth with us with unutterable sighs for the redemption of itself and of ours, which shall shortly be heard of him that knoweth and understandeth these sighs, amen.

This is what I wanted to write, as I cannot do anything else now that I am grieved for your sake, since I have no doubt that you are depressed by the heaviest grief. My Käthe was beside herself, for the souls of both...

were One intimately united soul. We pray that God may also comfort your flesh. For the spirit has something to rejoice in, considering that the holy and blessed woman has passed from your side to heaven and eternal life. Of this there is no doubt, since with such godly, such holy words she confessed her faith and fell asleep in the bosom of Christ. So also my daughter has fallen asleep to my great and only consolation. The Lord, who allowed you to be humbled, comfort you again, here 1) and forever, amen. On the day of the birth of Christ [Dec. 25] Anno 1542.

Yours M. Luther, D.

No. 2973.

(Wittenberg.) December 26, 1542.

To Marcus Crodel, schoolteacher in Torgau.

Luther asks him to admonish his son John to overcome his homesickness. Luther does not want him to return, but to continue his studies.
Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 386. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 235 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 519 f.

Grace and peace! Easily I believe, my dear Marcus, that my son has been softened by his mother's words, in addition to the grief over the death of his sister, but dll admonish him strongly. For this is certain, that he hath here vaunted of thee and thy wife, that he is kept with you as well, or even better, than here with us. Therefore command him to restrain that womanish mind, and to be accustomed to endure evil, and not to indulge in this childish softness. For this is why he was sent abroad, that he might learn and become hard. I do not want him to return if there is no cause for it. But if there be any other sickness, thou shalt show me. In the meantime let him take care and do that for which he was sent, and not violate obedience to the Father. We are here, thank God, safe and sound. Be well. On the day of Stephen [26 Dec.] 1542.

Your Martin Luther.

1) Instead of them we have assumed *hic.*

No. 2974.

(Wittenberg.) 27 December 1542.

To his son Johannes in Torgau.

Luther exhorts him to overcome his homesickness.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 387. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 236 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 520.

To my very dear son, Johannes Luther, at Torgau.

Grace and peace in the Lord. My dear John! We, I and your mother with the whole house, are well. See to it that you overcome these tears in a manly way, so that you do not cause your mother new pain and fears, who is already inclined to fears and worries. Dll obey GOtte, who has ordered you through us to be educated there, and easily you will forget this softness. Your mother could not write, nor did she think it necessary, and says that all that she told you (if you were not well, perhaps, you should return) she understood from an illness, so that you might report it without delay if it should occur. By the way, she wants this mourning to be put aside, and you to study cheerfully and calmly. Herewith be at ease in the Lord. On the day of John the Evangelist [27 Dec.] Anno 1542.

Your father

Martin Luther.

No. 2975.

(Wittenberg.) 28 December 1542.

To Sebastian Heller, Chancellor of the Margraviate of Ausbach.

Luther recommends to him a clergyman who had fled from Hungary.
From the von Imhoff collection at Nuremberg in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 237 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 521.

Grace and peace! Although, with so much public sadness, I do not like to approach the courts, it cannot be otherwise; indeed, even private misery is brought upon us. The defeats in Hungary will

partly felt by the neighborhood. There are several Hungarians here who are leaving their homeland because of the cruelty. Among them is Matthias Devay, an honorable, serious and learned man. I believe that he is known to your noble prince, Margrave George. Therefore, in this extremely difficult time of his life, he especially implores this prince for assistance and help. I ask you to support the godly cause of the exiled, good and learned man. He was previously in danger among his own people because of his godly preaching. Now there is a general robbery; the godly are massacred by the Turks and by the Hungarian satraps. Thou seest a picture of that time, of which it is written [Matt. 24:21], that there shall be such tribulation as hath not been since the foundation of the world. And I doubt not that thou shalt be moved by the common calamity: therefore also I commend unto thee this good man. Your relatives here are well by the grace of God. Your mother-in-law is now in Torgau with your sister, who is in childbirth. Be well and happy. God keep you and your very honored wife and your exceedingly lovely children. December 28, 1542.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2976.

(Wittenberg.) 29 December 1542.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Luther expresses his joy about the fruit of the Word in Halle, and his suspicion about the behavior of the Cardinal of Mainz. His astonishment that almost only Lutherans were sent against the Turk, and his fear that treachery was behind it.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 394. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 238 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 521 f.

Grace and peace! What you write about the fruit of the word, my dear Jonas, I have already heard with joy, and read with even greater joy in your letter. 1) The LORD Himself, who has done His work in

I) Instead of *egi* we have adopted *legi*, and changed the interpunction thus: *audivi alias, et laetius legi, etc.*

...he that hath caught it shall perform it, amen. Concerning the Cardinal's silence, or the peace he has granted, I am suspicious, and think like those who suspect this very peculiar tool of Satan, and do not doubt that he will one day cause us new troubles, so that at last we must wonder 2) with the well-known Syrus in Terence, and say: This is always slipperiness. I wondered how far this silence of Satan would go; as we know his thoughts, he is up to something great. Yes, and I tell you this in your ear, I have tremendous fears that we Lutherans alone will be sent against the Turk. 3) King Ferdinand has finally received the money for the war from Bohemia and has forbidden that men of war be sent. The Emperor does nothing. How? if it were their intention that we should be killed by the Turks? Even about your hall (as I fear) quite satanic counsels are made. Here one must pray, and the Church must be incited to pray for the glory of God against the carnal Turks, that is, the Mahometan and foreign Turks, but even more against the spiritual Turks, that is, the native and Mainzian Turks. But I have hope that their counsels will be unfortunate, since they will be taken without God against God and, what is best, against their own conscience. For the enemy is not to be feared who, against his conscience, publicly does something obvious, especially if we pray strongly and confidently. A thief steals against his conscience, but he does it secretly; these do public things against their conscience. These things, I hope, will not succeed, and thanks be to God that we understand that their counsels are such, and by prayer we have hitherto happily withstood, and shall withstand to the end, by the strength of Him who became weak for us; at last He will bring their furious attempts to nothing. "And let them avail nothing." See to it that the Church prays diligently for the army, which, though we have been

2) Instead of *mirati,* we have adopted *mirrari.*

3) Instead of *mittantur* we have assumed *rnittamur.*

but is betrayed by those (as I suppose), so that they are destroyed with their attacks. But keep this with you. By the way, all of us greet you, and my Lord Käthe greets you and all of yours. Fare well in the Lord. December 29, 1542, your Martin Luther.

No. 2977.

(Wittenberg.) No date 1542.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther exhorts him to gladly wear the princely trappings associated with fine office.
Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 458. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 244 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 523.

Grace and peace! I have not written for a long time, my dear Amsdorf, because I always hoped that I would come to you once. Now that you write that the people of Meissen are distraught and angry that their hope has deceived them in Wolfenbüttel, by which they indicate that they agree with the furious works of that man: so may God find them, and he will find them as he found this one, and even the harmful people will not escape his judgment. Dear one, let it not grieve thee that thou art compelled to suffer the splendor of a court and a prince; thou art not to blame for it. And God knows your heart, which highly detests such splendor and splendor. But remember the most godly queen Esther, who against her will wore the crown of the kingdom of the Persians, and called it a show and a stained garment; but for the sake of the king and the kingdom she wore it. And Christ required not the glory of the palm day, but suffered it: meanwhile he himself was poor, and continually slain and crucified. But the glory was of God. So you also do right, and are completely crucified to Christ, and crucified with him, since you call that courtly splendor and pageantry your prison. That is indeed to use this world as if you did not need it, and only serve God under this guise. This is not what the papists and the wicked do, for whom these trappings are not prisons.
but paradises, life and bliss. But I wish and wish that you could become free. Of course, I have not yet attached these titles to you, and I intend to do so one day. But hitherto I have been deterred by the thought that I might injure thee thereby, and be regarded by others as if I did it in a fictitious way and not from the heart. But of that at another time. It is only left that you ask for a good hour for me, although I still wish and have intended to visit you first, if God graciously permits it. Anno 1542. Mart. Luther.

No. 2978.

(Wittenberg.) No date 1542.

To Franz Otto and his brothers, Princes of Brunswick.

Luther exhorts them to form themselves into worthy regents.

From the original in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 240; in Bertram, Leben Ernesti, Herzog zu Braunschweig, p. 102 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 524.

To the Serene Princes, Franz Otto and his brothers, Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Dr. Martin Luther wishes

Hail! There is something very beautiful about the order of the celestial movements, which produces the most important forces for the living beings, in that it brings back the sun by day, allows rest by night, moistens the earth in spring, so that it receives the seeds and becomes fertile, increases the heat in summer, so that the fruits can reach maturity. But no less to be admired is the beauty of the order of the world's government, when once a good prince directs it. For this ruler brings the assemblies of men into harmony, and accustoms them to praise God, to practice virtue, to love righteous customs, to instruct the youth, to defend the righteous and to assist them, to suppress the rage of the wicked. Such a ruler is the image of God on earth, and is protected and promoted by God Himself. He does not have enemies as satellites who persecute the people of the princes, but angels of God as servants; it is certain that godly princes are surrounded by hosts of them. But although such princes are rare, as that one

said that the effigies of all good princes can be engraved on one ring, it is known that there are some very good ones, or at least some poor ones, and I believe that in your heroic lineage the Ottonians were such people, Lothar, who is well known in your lands, and several others. But nowadays there are few of them. Your father is worthy of greater praise, who surpasses all princes in virtue, godliness, modesty and moderation. To this end he raises up his sons anew, and keeps them to it. Therefore it behooves you to make every effort to obey your father's will, and to work so that one day your characters, manners, and examples will shine in the government and adorn you and all civil society. On the other hand, consider what an abominable and cursed thing is such a prince as Caligula, Nero, and their like, who were tainted with patricide and every kind of infamy, who lived among men, not as images of God, but as furies of the devil, and defiled the whole order of the world with their shameful deeds. I also pray to God, the Father of our Savior JESUS Christ, who loves good princes most of all, that He may govern you, and grant that your virtue may one day be salvific for the Church and the Fatherland. I feel immense joy when I hear any prince praised with truth, and again I know no sadder spectacle than when I see some leading an evil course, who are a pestilence to the church and to all mankind. Therefore, I wish in truth and from my heart that God may constantly assist you, govern you, and sustain you. Anno 1542.

No. 2979.

(Wittenberg.) No date 1542.

Luther's House Bill.

This income and expenditure record is written by Luther himself, namely in the year 1542, when he was about to make his will; see No. 2872. The sheets, on which he wrote, are longish and very narrow; the paper sheet seems to be broken several times and is bound in old written parchment strips. On the one

1) Instead of *mediocres* probably *rneliores* (better) would like to be read.

2) Duke Ernst of Celle, who professed the Augsburg Confession (De Wette).

In the margins or between the lines of the individual pages, Luther has added a number of things: Notes on accounts, verses, single words. The original is in the Dresdener Hauptstaatsarchiv, Locat 8323. From it published by Seidemann, first in Niedners Zeitschrift für historische Theologie 1846, Heft III, p. 411; then with De Wette, Bd. VI, p. 323 f.

Reueuses.

.1. fl		.1. quint. 10. dl. 1. Heller
4 fl 12:1/2 fl		.1. lot 3 gl. 6. dl.
.25.		.3. lot
	facit	6. .Loth.
.50.		.12. .Loth
.250.		.60. 3) Loth.

Reneuses

141 fl.14. gl faciunt libram

Hungarici .128. fl sunt libra 4)

People are rude. The world is ungrateful.

Therefore after my death my Kate or my children shall hold before the council and city (where a Pharaoh would arise who would not know about Joseph):

First, that they have from me a large room in the alley before my door, which was the monastery's, as far 5) as the Rymer's little house at the gate reaches out, and up to the end of Braunen's 6) hall.

Secondly, that they got the whole room of this house, after my death, and Brown's house before, under the civil law, which all before was completely free.

Thirdly, that I have been a preacher thirty years, and have taken nothing from them for wages, and have given little but some thousands of bricks or lime, and so have served them of mine own, and have often remained with them in the pestilence.

Therefore may they beware of ingratitude, or they will have little happiness.

My hand.

3) After the preceding, read "60", not "66", which Seidemann offers.

4) This is written in the margin on the first page.

5) Here Luther deleted the words: "when the garden breaks out at the brewhouse (prawhaus), and well".

6) The bill of sale about Bruno Braun's house at Wittenberg (he was pastor at Dobin near Wittenberg), which was sold by him to Luther on June 29th 1541, is in the handwritten *Actis Lutherorum*, col. 10. 11. at the city library of Leipzig.

If after my death I would be asked where the monastery's household utensils had gone, I should answer:

First

The pewter vessels and kitchen utensils with other household goods were given to me by the Visitatores. But in the beginning of the Gospels it is so destroyed that I would not have wanted to give 20 fl. for the rest that was given to me, and I would have done better for it. To this day I have not ceased to grind away pots, bowls, spits, pits, 1) and what anyone could grasp, and mine too.

For this, I have been paid IX old ß [2]and what more is due to a preacher. I have therefore served the church, city and university for the sake of God and free of charge for 15 years, with preaching, reading, writing, etc., and have also added to my own, and let it suffice me that M. G. [ster]Herr has also given me free of charge, out of grace, yes for the sake of God. For S. C. F. G. has not been guilty of giving the church and city such expenses for their preacher.

I must therefore praise this for the sake of wicked and ungrateful men. For I see in my own life how poorly they will thank me after my death, since some are sorry that they do not have what God has given me, and they have not added to it. So that one can shut the mouths of such evil, ungrateful people and make them ashamed. Otherwise, several citizens and the university have shown me all virtue and honor, for which I thank them sincerely, and God will reward them well.

On the other hand

Although much and the best of the church ornaments and utensils had come from it, I finally sold the best casels that were available; I did not get much more than fifty florins for them, so that I clothed, fed and supplied the nuns and monks (including thieves and peelers), with such great benefit that I have spent my own and 100 florins, which M. G. H., Duke Hans, has given me for housekeeping, quite generously.

1) "groppen" == iron or earthen cooking pot with feet. Seidemann's explanation: "shovel, hoe, digging stick" is wrong.
2) Maybe: "nine old shocks"? That would be 9 guilders 21 groschen.

Therefore, no one is to be credited or detracted from in this, especially not my Käthe. She has nothing to gain from this but the greatest harm. But what she has now, she has begotten herself besides me. If someone makes a quarrel against her, he will do it not as a pious man, but as a Heinz of Wolfenbüttel, and God will know how to find him, amen. My hand.

Anno 3)

The council has lent me stones and lime on several occasions.

When I now often asked for an invoice and offered to pay, they always let it be said that no one was allowed to pay; until the mayor, Mr. Krappe, and the town clerk, Mr. Urban, verbally indicated to me that everything should be bad. So I did at that time, too, and hereby thank them kindly.

But if they would forget it with the time and demand payment, then my Kate or children must hold out, and take my thanks again to themselves. *Haec autem* 1542. *post et alia, mutuo dedit*.

Anno 1536.

I helped Greger Tischer (Tyschen) buy his little house for a hundred guilders.

The first Augift I gave for him, namely 40 fl. I borrowed 20 of my pay and 20 from Moritz 4), which I gave back to him the same year.

With the other 20, I directed Greger Tischer to the common treasury, to whom I owed 20 fl. and paid with it. He shall work off the other 20 to me.

The following fl. thereafter Moritz has put up for me, viz.

l XX fl. Anno 1538
X fl. Anno 1539
X fl. Anno 1540
. X fl. Anno 1541
X fl. Anno 1542 myself.

50. They gave it to me. Moritz *cum sociis*. ?)

3) Luther crossed out this word again.
4) "Moritz" is the bookseller Goltze. (De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 508, note 5.)
5) The part-owners of Moritz Goltz are Barthol Vogel and Christes Schramm. G. G. Zeltner's "Hans Luft", p. 41.

Built in the house.

130 Brewery
Brewing equipment
s equine
20 Stable cow (tue)
s Acid (Sem)
5 Thorbuden

Badstüblin with next to it Fäßlin
130 The large cellar together with the Schadl
50 The new cellar and crushing wage
100 The upper room and chamber
40 The lower room
20 The stairs twice
5 Muhme Lehne 1) Stüblin with chambers. Chimney.
5 Craffts Stüblin
5 Johannes Stüblin
5 Plato's Stüblin
400 Garden at the house and Brunn and

100 Planks covered
10 The wine cellar
130 The roof
400 The new house
250 Brown house; mended 70 fl.
buys and Greger

easily calculated

---

17. 44.

Bought

Claus Bildenhauer's garden 2) 900 fl. with house and all buildings, well, fence, saffron and other expenses
20 fl. Wolff's garden
90 fl. Hufe
100 fl. horse, harness, cattle
100 fl. canvas, flax
300 Still to be paid to Brown House 3)

1) Luther's sister's daughter. - "Crafft" is Johannes Craft from Breslau. - M. Plato was Luther's table companion.
2) The same had died in August 1539.
3) Luther deleted this post. Perhaps only later.

Nota

Wonderful account held between Doc Martin and Käthen z [4]1535 Anno 1536

That was two half years

90 fl. to both parish priests of Rokit and Dobrun for grain, as they moved away.
90 fl. for the hooves
20 fl. for canvas (Linwat)
30 fl. for pig
28 Muhme Lehne to Bernau
29 fl. C. Köckeritz for oxen
10 fl. Valt Mollerstet paid
10 fl. escort paid
8 Thaler M. Philipp paid
40 fl. for Greger Tischer (tisscher)
26 University paid
389 fl?)

Rath, where did this money come from? Shall not this stink and make guilt? *praeter alia victualia*.

In hoc mundo Solus Maritus est Vir et Heros. Sola Uxor est Mulier et Herois.
Caeteri et Caeterae sunt peppen, [6]) tantum suos ventres alendo.
Et ut casus aliquando fert, furentes potius, quam heroibus similes.
Igitur
Maritus Audiat et Audeat istud psal. 26 [Ps. 27, 14.]
Expecta dominum, viriliter
age. Confortetur Cor tuum et sustine dominum.
Nam Oeconomia Est Altrix politiae et Ecclesiae. Cato dicit Agricolas esse fortissimos viros.

A lot goes into a Halls.
But if you want to calculate it, then much more must come out. Take my house for an example. [7])

4) Maybe: Zuelsdorferin?
5) This sum only comes out if one calculates the 8 Thaler (taler) equal to 16 fl. But otherwise one thaler is only 24 groschen. (Cf. No. 2948.)
6) See St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2253 8. v. "cardboard flowers."
7) This verse is already in the margin of the first page, but here it is repeated and excluded into the text.

Give money

Give money

"Grain (Salt
Barley, , , Wood
HopSoles
^Mower, TubesM
Bn SW'
FlourVeter^green
^ enheisch in
KarbenSchar-
Peas^rCuminMr
(Erbeis) "urHummelFür^rod
Hemp, ASemmel
FlaxILNails
GrützNerH 'ken
GraupenZup^r^^^n-
Rice^nEram
LLPigeonM
SugarTalg
Wi-rzButter<Zarn
Saffron^uner
FruitOil

Give money

Butcher to Battles	Potter Müller	Beggars Thieves
Cobbler	Joiner	Brides High
Schneider	(Tisscher)	time
Furrier (KURSNER.)	Leinweber Belted	Gevatter, Gift
Buttiger	Beutler	Gastung
Blacksmith, Rough	Pharmacist	Accountants
Blacksmith, Small	Doctor	Bookbinders
Balbirer	Preceptor	Fair
Bader	Bricklayers	St. Niclas

1) Seidemann explains "meat ynn Schernn" by: "Krebse"; but "Schern" is: Scharren, Fleischerläden, Schrannen.

Basins Kettles Pans Shovels Scoops
(Schupen) Mulden Radbarn 2)

Rough pieces
s son make wedding s daughter
l girlfriend silk oum 8uis

Kriimer
Manage

I poor man, this is how I keep house. Where I spend my money. I may spend it in seven places, but I lack it here and there.

Do as your father did, Where he wanted a penny, He found three in the bag in cash With that he paid everything. Not a penny would he owe, So he kept house and lived well.

Do as your father did, Where he should have a penny, He must borrow three, He always owed his skirt and shoe. That's what they call housekeeping. That there be no fire nor smoke in the house.

The dung is the best manure for the field, Which falls from the master's feet The horse is well fed, Where his master gives him the eyes. A woman's eyes do well boil, More than maid, servant, firebrand, and Kohln.

2) This is *wheelbarrows*.

No. 2980.

Without date 1542.

Concerns about emergency baptism and the baptism of foundlings, together with a letter of consolation.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2130-2135. The letter of consolation therein, col. 730-735. The inserted piece in brackets in s 6 and § 7 in the latter is from a letter of Luther to Lauterbach, Feb. 8, 1536. As to the locations in Walch's preface, col. 83 and 182, here is to be added: Seidemann-De Wette, vol. VI, p. 332, who brings the four concerns as one; likewise in all editions of the Tischreden, cap. 17, s 13, except the St. Louis edition, where the above locations are referred to. - On the date of the letter of consolation, compare, in the Postscript of this volume, the introduction to No. XV.

N o. 2981.

(Wittenberg.) 4. January 1543.

To Laurentius Rudel in Amberg.

Andreas Hügel, who had come to Amberg on Luther's recommendation, had had to leave Amberg because the Protestant service was suppressed by the papists, and we find him already in 1541 as Diaconus in Wittenberg (Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 514, Note 3). When later the service was again permitted, though only in silence, Rudel took its place. The latter, however, was disturbed by the Catholic priest in the exercise of his office, and was therefore inclined to leave his position. This disgusted Luther.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 401, printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 247 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 526, German in Schenkl's Chronik von Amberg, p. 215.

Grace and peace! M. Andreas Hügel, the elder (*presbyter*) of our church, has asked me, my dear Laurentius, to admonish you by letter in the Lord that you should not leave the service of the word in the church at Amberg, which I do not do unwillingly, especially since I learn that you are loved and desired by the people. Indeed, I hear that you are not unreasonably upset because the priest has done you the disgrace of keeping you from performing the baptism by trickery, but it is up to us to recognize the tricks of the devil and to make an effort that we do not give way to evil, but overcome evil with good, but not be overcome. Satan is intent on something much different than that he should drive thee from the performance of baptism, for he has set himself to blot out the word by thy departure. A

But how much less evil is it not to baptize than not to preach. Therefore I beseech thee for Christ's sake, that thou prevent future remorse, and grant not Satan this triumph, that he may laugh. For he will clap his hands and rejoice when he has thrust you out of the ministry of the Word through the false 1) church, and escapes in his wickedness. Therefore, send thou to overcome and put to shame his attempts by patience, and thwart his glory and triumph. This will be a comfort and a joy to thee. Then thou shalt be safe, and shalt not have to suffer any tears of remorse, which thou mightest have brought upon thyself by impatience. May the Lord guide your heart so that you may realize that my counsel is beneficial for you, amen. On January 4, 1543.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2982.

(Wittenberg.) 4. January 1543.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

Luther wants to give him only oral information about what has been written to him concerning Spalatin (cf. No. 2962). About an economic matter.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 400, printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 246 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 527.

To the highly famous man, Magister Georg Spalatin, the extremely faithful overseer and bishop of the churches in Meissen, his very dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace! That thou desirest of me, dear Spalatin, that I may show thee what has been written to me, or by what people about thee, I have decided that it must by all means be postponed until we can talk to each other. For so I have also answered those who have written. I do this so that a word may not slip from the absent pen that cannot be made good. The matter is not great, therefore I endeavor rather to extinguish the spark than to make it a flame.

1) Instead of *talem* we have assumed *falsam,* because he was oppressed by the papal priest.

as the Lord says, "Blessed are the peacemakers." Otherwise there is already superfluous enough discord and agitation and unrest. Meanwhile, I beseech thee, act according to thy prudence in a patient and quiet manner, and be not provoked by the words of any until I have spoken with thee. That is enough.

My mistress Käthe is sending a carriage to take down the remaining trees, as you know. She asks you very much not to find yourself burdened if your help or advice should be needed. We all pray that this new year may be a happy one for you and yours in the Lord, amen. January 4, 1543.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 2983.

(Wittenberg.) January 6, 1543.

To Chancellor Brück.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1342, no. 156.

No. 2984.

(Wittenberg.) January 11, 1543.

To Margaretha Eschat.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1756. - There, as in the other editions, with the caption: "To an unnamed person." The address we have set is from the *Consil. Theol. Witeb*. III, *fol.* 12 (Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 494, note 6).

No. 2985.

(Wittenberg.) January 13, 1543.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

About Amsdorf's relationship to Nicolaus Medler and the slowness of the court in the establishment of the church system in Naumburg.

The original is in Cod. Keiäel. at Dresden. Printed by Schütze, vol. I, p. 248 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 531. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1498.

To the most reverend man in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus, the very loud bishop of Naumburg, his superior who is to be highly revered in the Lord.

Grace and peace! Dr. Medler has been with me in these days and has even humbly apologized and exalted your person, complaining at the same time that he had perhaps been more unfairly denounced by others than he deserved. I held up to him what you had written to me, and I to you. He denied most decidedly that he had said such things as had been brought against him, and therefore begged that I might at least obtain this from you, that you would believe no one, however many and great men they might be, unless he might first, called and heard, speak freely what his opinion was. This I promised him so surely that I even accused him of never having asked this of you. But I will be brief. Thou wilt do it, that thou hearest him. We have advised him that he should not do any of these things alone (*per se*) until the visitation.

But I understood this with sadness from his account, since he himself did not notice that nothing had yet been established or ordered, not even for the Consistory, of which I firmly believed that it had already been in full activity for a long time. 1) I am annoyed by the negligence of our court, which boldly misses so many things, and afterwards, when we are thrown into the muck, snores idly and leaves us in the lurch. I will open the ears of Dr. Brück, and even of the Prince himself, with peevish words as soon as I can. I see what vexes me to see, that nobility rules under the Prince's name. And even now Creutz rules with you, 2) the exceedingly hateful man. But more at another time. Yes, I too desire most to see you and talk with you. In the meantime, I ask that you let Medler be commanded to do what you will do of your own free will, according to your kindness; he will do what is pleasing to you. In this way it will come to pass that the eyes and ears of those people will bear grief who desire to see discord between the bishop and the priests. For this also Satan desires to the shame of Christ. In any case, if the condition of my head somehow permits it, I shall

1) Walch translates the words: esse *in entelechia sua* by: "that he might be in his church".
2) Melchior Creuz (Creiz, from Creizen).

...shall shortly appear before thee, either during Lent or shortly thereafter. Prepare the inn. Fare well in Christ, dear man of God. On Saturday after St. Erhard's [13 Jan.] Anno 1543.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 2986.

(Wittenberg.) January 15, 1543.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for Dr. Curio.

Ex Copial. Archiv. Vinar. in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 103, no. 193; in Walch, vol. XXI, 484; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 603, with incorrectly resolved date: "November 19," and likewise in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 68.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Mr. Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg. R. Reichs Erzmarschall und Churfürsten, Landgrafen in Thüringen, Markgrafen zu Meißen und Burggrafen zu Magdeburg, my, most gracious Lord.

G. and F. and my poor *Pater noster*. Most illustrious, high-born Prince, most gracious Lord! What has happened to Dr. Curio this time, 1) is not known to E. C. F. G.. Now it is true that such an evil clamor of his absence arose here that the lords of the university could not well do otherwise than to counter the annoying rumor, to suspend him from his position and office until several days had passed, and also to report it to E. C. F. G. so that it would not become worse. Now, however, after the previous suspension, he has allowed himself to be interrogated, and the matter has not been found to be so bad, everything has been reconciled again, so that he has been released from his suspension, and enough has happened everywhere. Thereupon he asked me to humbly ask E. C. F. G. for him, that E. C. F. G. would also graciously drop such a disgrace, and graciously let him follow the lection and pay as before. Because I have experienced myself that in this matter such a rumor and cause of the university for such a suspension

1) Curio had the reputation to be in relations with women. A public slander would bring him into violent conflict with Caspar Teuschel and Pucher, on the open street as in the former's apartment (Burkhardt).

first of all by bad suspicion originated and of his absence, because nobody was able to answer for it, torn through, as if he had fled with bad conscience, that also many pious people must believe almost the rumor: so I ask E. C. F. G. humbly, wanted to let him the lection and pay promoted, as happened until now, because he is rightly in this and everywhere inherited. . E. C. F. G. will know how to graciously show themselves. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befohlen, Amen. Monday after Felicis [15 Jan] 1543.

E. C. F. G. subservient

Mart. Luther.

No. 2987.

Grimma. 23 January 1543.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

Answer to Luther's intercession for LI. Johann Dürften!, because of obtaining his scholarship.
The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Mm, fol.* 20 b. Dr. 14. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 420.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have read your renewed letter of the 40 fl. half, which Magister Johann Dürstein is to be withheld from the fief at our Wartburg Castle now for longer than a year over our prescription given to him, 2) and have heard your humble request from it. Now we cannot know what the impediments are that such money is not sufficient for the same magistrate, and have 3) also written to our mayor against Eisenach for this reason, also because there are more such complaints, to consider the ways so that the scholars may get hold of that which 4) we have prescribed for them without further delay, or report to us what the lack is, so that we may further do due procurement. The aforesaid our sheriff will therefore pursue this, and in our gracious opinion have not wished to conceal it from you, to whom we are graciously inclined. Date Grimm, Tuesday after Fabiani and Sebastian [23 Jan] 1543. 5)

2) Burkhardt: should.
3) In Burkhardt wrongly interpungirt: "have not sufficed, also" 2c.
4) Burkhardt: "that one".
5) Burkhardt notes: In 1544, Friday after *Vincula Petri* (Aug. 8), Dürstein received the scholarship on Luther's and Brück's intercession for one more year to establish his household as pastor in Belzig.

(Wittenberg.) **No. 988.** 24 January 1543.

To M. Martin Gilbert, preacher at Marienberg.

Luther gives him advice on how to deal with those who have unauthorizedly deposed a preacher.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. 186. 4. printed in Litterar. Wochenbl. II, 312; from the Löscher *collection* in Dresden in Schütze, vol. I, p. 252; in Strobel-Ranner, x. 308 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 532 f.

To the worthy man, M. Martin Gilbert, the servant of Christ in Marienberg, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace! What should I advise you otherwise, my dear Martin, than what the Lord himself taught in Matt. 18, that is, that you first go to those who exercise this tyranny to depose the preacher, and remind them privately that it is not in their power to depose or appoint preachers, but with those who are commanded to do so either by a superior or by God. If then they wish to depose, let them depose those whom they feed and call with their money. Of the money given to the church or to Christ they are servants, not masters, that they may use it as they please. For no one among them would suffer his neighbor to throw out of his house even the servant of another, since it is not his house nor even his property. Therefore they shall know that they are thieves, but rather robbers of God, when they cast out a strange servant, that is, Christ's, and give strange money to a stranger. With their own money they may do as they please, but they must not give money to strangers. If they do not repent in this matter, consider them to be pagans, who are also not worthy to serve the church treasury, of which they want to be masters. Other things thou mayest consider for thyself, and the Spirit shall give them thee. Farewell. January 24, 1543. M. L.

Postscript. And [tell them] that they change these words in the church, "Who is the Comforter of all the earth," 2) I have not set them so.

1) *e domo sua vel* added by us to fill the gap here.
2) This will go to the words in the third verse of the so-called "great faith": "Which is called the Comforter of all fools."

(Wittenberg.) **No. 2989.** 2g. January 1543.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Of Luther's sickliness. Consolation over the loss of Jonas' wife. Of the unhappily conducted Turkish war.
Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 409. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 253 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 533.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Justus Jonas, Doctor 2c.. Provost of Wittenberg, envoy of the Lord at Halle in Saxony, his superior.

Grace and peace! In these days I have suffered in the head, my dear Jonas, so that I could neither read nor write. And even now I am not allowed to burden myself with many things, so I have not been able to read your translation sufficiently. I believe that you are becoming more distressed from day to day, since, now that the torpor has gone, you are beginning to feel more the desire for the exceedingly lovely company of your very good wife. But that must be borne which cannot be changed. And He who is the Saviour of God [Luc. 1, 47.] will also heal this wound of yours, amen.

There is no news here, except that from all parts of the world the worst rumors are spreading about the Margrave of Brandenburg because of the war waged in Hungary. And nothing better is said of Ferdinand himself. There are so many, and indeed probable, grounds for proof, to such an extent that I can hardly refrain from believing myself that everything was carried out with a frightful and exceedingly ruinous treacherousness, and that God alone prevented that something even worse did not happen. Oh about the raging frenzy that is full of all devils. But the messenger hurried, and I wanted to write little. Another time. Be well in the Lord. On the Friday after Paul's conversion [26 Jan.] 1543. Martin Luther, D.

(Wittenberg.) NNo. **2990.** 27 January 1543.

To Georg von Harstall, bailiff, and the mayor and council of Creuzburg.

That pastors should not be deposed because they punish public vices.3)

3) Burkhardt remarks on the situation: "Already for four to five years the municipality of Creuzburg had been in contact with the Pre

The original is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. LI, pag. 39, N. 32. 1. Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 208d; in the Jena edition (1562), vol. VIII, p. 106 b; in the Altenburg, vol. VIII, p. 274; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 422; in Walch, vol. X, 1886. In the editions mentioned so far with the contents as caption, but in the ones now following: "To a certain Stadtrath!" In Hummel's "Bibliothek seltener Bücher," Vol. II, p. 351; in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 534; in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 56, p. 46 and in the St. Louis edition, Vol. X, 1624. Burkhardt has found the original and in his "Luthers Briefwechsel," p. 422, has included the most essential variants, which concern not only individual words, but several times entire passages. Therefore, we share the letter here once again, improved according to the original.

Grace and peace in the Lord. (Strictly?) Wise gentlemen, good friends! I have lately written to you, Captain, and asked that you would let your pastor come from you in kindness. For I did not hear the things otherwise, as if he had acted wrongly, and had been deposed by the Visitatoribus. Now I am told by the visiting magistrates that he has not transgressed, nor do they wish him to be deposed, nor do they wish him to be deposed, but they give him testimony that he is pure in doctrine and blameless in life, but if you have cast a grudge on him, that he has severely punished the vices, therefore you intend to depose him. From this I perceive that here the devil would like to cause misfortune and lead you into great harm, which moves me to do this writing to you, and I ask very kindly that you accept it amicably (as I faithfully mean) for your good.

Georg Spenlein, because he had often been guilty of improper outbursts in the pulpit against individuals as well as against the municipal regiment. Especially in these: Years Spenlein had swung the scourge against the disorderly life of individuals, and allowed himself expressions which, however, may have been too strong even in relation to the rough customs of that time. Thus he did not refrain from calling the riflemen, who did not attend church on Sundays because of late children's lessons, because they otherwise could not come to shoot, and who were still drinking late, "long revengers, thieves and treacherous villains. He asked in the sermon: "Let the plumb line" (lead) "go out to the bushes and shoot them in the mouth, wet and head", and if this did not happen, "let them die a lingering death" 2c. There was a whole register of such remarks, which is why the council felt compelled to remove the preacher and ask for the appointment of another.

1) In the newer editions: "Gestrengen", but among those addressed there is only one nobleman to whom this title belongs, namely the Amtmann, or, as he is called here, the "Hauptmann" Georg von Harstall. See Luther's letter to Justus Menius of May 8, 1543.

I hope you will have so much Christian understanding that a ministry, a preaching ministry, and the gospel are not ours, nor of any man, nor of any angel, but of God our Lord alone, who purchased it for us with his blood, and gave it to us, and established it for our salvation. Therefore he judges the despisers harshly, and says, "He that despiseth you despiseth me" (Luke 10:16); and it were better for him that he had never heard it, saith St. Peter, 2 Epist. 2:21.

Because the two excellent men, Mr. Jobst and Mr. Friedrich's) Visitatores, who have to give an account for it, both testify, and one must believe them that your pastor teaches the right, pure word of God, and is an honest man, which is also testified by the city of Creuzburg and neighbors: Behold, dear lords and friends, how the evil spirit seeks you so cunningly and maliciously, that you should offend the chief pastor and bishop, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who by great and special grace communicates to you his Word and Sacrament, that is, his blood, death and suffering, through his holy servant, your pastor, so purely and abundantly; how the wicked devil cannot suffer that you should be saved!

You must also consider this, because there is no other cause or blame than that you have cast a grief on him without his merit, even for his great merit and faithful preaching, so that it is neither possible nor possible, for the sake of your grief and unjust presumption, to do violence and injustice to such a well-meaning priest and to throw him out with dirt. I cannot blame the visitators for not doing this, nor for wanting to weigh down their consciences with such injustice for the devil's sake, and for wanting to go to the devil with you (where they have approved of your authority). Take heed, my lords and friends, take heed: if the devil bring you to this, he will not leave it at that, but will go on falling.

This is the case, that ye should despise and hate your pastor without a cause, that is, despise Christ himself, the chief of all pastors: then shall ye strike yourselves against the stone,

2) "Jobst" is Justus Menius, "Friedrich" is Myconius.

And burn them in the devouring fire. For he is more concerned about a faithful, pure pastor than about all such unbelievers, officials, mayors, judges, or even the whole world with all its authority, power, and honor. For their office (where they are not Christians) serves him nothing for his kingdom of heaven, as the priest's office does, nor has it been bought so dear (with his blood) as the priest's office. In this case he brings it about that he closes your heart and mouth, that you do not believe, do not pray, do not praise, 1) nor lift up your offering before God in any trouble, as he says Matth. 5, 24: Leave your offering and make atonement for yourself first. By this you would no longer be Christians, you would have banished and condemned yourselves; that would be terrible.

After that he will work it out, that he may overthrow this sin of yours with great strange sins, that ye should displace your innocent pastor, that the church may be desolate, and that children and other pious people may be deprived of the word, baptism, or sacrament, and, as much as is with you, be damned with you. This would be much worse than the pope's rule; how will you answer for it? Moreover, if the common man and the dear youth were to see such a horrible example, that learned, pious priests are thus rewarded for their toil and faithful service with dirt and shame, who would want to send a child to school? Who wants to study with his board? Where then shall we get pastors?

Yes, the devil seeks this harm through your and your like's willfulness. How much better it would be to be under the wretched pope and the Turks, since there are still schools and churches left for pastors and preachers, neither among you, who want to make it so desolate.

Thirdly, if ye fail, he will at last cast you into impenitent impenitence: there is an end of you, and no more counsel; yea, this is the way of the wicked devil. Therefore, the sooner you get along with the priest and the church, that is, with Christ, the better, lest you also become an example, as has already happened to some.

Surely there are other ways to be found. Whoever does not hear the priest zero, the

1) Burkhardt: "live".

If the door of the church is open, he may remain outside without God's grace. The churches were not built, nor the parishes established, to push out those who want to teach and hear the word of God, and to keep in those who do not want to hear the word of God; but they were built and established for the sake of those who love to hear it and cannot do without it.

You are not masters over the parishes and the ministry, you did not establish them, but only the Son of God; you have given nothing to them, much less the right to them, neither the devil in the kingdom of heaven, you shall not master them, nor teach them, neither shall you refuse to punish them. For it is God's punishment, and not man's, that he wills it unprovided, but commanded; wait for your office, and let God be satisfied with his rule, ere he teach you). Yours is none that can suffer a stranger to leave him his servant, or to chase him away, which he cannot spare. Yea, there is no shepherd boy so small as to suffer a crooked word from a strange master; but God's servant, he shall be, and must be, every man's servant, and shall suffer all things from every man, whereas no man will or can suffer anything from him, not even the word of God himself.

Such admonition, I pray you, understand well, which I faithfully mean; for it is God's admonition. But if ye will not hearken, nor amend your ways, we must let you go, and yet see how we may resist the devil, at least so far as not to trouble our consciences with your sins, nor to will the devil therein.

We must not put you under ban; you are harming yourselves, since we would gladly and much rather have you out. And even if you could get another pastor, since it is still a long way off, you still cannot become the earliest, nor share in some piece of Christian grace and life; so no one will accept it against the will and command of the visitators. And who would have me among such disowned Christians, who would have such evil cries, that they would betray their pastor with violence and injustice, and yet be called Christians, and bring such a holy name into disgrace?

2) Burkhardt: "lerne Mußt Thun".

you would get a beautiful name in all the world, and become quite an example.

Finally, I counsel in Christ, make peace with your pastor and live peaceably with him: let him punish, teach, comfort, as he is commanded by God, and as is on his conscience; according to the saying of Ebrews 13:17: Obey your rulers (pastors), for they must give account for you. For that which you are about to do is an evil example, that any magistrate, judge, or ruler of the council, when he has no right, nor reason, nor matter, will freely expel a priest at his own whim; neither will God suffer it, nor can He.

God grant that you may not know it; but the same dear God help that you may know his will with fear and humility, and honor his Son, that is, his word, which he has given and redeemed for you by his blood, and his servants, the poor pastors, who are otherwise quite afflicted, and should have protection and comfort from you temporal rulers, so that your office may become a service of God.

Hiemit dem lieben GOtt in seine Gnade befohlen. Date Saturday after St. Paul's [conversion] [27 Jan.] 1543.

No. 2991.

(Wittenberg.) 9 February 1543.

To Caspar Zeuner, Superintendent at Freiberg[1].

Luther wants to send him, since he himself is unwell, an expert opinion of others about the arrangements of the ceremonies. He advises him not to insist on their uniformity.

From the von Ludwig collection in Halle in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 254 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 539. German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1499.

To Caspar Zeuner, superintendent at Freiberg.

Grace and peace! I will give others to read and do, my dear Caspar, what you write to me. I suffer so much from various illnesses and weaknesses of the head that I can neither write nor read anything, especially when I have not yet learned to read.

1) In the editions: "*Cyner, Cyesrus*"; in the ^ldurn, p. 79: *Czeuner*. Cf. St. Louiser Ausg., vol. XXII, 1777, note.

if I would; then it shall be shown thee what they have judged. But if I could direct this matter according to my wishes But if I could direct this matter according to my wishes, I would prefer that you follow your own way in these matters in your own region. For if we begin to make all things equal, these things will everywhere become articles of faith and cords, as they were under the Popeacy; but if they are unequal, this will be a very wholesome remedy against this evil. Thus, under the Papacy, this brought a beautiful benefit, that it was not thought, 2) that a church must be equal to the Roman church, but that each one followed its own customs without a rope of conscience. For if the equality and concord in the chief things, and in the principal things, that is, in doctrine, remain inviolate, consenting to unequal outward ceremonies will be easy, just as, if the head and body be equally sound, the diversity of works in the different members will cause no discord in the body, yea, rather a beautiful harmony of different voices, as in music. The other you will understand. Fare well in the Lord. Friday after Agathe [9 Feb.] 1543.

Mart. Luther.

No. 2992.

(Wittenberg.) February 10, 1543.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for Dr. Curio, whom they tried to oust from the university. Cf. No. 2986.

From the original in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, p.* 143, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 540, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 51.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg. Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord. To S. C. F. G. Hands.

G. u. F. in the Lord. Most gracious, most reverend lord, most gracious lord! I am come...

2) Instead of *pateretur* we have adopted *putaretur*. - *huic* we have referred to the Roman Church; e.g. Milan had its own ceremonies.

to write to E. C. F. G. again about Dr. Curio, whether I consider it unnecessary, because E. C. F. G. graciously allows him to serve the most illustrious, highborn Prince 2c. of Meckelburg. But because the useless mouths want to interpret it as if he were thereby deprived of his lection 2c.: so my humble request to E. C. F. G. is: You want to control such mouths with a public word. For I want to report my poor thoughts to E. C. F. G., not speak Doctor Curio pure or impure. But I have investigated it (and must), and find that it is quite a devil's specter, begun to scandalize this school, as he did more before, and will continue to do, where he cannot by strangers, but among ourselves (as the Scripture says that the devil is among God's children). Yes, we have among us his seed, that is certain; today it is Dr. Curio, tomorrow another. He cannot rest because this school stands; I do not condemn him either, for enough has happened to him from this school to make him angry, and to shave his head with a sharp sickle. Be it what it may, I ask that E. C. F. G. keep a merciful eye (as you do) on this school, on which the devil has a scowling and ungracious eye, and help so that he does not have to turn his stink into a balm here; and whether something has happened, been said, or suffered, turn it all onto a cleanser and throw it into the oven, but with seriousness (as then E. C. F. G. is ready to do). C. F. G. has done), that they would not suffer fornication, either of high or low. Verily the devil seeketh us, that we should pray and be humble: otherwise we are lost.

E. C. F. F. G. graciously accept my letter. I would like to spare dear E. C. F. G., even more myself!: but it will not be, I must write myself to death. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befehlt. *Scholasticae* [10 Feb.] 1543.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther, D.

I thank E. C. F. G. most sincerely for the honest gift, and send the ray (stral) again, whether it would perhaps be more gracious than others.

No. 2993.

Nuremberg. . 16 February 1543.

Veit Dietrich to Luther.

Dietrich reports the death of Eck and the Cardinal Contarenus.

This letter, as far as it concerns Eck's death, is found in Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth., lib. III*, 468. As Burkhardt, p. 422, states, copies of it are in the Dessau Archives and in *Cod. chart. Goth*. , 399. Further, in the Innocent News 1707, p. 821, and in the Continued Collection, 1739, p. 136, and inVita. *Langeri, pag,* 230. we let follow here what Seckendorf offers, translated into German.

I believe you have heard of Eck's death. He died on the tenth of February 1) at noon. He lay sick about seven days. At first a fever seized him; when he cured this in his usual manner by frequent drinking, the malady increased, so much so that his friends exhorted him to confession and supper. But for a time in vain. At last madness was added. Therefore they summoned a monk to say mass at his bedside. As he murmured the usual abominations of the Canon, Eck began to exclaim: "If we now had the 4000 gülden, we would well find counsel in the matter!" And yet, while he was thus caught up in madness, Communion was given him. Shortly after, the falling sickness followed, which deprived him not only of all his other senses, but also of the use of his tongue. Everything that was said was spoken to a stone, and it was of no use that the monks murmured incomprehensible psalms at the bedside. At last a third disease came on him, which is also found in wine-bibbers and lewd people, and so he spat out his soul at the same time as his flower. This is what Weigler told me, for his friends report otherwise, for they are ashamed of such an abominable death in their defender. He answered Bucer's second writing; they say it is an exceedingly poisonous book. Bucer had written somewhere that Eck was todt. On the title of the book Eck wrote these words: Forsooth, 2) Eck lives! Now when the book was finished at Ingolstadt and went out, Eck began to be sick, and ceased to live. This is not something merely natural in a blasphemous man.

1) The "fragment about Eck's death", which Seidemann has reported in De Wette, Vol. VI, p.343, is certainly not from a letter of Luther, because there *decima Macij* (*sic*) is given as the day of Eck's death.

2) Instead of *Quia* we have assumed *Quin.*

No. 2994.

(Wittenberg.) 17 February 1543.

To Albrecht, Duke of Prussia.

This letter, in which Luther gives his opinion about the elevation of the sacrament, is caused by the request of Speratus, bishop of Pomesania, No. 2969. In an insertion Luther asks for the extension of the scholarship for a student.

From Faber's collection of letters, p.44, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 541 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 53.

G. u. F. and my poor *Pr. nr.* Serene, high-born Prince, gracious Lord! That E. F. G., also Doctor Speratus, Bishop Pozamienus, 1) wrote to me, requesting my opinion on the elevation of the Sacrament, I have well heard; but because I had so much to write that I would have needed three scribes, E. F. G. graciously wished to accept this writing, as well as to answer the bishop and all others, as E. F. G. will undoubtedly know to deliver it to them.

We have done away with elevation in our churches, and I would gladly have it done away with, for the sole reason that such ceremonies should not be our masters, as if it were a sin to do otherwise. For we Christians want to and must be masters of such ceremonies, so that they do not grow over our heads as articles of faith, but must be subject to us and serve us when, where, how, and for how long we want. For the ceremonies have always caused heartache through the devil's cunning and human carelessness, so that they have wanted to be articles of faith, and have made of the church a charade, as we have experienced in the papacy. For if it should come to pass that elevation should again be necessary to avoid heresy or any other thing, we would again set it up. In sum, we want to be and must be servants of the faith (that is, of God), we want to be masters of the ceremonies, and not let them become like the faith; but that one preach this diligently to the people, so that they do not think that one wants to teach a new faith every hour. For the people make no distinction between faith and ceremonies, as the pope himself makes no distinction in this respect, nor does he make any distinction between the spiritual and the secular.

1) Pozamiens == *Pomesamiensis*.

...of the ruler of darkness. The world is blind and lives under the prince of darkness.

Such things E. F. G., written in haste and besides much business, would graciously understand, as I do not doubt, because E. F. G. take such matters of faith so seriously. May the merciful God and Father of our dear Lord Jesus Christ, through his Holy Spirit, strengthen the work he has begun in E. F. G. against the affliction of our Lord. F. G. against the wretched devil, who neither sleeps nor rests against us and all Christendom from the beginning; but he shall lack in the end, Amen. Saturday after Invocavit [17 Feb] 1543.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus LutheR, D.

Deposit.

M. Jakob Metius has also asked me, my lord, to ask E. F. G. to receive his scholarship for another year. I do not like to complain of E. F. G... However, I am aware of the truth that he has had to miss quite a bit of time due to the weakness of his head. Since I do not sense any wrong in him, since he is here with a good name, where he remains like this, my humble request, if it is to be done, is that E. F. G. should leave him the scholarship for another year, so that he does not have to disrupt the studies he has begun. E. F. G. will certainly know how to graciously show themselves in this. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen.

No. 2995.

Wittenberg. 20 February 1543.

Facultätszeugmß for Dr. Johann Marbach.

Marbach received, against the rule, which required an age of thirty years, already with twenty-three years the theological doctorate in Wittenberg. He had been Luther's housemate and table companion, had served for a year as a deacon in Jena and as a preacher in Isny, and was to be employed there, but went back to Wittenberg, where he disputated under Luther's chairmanship in 1543 and received his doctorate. He was then called to Isny to take Father Fagius' place; but since he found obstacles there, he went to Strasbourg as Father Fagius' assistant at the Nicolai Church, where he soon received the pastorate. He succeeded Caspar Hedio in the position of antist, and played an important role in the history of the Reformation. He was also a delegate to the Worms conversation in 1547.

From *Fechtii Histor. eccles. Sec. XVI, Supplementum,* P. I, p. 3, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 543.

Martin Luther, Doctor of Theology, Dean of the College of the Theological Faculty, wishes salvation to all who will read this letter.

Doctor Johann Marbach from Lindau has requested a certificate from us about his manners, his studies and his [doctoral] degree. We have issued this to him with the greatest willingness because of his virtue and erudition. For we know that he lived at our school, where he spent three whole years, in such a way that all the professors praise his modesty and his special diligence in the fulfillment of every duty. And for this reason, two years ago, he was awarded the degree of Master by the Collegium of the Faculty of Liberal Arts. However, since he most desired that his studies serve the glory of God and the benefit of the church, he diligently listened to the exegetes of the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures, also investigated antiquity and the disputes of all lines in the church, so that he might obtain the original and true doctrine of the Gospel. He therefore accepts the pure doctrine of the Gospel, which our church professes in one spirit and with one voice with the general church of Christ, and abhors the opinions which dispute with it. He has, however, publicly declared his opinion of the doctrine, not only in school discussions, but also in a public church office, which he held for some time. Therefore, since the church at Isny, which called him to teach the gospel, desired that we adorn him with the theological [doctoral] dignity for public testimony, we granted the wish of this church. For since we only knew that this Johann Marbach leads an honorable and godly life and rightly understands the epitome of Christian doctrine, and accepts the pure gospel that shines in our churches, and is also not tainted with false opinions: so that our testimony about him might be present, we have granted him the dignity of Doctor of Theology, and ask the eternal God, the Father of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, who, according to His immeasurable goodness, preserves the remnants of His church, and adds gifts, so that the light of the gospel may not

that is, teachers and shepherds, that he may also instruct and guide them by his Holy Spirit, so that their ministry may be effective and salvific. Since he has asked us to ask this, we do not doubt that these wishes will be heard. But we admonish him, Doctor Johann Marbach, and his church, that they take care that the Gospel be faithfully preserved among their own. For God demands that He be honored primarily through this service, as Christ says [John 15:8]: "In this My Father is honored, that you bear much fruit, and become My disciples." Let us therefore faithfully render this service to God, and not allow ourselves to be drawn away from the Gospel even by the judgment and raging of the ungodly multitudes in the world, but rather praise the name of the Son of God, and await the help of God and eternal life with the holy fathers, prophets, and apostles, through whom God has revealed Himself in glorious and clear testimonies. Given at Wittenberg, on the twentieth day of February, Anno 1543.

No. 2996.

(Wittenberg.) February, 1543.

To all pastors of the superintendency of Wittenberg, together with Bugenhagen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 2284.

No. 2997.

Wittenberg. 7 March 1543.

To Pancratius, preacher in Danzig.

Luther rejoices over the fruit of the Word in Gdansk, and advises to begin confidently also with the use of the Sacrament.

Manuscript in Gotha, *Cod. chart.* 451. 1.; Cod. 186. 4. and *Cod. 402. f.* From the collection of Caspar Sagittarius at Jena in Schütze, vol. I, p. 255 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 547.

To Pancratius, the servant of God in the church at Danzig.

Certainly I read your letter with joy, in which you indicate to me the fruit of the Word of God in the church at Danzig.

May the Lord, who began his work through you, complete it. What you write about the use of the sacrament, that it is certainly desired by all, but it is opposed by the *edict of the* king and the bishops: if they were so strong in faith that they dared to prefer the will of God to the will of men, I would have them do it. Perhaps the Senate, since it does not forbid it, but allows it to be done, will easily have something with which to excuse itself to the king, namely, that it is not its office either to govern or to change the administration (*ministoria* == the exercise of the ministry of preaching) in the churches, that is, to teach GODr. For since in former times the king, when he was personally present at Danzig, forbade the word, there was another time, another reason, namely, civil discord in the city. Now that they are of one mind, and have admitted that which is the greater, namely, the word, why not also that which is the lesser? For in time of need a man can do without the sacrament, but not without the word. But if there is another reason, which I do not know, which would be more decisive, so that they could not permit it, then you may not depart from the service of the word, nor forsake the church, but teach continually the word of the sacrament. And if necessity compels that in the main service 1) the use be not admitted, yet may they desire it with sighing and longing, and in the meantime thus comfort themselves of the Sacrament in faith, until God hears the sighing of the voices, and gives the spirit of strength, that they may dare to confess freely, and also receive the outward sign or custom of the Sacrament. The greatest part is changed, as the use of the ministry of preaching is changed by the Word. 2) May the Lord strengthen you and all of you by his Holy Spirit, so that you may finally dare to do it and do it happily, amen. From Wittenberg, March 7, 1543.

1) We read ini88u instead of inrni88g, at De Wette.

2) namely, in comparison with the time when the king by his edict forbade the preaching of the word.

No. 2998.

(Wittenberg.) March 7, 1543.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

. On the terrible internal enemies of Germany.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, Vol. III, p. 402. Printed in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 256 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 548.

Mercy and peace! It is not doubtful to me that Mezentius 3) with his scales are the very worst Turkish 4) enemies for Germany. Thus they rage because what they desire is prevented, that they would rather that the Turk be their master than that the freedom of Germany remain unharmed. May God have mercy on us and hasten the day of redemption. For Germany will not be well, nor will she feel well, may Nlltt the Turk rule or our countrymen. For all the nobility and princes are intent on the servitude of Germany and suck the people dry; they alone want everything. Besides, I have nothing to write, you know everything better. May the Lord comfort and strengthen you. My Käthe greets you reverently with all yours. Fare well in the Lord. 1543, Wednesday after Lätare [March 7]. Yours, Martin Luther.

Postscript. I have finished the second book against the Jews, "Vom Schem Hamphoras", 5) which I know you will not easily translate into Latin.

No. 2999.

(Wittenberg.) March 9, 1543.

To Count Wolfgang von Gleichen.

Luther responds to his inquiry about a church interest.

Printed by Walch, vol. XXI, 1500, without indication of the source, and subsequently by De Wette, vol. V, p. 548 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 57.

To the noble, well-born Lord, Lord Wolfgang, Count of Gleichen and Plankenhain 2c., my gracious lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Noble, merciful, gracious Lord! Upon Your Grace

3) Duke Henry of Brunswick.

4) Instead of *turcissimos*, *Cod. Serv. to* read: *turcicissimos*, and immediately following instead of: ,,.... *ita*" is to be read: *ita furiunt*.

5) See St. Louis ed. vol. XX, 2028.

Question about the interest, so endowed to the salve, could Magister Friedrich Mecum 1) be more autworten than I, because I do not know the occasion, whether they, like other fiefs, in the costs of the churches struck; because, where one should tear the same interest, ordered to churches and schools, to want to be preserved at last the parish lords and schools? Otherwise, if this were not the case, and the nobleman's need were there, I would not speak much about it. For this reason, Your Grace may well inquire with He Friederich Mecum, who is a visitator and will know about this. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Friday after Lätare (March 9) 1543.

Your Grace willing

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3000.

(Wittenberg.) March 14, 1543.

To Johann Riemann, pastor at Werda in the Voigtland.

Luther writes to him that he cannot serve him in the duchy of Duke Moritz of Saxony.

From your Cod. äsn. L. 24. n., fol. 181, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 549.

Mercy and peace! I am weak, my dear Riemann, and tired of life, and think to say goodbye to the world, which is completely in trouble. May the Lord grant you a good hour and a blessed farewell. Amen. In the duchy of Moritz I can serve you in nothing, and the courts are so busy, or rather they make so much trouble for themselves, that they can neither take care of themselves nor of others, and with such a great shaking of things and the threatening rod of wrath they snore, or rather, they freeze in despair, so that we would do best if we asked the Lord to hasten the day of our redemption. In this world all that was hoped for good from the future has been and gone. Nothing remains but a flood of evils, which has begun and proves its power. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. Wednesday after Judica [March 14] 1543. M. L., D.

1) "Mecum" is De Wette's conjecture instead of: "man" in Walch.

No. 3001.

(Wittenberg.) March 17, 1543.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Renewed intercession for his brother-in-law, Hans von Bora.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Aa, pag.* 437. n.5. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 423.

G. and F. and my poor Pater noster. Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! My dear brother-in-law, the House of Bora, has been able to send this letter to E. C. F. G., informing me how E. C. F. G. intends to change the monasteries and sequestration, which I have often heard (but not understood) from many good people. God grant that it may also become better, amen. Now Haus von Bora asks E. C. F. G. to graciously let him see that he does not have to be in harm's way, but because he has begun to damage the monastery with his darthun, that he may receive it. There is no doubt about E. C. F. G.'s heart and courage. But E. C. F. G. sees and experiences how the people are now, and how difficult the regiment has become, so that it would be necessary for a gentleman to have eyes and ears in every corner. There is neither conscience nor loyalty any more. God help you, governors. You are poor, afflicted people, to whom few people are kind, all the devils are unkind, even friends are not firm friends. May God and His people be and remain gracious and kind to you. You may well, especially in this last raging malice of all devils and men. E. C. F. G. will know how to graciously show that the good journeyman is not in harm's way. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen, *Die Gertrudis* [March 17] 1543.

E. C. F. G. subservient

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3002.

(Wittenberg.) March 19, 1543.

To Prince George of Anhalt.

Luther asks that the minister M. Johann Rosenberg at Zerbst be allowed relief of the official work, so that he could be preserved still longer for Zerbst.

2) Cronschwitz.

From the original in Dessau in Lindner, Mittheilungen, vol. II, p. 82, no. 56; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 238 and in Seidemann-De Wette, vol. VI, p. 344.

To the noble, highborn prince and lord, Mr. Georgen, provost of Magdeburg, prince of Anhalt, count of Ascanien and lord of Bernburg, my gracious lord.

G. u. F. in the Lord. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! *Magistrate* Johannes Rosenberg, pastor of Zerbst, has asked me for advice, because he, now old and weak, and with his face in great decline, is no longer able to do the great work, when he could be provided with little and possible work. Thereupon I am willing to help him away to another place. But because I knew of no one better to take his place at the moment, I advised that he should stay at Zerbst and do the work that he could do, hoping that he would preach two sermons and do what he could, so that E. F. G. would not be burdened with it. Therefore, my most humble request to E. F. G. is that you would be gracious enough to make his work bearable for him, so that he may remain there. For it is fair and divine that *emeritus militibus honorern debitum haberi*. But where it cannot or will not be (as I hope it will not), we must see how we do. But best is, Hold what dll have, as long as thou cauilst. For *Non eodem cursu respondent ultima primo*. E.F.G. will do his best to be gracious and christian in this. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. Monday *Palmarum* (19 March) 1543.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3003.

In the spring of 1543.

Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg to Luther, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

The Elector reports that he has read the admonition to all pastors of the Superintendency of Wittenberg (No. 2996), in which it is reported that the Turkish campaign last year did not turn out well, and is called upon to pray against the Turks, which is highly necessary. Because of the unfortunate outcome of the campaign he had to endure much misfortune, though with no reason.
had. In order that they may have a correct report on the course of the campaign, he sends the writings which, with the advice of the war councillors assigned to him, he has addressed from the camp to the imperial estates and other representatives on account of the lack of support and their response to it, and how things stood at all times until the end. This, although it is somewhat long, he asks you to read.

From the concept in the archive of the royal house in Berlin printed by Kolde, *Analacta,* p. 388.

No. 3004.

(Wittenberg.) 2. April 1543.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

On the Victory of the Gospel in the Duchy of Saxony. From the chancellor Pistorius. On the performance of ceremonies and the re-establishment of the ban.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p.403. Printed from the Ludwig collection in Halle in Schütze, vol. I, p. 257 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 550. With the heading: "Bedenken von Ceremonien und Bann wieder aufrichten", without addressee, in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p.210; in the Jena (1562), vol. VIII, p. 171 b; in the Altenburg, vol. VIII, p. 342; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 431; in Walch, vol. XIX, l253; as to Lauterbach, German, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 551 (with the false statement that only the first part of the letter, von den Ceremonien, is found in the editions just mentioned, which the Erlanger edition has reprinted) and in the Erlanger, vol. 56, p. 58. Only the second part, vom Bann, in all editions of the Tischreden, except the mistigen, Cap. 21, z 14. We have omitted this letter in the 22nd and in the 19th volume, and give it here in a new translation, as we promised in the 19th volume of our edition, Col. 1028 f.

To the worthy man, Anton Lauterbach, pastor of the church at Pirna and superintendent of the place, his extremely dear (friend) in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I rejoice, my dear Antony, and congratulate you on your good fortune in having destroyed everything for the papists, but rather on having revealed what was hidden in the heart. I believed that Pistorius was and would always be Pistorius. Further, I know that that inveterate Papist can be changed when the wolf becomes a lamb, and, as Jeremiah says (Cap. 13, 23.), when a Moor can change his skin.

I have no hope with regard to the ceremonies, and it must not be tolerated that the ungodly should prescribe laws for us, who themselves do not wish to be bound by any law. When first the purity of the word shall prevail everywhere, then would be

to find counsel easily about the ceremonies. What are the ceremonies without the Word? Here we have given up the elevation of the sacrament, primarily for no other reason than to show that we are lords of the ceremonies, not servants, and at the same time so that we would be equal to the other churches of Saxony, but we are willing to establish it again and to do everything for the benefit of the churches and to defend the freedom of conscience, which Satan has always and everywhere most deceitfully attacked and contested, and has often brought into a heavier bondage 1) than even the law. 2) I like the example of the Hessian ban; if you could establish the same, you would do very well. But the centaurs and harpies at the court will be displeased. The Lord help us. Everywhere there is licentiousness and the wantonness of the common people, but this is the fault of the authorities, who do nothing but collect taxes, and the principalities have become bailiwicks and customhouses. Therefore the Lord will disturb us in his wrath. Would God that the day of our redemption would come soon, amen. Give my regards to Agnes and your little Els. May the Lord bless us, amen. Monday after Quasimodogeniti [April 2] 1543.

I write less often, because no one abfordett anything, and also messengers are not available.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 3005.

(Wittenberg.) April 5, 1543.

To Prince George of Anhalt.

Because of a priest and a preacher who shouted out indecent songs and chants of the Palm Day as verdaminlich.

The original is at Dessau. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. Bos*. 24. q., fol. 222. Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 1001; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXI, p. 432; Lei Walch, vol. XIX, 1254 and again vol. XXI, 480; in De Wette, vol. V, 552; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 59 (just as in De Wette, datirt vom 3. April) and, according to the text improved in Lindner's "Mittheilungen", vol. II, p. 83, reprinted vol. 56, p. 239. We have omitted this letter in the 19th volume. See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1029.

1) Instead of *securitatem* we have assumed *servitutem.* Also Walch offers: "servitude".

2) This is where the table speeches come in.

To the illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Georgen, Provost of Magdeburg, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien and Lord of Bernburg, my gracious Lord.

G. et p. in Domino. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! The schoolmaster has requested from me in E. F. G. name these notes (as he calls them), what I think of the fact that the priest and the preacher have moved the people and made them restless, since they call the songs and chants of the Palm Day, and others more, fool's work and lotterreimen. I do not like to hear such things, and I worry that a spirit will come out that seeks room to make something special. Such *neutralia*, because they are in harmless use and not annoying, should be left alone; or if one wants to change it, that [it] is not yours alone that does it in the banquet, but all other sovereigns and parish lords do it with thoughtful counsel. Because E. F. G. is not only overlord, but also archidiaconus, they should not suffer that a mad head from himself leads them and scolds the *Neutrulia Damnabilia.* He is not commanded to do so, nor is he much too unlearned to do so. If one leaves him the Läpplin, then he will henceforth learn to eat the leather; one must watch. Further, E. F. G. will know how to keep to this. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Thursday after Quasimodogeniti [April 5] 1543.

E. F. G.

willing

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3006.

(Wittenberg.) April 5, 1543.

To Georg Held. 3)

Luther gives his opinion on sacred plays, which some Anhaltian clergymen rejected, but which he defends.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. Bos.* 24. q., fol. 123. Printed by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 309 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 553. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1501 with the inscription: "An Dr. M. G. Z. Forchheim".

3) Cf. no. 1963. Georg Held had been teacher of Prince Georg von Anhalt. (De Wette.)

To the highly famous and very learned man, Mr. M. G[eorg] H[eld] from Forchheim, his highly admired lord and patron.

Grace and peace from our Lord! Our Joachim has asked for my judgment and my opinion about the depictions of the sacred histories, which some of your church servants disapprove of. In short, this is my opinion. All men are commanded to promote and spread the word of God the Father, in whatever way this can be done, not only with the voice, but also with writings, paintings, pictures, psalms, songs, and musical instruments, as the Psalm says [Ps. 150:4]: "Praise him with timbrels and choruses, praise him with strings and pipes." And Moses saith [Deut. 6:8, 9.], "And thou shalt bind them [the commandments] for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be a memorial unto thee before thine eyes; and thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and upon the gates." Moses wants the word of GOD to be considered and brought before the eyes. In what way could this be done more conveniently and clearly than by such representations? which, however, must be serious and moderate, not actor-like, as they formerly were in Papism. For such presentations catch the eyes of the common people, and sometimes make more impression than public sermons. I know that in Lower Germany, where the public confession of the gospel is forbidden, many have been converted by presentations of the law and the gospel, and have accepted the pure doctrine. Since such presentations, serious and moderate I say, are made with good intentions and out of zeal to promote the evangelical truth, they are by no means to be condemned. Be well with the worthy princes, whom God may preserve unharmed for His Church for a long time. April 5, 1543.

No. 3007.

(Wittenberg.) April 5, 1543.

To Friedrich Myconius in Gotha.

Intercession for a deposed preacher. The first is a book about Myconius and Luther's state of health.
The original is in Wolfenbüttel. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 258 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 554.

To the worthy and in the Lord highly venerable man, Friedrich Mecum, the exceedingly faithful servant of Christ, superintendent in Thuringia, his very dear brother.

Grace and peace! This Conrad has wrung this letter from me, my dear Frederick, who has been dismissed by you from the service of the word in Elsroda, as he reports. He complains that after working for so many years with five children, he will be cast into extreme beggarly poverty. I send him back to you again to free me, and ask that you hear him once more, and advise him as much as you can, so that he does not die of hunger. I have not allowed complaints against you, since I have always thought only good of you, but I was forced to hear his lamentation.

When thou art restored, I rejoice, and pray the Lord to keep thee longer. I have died so often this year, but I still breathe, as a useless burden of the earth. May the Lord give me a good hour, and may he himself come soon, even sooner, in the most glorious day, so that the world may cease to rage against his name and his word, amen. Thursday after Quasimodogeniti [5 April] 1543.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 3008.

(Wittenberg.) April 6, 1543.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Of the official relations of Amsdorf, on account of which Luther would like to visit him. News.

The original is in *Cod. Seidel*, in Dresden. Printed by Schütze, vol. I, p. 259 and by De Wette, vol. V, p.555. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1502.

To the highly famous man and gentleman, Nicolaus von Amsdorf, your right and fair bishop of the church at Naumburg, his superior to be highly honoured in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I am glad to hear that Dr. Medler is calm. For we have begun to discuss that, if it were his will, we would care for him in another place, but in the meantime we have

At the same time, we have heard that the people of Naumburg would not like to dismiss him, and we would not like to grieve them. You were right to ask the Prince for his dismissal, whether he, having been reminded, would be more diligent in caring for the affairs of your diocese. It is an unbearable clamor with which the Lord Creiz, 1) your bishop, is being hounded through, mainly because, although he wants to be completely innocent, he does everything in a tyrannical manner, so that for the sake of this one cause I would like to visit you very much, in order to be informed more precisely about everything, and so that I would have something with which I could stir up our court by complaints. For it has also been promised through my mouth that nothing shall be taken away from all former rights and dignities in the diocese, except the papist impieties. Now the papists see something different, and the subjects are crying out. I will try to visit you as soon as my health and time permit, God willing. The Lord be with you, amen.

There is much news of the affairs of war, especially the Turkish. In the Belgic, the Duke of Jülich is said to have put the Burgundians to flight, to have taken 14 guns called Carthaginians, and to have slain many. Of the emperor they boast that he lives. 2) Would to God that he lived in God. I fear that a year ago the sea-fish have long since consumed his body. Again, be well in the Lord. April 6, 1543.

Your Mart. Luther.

No. 3009.

Wittenberg. 17 April 1543.

Ordination certificate for Nicolaus Gallus to Käthen.

From a copy of the CodI. Monac. 89, no. VI, p. 100b, in Hummel's New Library of Rare Books, vol. II, p. 484. Another copy in *Cod. Monac*. 65, p. 7. then in *Corp. Ref.* vol. V, 96, and in De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 345.

1) Cf. no. 2985.

2) Already at the beginning of the year the rumor was spread that the emperor had been shipwrecked and had perished. The contrary information was not believed for a long time, and still on August 18 Luther wrote to Amsdorf: "One wants to persuade me by force that the emperor is alive.

Nicolaus Gallus 3) from Köthen stayed at the school of our church for ten years, and because of his scholarship and his very good manners he was decorated with the degree of Master of Philosophy. After that, however, he gave samples of his learning, faith, and diligence both in the schools and in the churches. Therefore we were pleased that he was appointed to the office of a deacon in the church at Regensburg. Although his studies were known to us beforehand and approved by us when he sought ordination, we nevertheless heard him publicly again and recognized that he understood and held the teachings of Christ correctly and accepted the pure opinion of the Gospel, which our church confesses in one spirit and with one voice with the general church of Christ, and that he had an abhorrence of the fanatical opinions that are condemned by the judgment of the general church of Christ. This Magister Nicolaus also promised constancy in doctrine and faithfulness and diligence in office. Therefore, according to the doctrine of the Apostles, he is commanded by public ordination to the office of teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments instituted by Christ, according to his profession. And since it is written of the Son of God [Eph. 4:8, 11], "He ascended on high, and gave gifts to men, prophets, apostles, pastors, and teachers," we pray with fervent desires that he may give to his church suitable and salutary rulers, and grant that the ministry of this Nicolaus may be effective and salvific.

We read that Lucius of Cyrene, a disciple of the Apostles, taught the Gospel at the beginning on the Danube in Augusta Tiberina, from whose remains Regensburg was built. Now we rejoice that the old church is being restored and cleansed, and we exhort the godly citizens of Regensburg to see to it that the Gospel of God is preserved and propagated purely and faithfully. For God demands that He be honored primarily through this service.

3) In the *Albüm*, p. 130: *Nikolaus Haen de Köthen*, inscribirt 1530.

as Christ says [Jn. 15:8], "In this my Father is honored, that ye bear much fruit, and become my disciples." 1) And if this light is held fast, there remains the Church, in which GOD will be present; he will give eternal life to those who call upon him, and will stand by them in all the tribulations of this life. For God is present and hears where his Gospel resounds, as it is written in John 15:7: "If you abide in me, and my words abide in you, you shall ask what you will, and it shall be done for you." Given at Wittenberg, on the seventeenth day of April, on which day 3831 years ago 2) Noah entered into the ark. By this example GOD testified that He would miraculously preserve His Church in the floods of the world and the terrifying upheavals of the ungodly 3). Anno 1543.

The pastor of the church at Wittenberg and the other ministers in the same church. Luther, D. Johann Bugenhagen, Dr. Caspar Creutziger, Dr. [4)]

No. 3010.

Torgau. 20 April 1543.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

Request to provide for a clergyman to Brunswick, since Medler must remain in Naumburg. About leaving Dr. Curio in Wittenberg.
The original conception is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O. P. 144. EEE. N.* 16. printed by Burkhardt, p. 424.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! Your letter, 5) which

1) We cannot help but notice here that, as in several places the same expression, so also this sentence is found from word to word in the Facultätszeugniss No. 2995, without the slightest deviation. Nevertheless, Bretschneider i. l., and Seidemann follows him, maintains that this testimony was written by Melanchthon, and even brings forward as a reason for proof that this writing is not found in De Wette. - We hold this to be a testimony of Luther.

2) According to Luther's Chronikon, St. Louis edition, vol. XI V, 561, the result is 3847 years.

3) Instead of *impiorum,* should not *imperiorum* [the empires] perhaps be read?

4) Melanchthon signed with nods because he had left that day to visit the Archbishop of Cologne.

5) This letter of Luther is missing. Also an answer of Luther to the present letter is not present.

We have read the contents of the complaint you made to us about the chapter and the city of Naumburg, and also about Doctor Curio, and have noted the notification you made to us about the chapter and its order, which you have not done otherwise than in your faithful opinion. And since the Naumburg complaints have been brought before us, we do not want to refrain from duly seeing to it that, with God's help, things are straightened out so that there will be no cause for some annoyance or cheap gossip on our part. We have also heard that Doctor Medeler, the Naumburg preacher, has been with you and has let himself be heard that he no longer wishes to remain in this place. Since it should now be good that he be taken away from the place, the people of Brunswick would like him very much, as we have received another letter from them this very day, in which they again ask for him. We note, however, that those of Naumburg would not like to leave him; so we are also concerned that if he should leave the place and another should be appointed in his place, there might be other more injustices in Naumburg and also in the monastery, for the complaint that Doctor Medeler has can easily be settled by means of divine help. Where now the said Doctor Medeler is to be retained in Naumburg, we graciously request that you consider appointing another skilful and honest man as superintendent in Brunswick, and by your letter again name him to us in a beneficial manner. For we want to put off the people of Brunswick in our answer, if Dr. Medeler of Naumburg should not be taken, that then another skilful, honest man should be sent to them.

As for Doctor Curio, however, we would have imagined that he would have gone into service elsewhere for the 6) reason we gave you in our answer. For he hopes that nothing will be brought upon him, for as far as the beating is concerned, you know that witnesses are not called to such matters of which he has been accused, for which reason the law has decreed other ways of inquisition in this matter. 7) The beating of Doctor Curio would nevertheless have been a punishable offence. Nevertheless, the beating would also be cause enough for us to have him brought to justice. But because we note that you like to see him in Wittenberg and want him around you, since you should live longer, for the preservation of your health (your healthy), we also want to tolerate him there longer, and to keep him at the lection.

6) Burkhardt: "dem".

7) See the note to No. 2986.

let him. But you want to tell him that he will behave in this way, so that such a thing will not come to us from him; for if it were to happen, we would not refrain from punishing one with the other in due inquisition. We have graciously decided not to do this to you, as we are inclined to do it with grace and good. Date Torgau, Friday after Jubilate [April 20] Anno Domini 1543.

No. 3011.

(Wittenberg.) April 23, 1543.

To Hieronymus Baumgärtner in Nuremberg.

Recommendation from a scholar.

The original is in the Munich Hof- und Staatsbibliothek. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 426, after a communication of Dr. Menzel. 1)

Grace and peace! This Hieronymns, the pointer of this letter, a citizen of your city, has asked me, and others have also interceded on his behalf, that I should recommend him to your illustrious Senate. For he asks, if he could obtain it, to continue his studies anew, for some larger scholarship for the studies of the higher faculty; he believes that some such scholarship is now free. I, who am unknown to your Senate, and he to me, have not wished to evade this man's request, and have decided to approach you, my best Hieronymus, and ask that you also request and accept in my name Mr. Hieronymus Ebner as a comrade, and that you two powerful Hieronymuses assist this man, the more powerless Hieronymus, as much as you are able according to time and circumstances. You know that this is a good work and pleasing to God. I write few, and with difficulty, since in these days I have barely regained my breath from death, and do not yet know whether my health will become firm; nevertheless, I must write letters, 3) perhaps even when I am dying.

1) We state this here so that one does not blame Mr. Dr. Burkhardt for the wrong readings.

2) Instead of *aliquot* will read *aliquod.*

3) The text reads: tamen licere rnihi; scribende sunt etc.; we have supposed: *tamen literae rnihi scribendae sunt*, which will probably be found in the original. - Instead of *morienti forti* we have read *morienti forte.*

and finally a corpse. Fare well in your Lord, who may shower you, together with the Church and the whole world, with the full blessings of his exceedingly rich grace, 4) Amen. On the Monday after Cantate [23 April] 1543.

Your Martin Luther, Dr. [5)]

No. 3012.

(Wittenberg.) 4. May 1543.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Luther advised him not to hasten his remarriage too much.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 404, printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 260 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 556.

Grace and peace in the Lord. In no way, my dear Jonas, do I wish that your marriage or anything convenient to you should be hindered, but rather that you should be advised in the best way. I have written only of postponement, because of the evil mouths of hateful men and such as turn our examples to the worst. Though these malignancies do no harm, yet it is grievous to suffer them continually and without cause, as Cato teaches the children. If therefore thou feelest that thou hast such fortitude, that after the deed thou canst not regard the plotting and spitefulness of all devils and others on every side as anything, go up confidently in the name of the Lord, and take no heed of delay, despairing of it, but rather despising it, that the mouth of men may be stopped up, and a sudden favor obtained. I do not think that thou needest be anxious about our prince; he showed himself very gracious in remembering thee when we spoke of thee verbally the other day. But I wish that dll at the same time, as much as it is possible, draw less hatred and gossip upon you from all men, even from the adversaries. If this cannot be, nor suits your affairs, then let what be, in the

4) Instead of *construet* we have assumed *cumulet.*

5) The signature offered to us by Burkhardt: T. *Martinus Luther f. d.* is highly suspicious, because it is found nowhere else. We assume: *T. Martinus Lutherus. d*.

Name of the Lord. The girl has also been praised to me by others. May God grant that she may attain and even surpass the gifts of your former and very good [wife] Catharina, whose memory is in blessing. And may the children love the stepmother, and the stepmother in turn the children, and may she heal their pain over the loss of the exceedingly dear mother: this she will do, if she is such a one as is praised to me, who will follow in motherly love, amen. With Dr. Brück I will act and give him your letters to read. Fare well in the Lord. In haste and still weak. Friday after Ascension Day [May 4] Anno 1543. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 3013.

(Wittenberg.) May 7, 1543.

To Duke Albrecht of Prussia.

Luther writes what he said on behalf of the Duke about the future employment of M. Christoph Jonas at the high school in Königsberg, and what he answered. About Melanchthon's journey to Cologne and about the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg.

From Faber's collection of letters, p. 49, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 357, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 60.

Most Illustrious, Most Reverend Prince, Most Gracious Sir! I have spoken with M. Christophoro, as E. F. G. wrote to me; he gives me this answer: M. Philipps has advised him to move to the French country. Now M. Philipps is not native now, but with the bishop at Köllen to plant the Evangelion. For the two bishops of Köllen and Münster have (praise God) seriously accepted the Gospel, no matter how hard the Thumherreu oppose it. So it is also going on strongly in your duchy of Brunswick. Even though there is much evil and little piety here, as they say, the nearer Rome, the worse the Christians, and Jerusalem, the holy city, must always do the most evil, as the prophets say. Yet M. Christopher has offered to serve his fatherland with all his will after his return; he believes that the school is well enough staffed with other teachers at this time.

New Newspaper I don't know much. The Diet of Nuremberg is dissolved without all mercy.
and unity; King Ferdinand is angry. We have never been angrier and more furious than now; we want to let the Turks march on us. In the Low Countries there shall be a decency between the Burgundians and the Dukes of Jülich. I have ordered M. Christoffel's father, E. F. G., to report what mischief a French gentleman, called Gus, has caused at Metz; it is too much for me to write to the lazy, weak. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. Monday after Ascensionis [7 May] 1543.

E. F. G.
willingR

Martinus LutheR, D.

No. 3014.

(Wittenberg.) May 8, 1543.

To Justus Menius, pastor in Eisenach.

Georg von Harstall from Creuzburg (see No. 2990) had been with Luther and had offered to make a contract with the priest Georg Spenlein, if he would stop attacking persons. Now Luther asks Menius to investigate how it stands about this accusation against the priest. About the request of another preacher for an allowance.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Gud*. From the Schmid collection at Helmstädt in Schütze, Vol. III, p. 209 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 558.

To the highly placed man, Mr. Justus Menius, the extremely vigilant pastor of the church at Eisenach.

The captain of Creuzburg, Georg von Harstall, has been here, my dear Justus, and has talked to me and complained heavily that he is 2) troubled in his conscience by my letter, but he puts the blame on the pastor Georg. 3) He is ready to suffer and do anything, if only the pastor would keep his tongue from 4) attacking people;

1) On Easter Day 1543, about two hundred citizens and their wives gathered in a monastery near Metz, which belonged to Count Wilhelm von Fürstenberg, in order to partake of the sacrament in both forms. When Gus (*gubennator Scampaniae*) heard of this, he attacked them with a band of horsemen, had the women stripped and defiled in view of their husbands. (Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 571, note 4.)

2) Instead of *constantia* we have assumed *conscientia.*

3) Spenlein.

4) Instead of *ac,* we assumed *ad.*

that vices are punished, that he praised. Because this question about persons and vices is ambiguous, I did not want to promise him anything else than that I would write to you, to whom these churches were commanded. Therefore I ask you to investigate according to your office whether the whole people of Creuzburg are angry against the priest, or whether the priest is excessive in attacking the people, and to defeat or end the matter according to your wisdom. I, who am absent, can judge nothing about this.

Your deacon, Johann Albinus, writes so often to me that I should obtain an increased salary for him, but you know that I have to write so many letters for this reason that I am forced to advise many that they should not supplicate, so that they do not find obstacles. For if they have begun to repeatedly throw our letters at the court, it will be over in the future, since I have also often received a negative answer. Then I know not how it stands in your! Thuringia stands, or from where one can ask for an allowance; but if the place is not named, they will reject the request all the more easily. Therefore either you may write for him as visitator, or appoint him to a fatter place. I see that the birds of prey are multiplying at court, since the very good prince does not understand all that Satan has in mind, just as no one understands it well enough. This I write, who would have become a corpse long ago, if God had heard my pleas. I am nothing, and of no more use. Be well and be strong in the Lord. On the 8th day of May 1543. .,

Your Martin Luther.

No. 3015.

Mansseld. 9 May 1543.

Hans Jörg, Count of Mansfeld, to Luther.

The count asks Luthern to kindly instruct his old servant Johann Ullen, who until then lay imprisoned in the Papacy, if he should come to him.
The original is in the von Wallenrodt Library at Königsberg. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 426.
1) Instead of vel, we assumed ut.

Peace and grace from our dear Lord Jesus Christ, amen. My dear Doctor! I cannot tell you in a gracious and good opinion that we have a servant, called Johann Ullen, who has been the servant of my cousin, Count Hoyern, of blessed memory, for a long time, who has served my cousins and my brothers faithfully (drewlich) to this hour. And after he has lain in the pastorate (babesterey) and the same aberration (? ververgung) his day until now, because the almighty God has given him the grace that he comes to the realization that he has done wrong, so he has the will to go to you, and, as it seems to me, to address you for this reason. So my request to you is that you, as the true servant of God, when he comes to you, 2) report him with patience, as you, praise God, know how to keep yourselves well. For he is an old man, as you will see, and for my sake, when he would (word) to you, I will show him encouragement and will, and take the reward from God. And [I] hereby command you to the almighty God in his divine mercy, and am willing to serve you. Date Mansfelt. My hand. Wednesday after Exaudi [9 May] 1543.

Hans Jörg, Count of Mansfeld.

No. 3016.

(Wittenberg.) May 11, 1543.

To Veit Dietrich at Nuremberg.

Luther pleads with the congregation in Spreiten to let them have the preacher M. Michael Besseler.
Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 404. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 261 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 559.'

Grace and peace in Christ! The council and the people of Spretten, where your M. Michael Besseler administers the ministry of the Word with great fruit and extraordinary favor from the people, ask me by letter with lamentations and almost with tears that I may write to you in their name and in mine. In their and my name, yes, in the name of the Lord Christ, they ask you to take this matter upon yourself and to work towards this with Mrs. Margaretha, who up to now has provided Mr. Michael with the necessary support.

2) Here we have omitted a superfluous "vnd".
3) After "befelh" Burkhardt has an incorrect comma.

The only thing that has happened is that they have not recalled the above-mentioned M. Michael, or the Hieronymns tree-gardener, or whoever else has to do with it. For with the greatest difficulty they have obtained him, and if he should leave the young and weak plantation, the last would be worse than the first. They have exceedingly weighty causes, which perhaps they will write more fully themselves. But since it is a certain thing that the Word and that church would be in danger if M. Michael were to leave, I urge you, rather it is the Lord Jesus Himself who demands this of you, whose tender sheep are to be cared for there, that you strive with all your strength, as much as you are able, to obtain a respite from Mr. Baumgärtner and Mrs. Margaretha until the time when the work begun by M. Michael in the church at Spretten is strengthened. They know and recognize that even though they have paid for Michael's upkeep, all of them, including themselves, still owe this to spread the glory of Christ, to cooperate and contend against the devil, and to care for the flock and the churches of Christ. I do not doubt that you will do this faithfully, and that they will hear you kindly, so that it is not necessary for me to write more and to several, since I am old, sluggish, weary, and almost dead, and daily await my hour that the Lord may take away my soul in peace. May you be well in Him, and pray for me and my death. May 11, Anno 1543.

Martin Luther.

No. 3017.

(Wittenberg.) May 13, 1543.

To the students of Wittenberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 686.

No. 3017a.

Bonn. 19 May 1543.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Report on his stay with the Bishop of Cologne in Bonn and on the religious affairs there. About the religious conditions in that region.

Handwritten in *Cod. Bav.*, vol. II, p. 428 and in *Cod. Basil.* 39, p. 51. printed in *Mel. Select. epist.* p. 270; in the London edition of *Mel. Epist. lib*. I, op. 74; in *Mel. Epist. lib*. I, p. 219; and in *Corp. ref.* vol. V, 112.

To the highly famous and valuable man, Mr. Martin Luther, Doctor of Theology, the restorer of the godly doctrine of the Gospel, his exceedingly dear father,

Hail! After I came to Bonn, I understood that the bishop had given the order that a form of doctrine and customs be drawn up in writing, to be presented to the churches, according to the model of the Nuremberg form. And I have been commanded to carry out exactly the work which I have begun. This I have done for the last three days. The bishop wants the doctrine to be presented purely and the public customs that conflict with the doctrine to be abolished, but the canons do not refrain from opposing it, even though there are some among them who prevent the violence of the others. Some of the more stormy ones had threatened that they would chase the bishop away. Therefore the Landgrave wrote to the cathedral chapter and publicly declared that he and the other allies would take over the defense of the bishop if it were necessary. But the other cities, except Cologne, and the main part of the nobility demand a godly establishment of the churches, which, as you see, is truly necessary. For hardly anywhere else in Germany, I believe, has so much barbaric and completely pagan superstition been or still exists as has been in these regions, as is still shown by the examples of those who run to the *statues.* But I see that now the sermons of Bucer and Pistor are heard by a great multitude, and I perceive that both teach purely and rightly. There are also others in some neighboring towns and villages who teach rightly and administer the sacraments godly. Let us pray that God will favor and promote these beginnings. In the land of Jülich the churches are completely neglected, which tends to happen at the time of war. In the meantime, those who hate pure doctrine in that region are also exercising their rage on this occasion, as can be seen from the letter which I have enclosed, written by someone from the Jülich region. I pray to God, the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that He may preserve you unharmed and give you a long life for the benefit of His Church. I greet the honored woman, your wife, and the

dear children. Bonn, May 19. Now at this hour we hear that at Wesel the private masses have been abolished, and the administration of the Lord's Supper according to the Gospel has been introduced, and that the courtiers are threatening the Council for the sake of this cause. I will write to Mr. Dolzig about this, and if it is considered to be of use, we will arrange for the Bishop of Cologne to write to the Duke. 1543.

No. 3018.

(Wittenberg.) May 28, 1543.

To Johann Pfeffinger, pastor in Leipzig.

Luther asks him to intercede with Duke Moritz of Saxony for the inherited widow of the pastor of Döbeln.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 405. From the collection of Siegmund Jakob Baumgarten at Halle in Schütze, vol. I, p. 263 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 562. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1505. In a free translation, without the name of the addressee, in the Jena edition (1562), vol. VIII, p. 172b; in the Altenburg, vol. VIII, p. 343; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 575 and in Walch, vol. XXI, 481.

To the highly esteemed and worthy man, licentiate of holy theology, Mr. Johann Pfeffinger, the right bishop of the church at Leipzig, the extremely faithful servant of the word, his brother who is very dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! My most esteemed brother in Christ, as you undoubtedly know, M. Christian, 1) pastor in Döbeln, has gone to the Lord and left behind a widow and three children. She is now in misery, and asks that we have mercy on her. But since I have decided, for many "very important" reasons, to have nothing more to do with the court of your Duke, I can be of no help to her by writing letters to Prince Moritz. Therefore, it seemed good to me to inform you of this, since you are held in special esteem by this prince, whether you would deign to intercede for her, so that the prince would provide her with a vain alms, for the sake of the service to the word, which her husband has sown and spread in his territory and in the church at Döbeln in the most faithful and loudest way:

1) Christian Neumayer. He was married to one of Queis (Qvetz), a nun.

Christians owe twofold honor to their shepherds, even to those who have died, so that they should also show at least the simple honor to their widows. But the world is in such a mess that people seek gain from the word and the church rather than offering a penny to Christ for confession and gratitude. The end, the end, the end is near, thank God, since the so great light of God is despised with such great ingratitude. You do what you can, and, if it concerns you, take M. Anton] L[auterbach] 2) as a co-worker, who also still counts for something at court. If you can do nothing, then God must be asked to become the judge of the widows and father of the orphans, or to prove himself to be such, amen. Fare well in the Lord. Monday after Urban [May 28] 1543. M. L., D.

No. 3019.

(Wittenberg.) June 8, 1543.

To the council of Torgau.

Intercession for a citizen of Torgau, the council wants to help her husband to his rights.

From the original in Lingke, Luthers Gesch. z. Torgau, p. 93; in De Wette, Vol., V, p. 563 and in the Erlanger Ausgabe, Vol. 56, p. 63.

To the honorable, prudent gentlemen, mayor and council of Torgau, my favorable and good friends.

G. u. F. Honourable, prudent, dear gentlemen and friends! Your citizen, Franz Oesterreichen, has asked me for advice in the matter of her husband half. I told her that she should seek it from you, the honorable council, who would be obliged to see to it that her citizen is compelled to do right and duty, as God has commanded. She has requested a letter from me, which I hereby do, and have also diligently requested that you faithfully carry out such matters in accordance with your office. For we for our part (praise to God) do not go idle, if we should have worked it out. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Fridays after Bonifacii [8 June] 1543. Martinus Luther, D.

2) Seidemann's conjecture; De Wette, vol. VI, p. 674 s. v. Lauterbach.

No. 3020.

(Wittenberg.) 13 June 1543.

To Veit Dietrich in Nuremberg.

Luther reports to him that Matthias Flacius had received a letter from him to the brothers in Venice, and asks him, since Flacius is going straight to Venice, to give him a letter as well.

Printed in Strobel's Miscell. vol. I, p. 168; in *Strobel- Ranner*, p. 317 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 564.

Grace and peace! This Matthias Illyricus 1) has received from me the letters to the brethren in Italy which you have so often demanded of me; the man is well known to ours and of great reliability. But I charged him that he should go to thee and inform thee that I had written and fulfilled my promise; at the same time, if thou also wilt write to them, for they complain of the dishonesty and covetousness of the booksellers. Therefore I have reminded them that they should turn to you in error in this matter, since you could send them through your countrymen the books they desired. For Matthias is going straight to them, as you will hear. I give thanks for the glasses sent and for the loan. Pray for me that the Lord will call me at a good hour. Greetings from my Käthe. June 13, 1543.

No. 3021.

Wittenberg. 13 June 1543.

To the friars of the Church in Venice, Vicenza and Trevigo.

This is the detailed answer to the letter No. 2964, of Nov. 26, 1542, which Luther had received very late. Luther apologizes for the long delay of his answer, testifies to his heartfelt joy about her faith, and then answers her letter point by point.

In Hummel's N. Bibl. von seltenen Büchern, vol. I, p. 239; from the Thomassische Sammlung zu Halle in Schütze, vol. III, p. 210; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 310 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 564 f.

To the ill Christo highly venerable men, the brothers of the churches of Venice, Vicenza and Treviso, his highly esteemed lords.

God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered Himself as a sacrifice for us.

1) Flacius (De Wette), so notorious afterward.

Give you much grace and mercy and peace, auras. Dear and extremely dear brothers! Your letter, which is dated November 26, 2) has been handed over to me quite late, but M. Veit Dietrich, who used to be my very intimate table companion, is not to blame for this. Rather, it is all my fault that I am answering you so late. It is now about six months since you wrote to me. But I will not occupy you with empty words of apology; only this one thing I will testify, that in the past few days, when I should have answered you, I have been so weak that I hoped the hour of my departure was at hand. Therefore I delivered your letter to the Lord Philip, that he might give you answer for me. And as he was about to do this, though he was overwhelmed with business, behold, he was suddenly summoned by the archbishop of Cologne, the elector, that he should plant the gospel of Christ in that district, and establish the churches. 3) These he found, as he writes, 4) quite unformed and ill with obvious corruption both in doctrine and in morals. In the meantime, since God willed that I should be called back from the grave, even though I am still weak and overwhelmed with many letters and things, I have taken your letter in hand again, and find in you such and such great goods, which the Lord has given you according to his grace, that I am almost ashamed of myself, who have been practiced in the word of God for so many years, since I recognize that I am so unequal to you in virtue and spirit. For I perceive sufficiently that you attribute to me what 5) you attribute to me according to your love and kindness. By the way, I am indeed far inferior than you think and judge. I am a sinful man, unclean and in the flesh, as Paul also complains [Rom. 7:18 ff.], of little faith and of a lukewarm spirit of life, so that I hardly keep the law of my members in check. I would like the law of God in my inner being.

2) In the text: *calendis Decembribus*. VI' is omitted. Cf. No. 2964.
3) On April 17, Melanchthon left for Cologne. See No. 3009.
4) May 19. See No. 3017a.
5) Instead of *quas* we have assumed *quae.*

People love God with all their strength and die of love. But [1 Petr. 2, 9.] "He has called me out of such great darkness to fine wonderful light," and has placed me, so unfit and quite unskilled, in such a great office. Yet I rejoice greatly and wish you happiness with all my heart, but I praise and glorify God, the Father of all grace and blessing, that He, whether through the writings of our own or of others, has made known to you His salvation and this unspeakable mystery of Jesus Christ His Son. For I consider that you have not been able to gain much from my writings, since I have seldom written in Latin. For I am, as I am wont to say in our proverb, a German (*Teutonicus*) preacher and an unlearned (*illiteratus*) teacher. But wheresoever ye have it, it is of little account; of God ye have all things with us, and are much better than I, thanks be to God, and glory be to God, amen. Therefore it happened that I almost abstained from answering you, since I saw nothing worthy to answer those whom the Lord had previously endowed with so great a gift of his Spirit. For what do you lack in spiritual goods through Christ, who know and confess Christ the Son of God, who so ardently hunger and thirst for righteousness, who so blessedly suffer persecutions for Christ's sake, who so completely hate the enemies of Christ and the Antichrist? Who of us could have hoped that such a thing might happen, either in our own lives in Italy, or that it might one day happen within the own borders of the kingdom of Antichrist, who would not suffer us who are outside the borders of the world? But by these examples he teacheth us who hath commanded us to hope and to ask, who is mighty to do exceeding abundantly above our asking and understanding, and will without doubt accomplish his work which he hath begun, to the end, for his glory and our blessedness. But that I might not deceive your hope, nor grieve your spirit, I have wished to cast off shame, and to trust in the good pleasure of your love, and to write back to you this little and unlearned by way of answer. How this

whatever its condition may be, receive it graciously, not according to its merit or worthiness, but according to your sincere kindness.

First of all, that you ask that the princes of our community write for you to your senate, we have certainly done this diligently and with good will until now. But because the distance of the places causes a delay, and the endless burden of business by which the princes are occupied both abroad and at home, we have not yet done so much as we wish. God grant that it may be done in the near future. There is no doubt of the willingness and good will, if only it could be done faster because of the errand by the courts.

I believe you easily about the wise men and the false prophets (*prophetastris*), who run without being sent. These pestilences of Satan have caused us more trouble than even the Antichrist; even now they are not all at rest, though their power is not a little broken by Christ. But we are no better than our fathers. [1 Cor. 11:19.:] "There must be brethren among you, that they which are righteous may be made manifest;" and (so saith Peter [2 Ep. 2:1.]) "as there were false prophets among that people, so shall there be false teachers among you." There must be a Judas Iscarioth standing out, much less mingling with.

With one part, or with a certain part of one party of the Sacramentarians, a treaty has been reached; Christ grant that it may be a firm and lasting one. Among these are those at Basel, Strasbourg, and Ulm, where, to be sure, the old leaven has not yet been completely swept out of the large group, but the clergy and the doctrine seem to be unharmed and healthy. For Bucer gives a companion to Philip in the church at Cologne, which would not be tolerated, nor would Philip suffer if he were thought to be dishonest. But in Switzerland especially the Zurichers and their neighbors remain enemies of the sacrament, and use common bread and common wine, to the exclusion of the body and blood of Christ. There are, of course, men who have taught

are in all languages, but they have a different spirit from us; they are drunken people with whom contact must be avoided. For our opinion (as you write) is not unknown to you. We hold that in the sacrament not only bread and wine are offered, but truly the body and blood of Christ, not only to the worthy and faithful, but also to the unworthy and ungodly, as St. Paul teaches, and as the whole church has hitherto held and preserved until now. Concerning transubstantiation, we reject the useless and sophistical disputation, and care not whether any elsewhere believe the same or not. But with those who are now reconciled, there was before a discord, because those deceived us with crafty and cunning words: That in the sacrament the body and blood of Christ are presented with the bread and wine, 1) but with the understanding that the mouth receives the bread and wine, but the body and blood are not received by the mouth, but by the faith or spirit of the believer in the heart. But we have so escaped this transubstantiation and deceit, that we have been obliged to admit that even the mouth of an ungodly man receives the body and the blood, when he receives the bread and the wine. For what need is there of that spiritual partaking of the body and blood of a sacrament, since it is partaken of in this manner also in baptism, yea, in any word offered, even without mention of the body and blood? Christ speaks of this in John 6:53: "If ye shall not eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you," that is, if ye believe not that I became man for you, and suffered, and shed my blood. Therefore you also must watch, lest a false prophet creep in with this deceitful work, and introduce himself secretly among you.

But from a defence of the reconciliation, which Magister Philippus brought out

1) Instead of *monstrari* we have assumed *rninistrari.*

2) I know absolutely nothing about it, nor have I seen it; I will carefully inquire about it from outsiders (*exteros*). You have my opinion, which I as a German have testified to in more than one book, (as it seems to me) openly and clearly.

By the way, our churches are also quiet: pure doctrine, right use of the sacraments, everywhere learned and faithful shepherds, thanks be to God; but in the fruit of the word and the works there is not the same fruitfulness and heat. The people are cold, and many abuse the liberty of the Spirit to the lukewarmness and security of the flesh, and we cannot root out this abuse from within our borders. Christ multiply his Spirit among you. The LORD JEsus Christ better and perfect all things, and hasten the day of our redemption. The world, the Turk, the Jews, the pope rage, blaspheming the name of the LORD, desolating his kingdom, making a mockery of his will, since in the meantime they enjoy daily bread almost alone 3) and the members of Christ are killed. But he that is in us is greater than he that is in the world: he triumpheth, and shall triumph in you unto the end. He comforts you with his Holy Spirit, in whom he has called you to the fellowship of his body. We will not cease to give thanks for you, and doubt not that this again may be done of you.

What is written at the end about the dishonesty of the booksellers, we hear with sadness, and if I could also do something in this matter, I would gladly do it. If you would now deal with M. Veit Dietrich about this, he could send through the Nurembergers all the books that you always wanted, if you would let a list or register reach him. I hope that you have the *loci communes of* Philip, likewise the Epistle to the Romans, Daniel 2c. For of my writings almost none are in Latin, except the expositions on Galatians.

2) In their letter they say: Bucer had written to them that a treatise on reconciliation (*de conciliatione apologia*) had been published by Melanchthon, which they had eagerly awaited until then. Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth. lib. III, pag. 402a*.

3) De Wette proposes to read instead of: soll: *securi*. We have deleted the comma after soll and placed it after *ferme*; thus no further change is necessary.

brief, with the exception of those that are from others; German things are of no use to you.

Hereby be in the best and holiest command of the Lord, and greet all the brethren in the Lord reverently, and commend me to their prayers, that the Lord may take away my soul at a good hour. I am weary of life; I have lived long enough, and have seen greater things than anyone could have hoped for in the beginning, since I treated indulgences much more reverently than was proper. Praise be to God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who alone performs miracles, Amen. Given at Wittenberg, June 13, 1543.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 3022.

(Wittenberg.) June 18, 1543.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Of the unfavorable judgments about Jonah's second marriage. Luther sends a wedding gift.

Printed in Litterar. Wochenblatt, II, 315; in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 264; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 317 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 570.

To the respectable and worthy man, Mr. Justus Jonas, Doctor of Theology, Provost at Wittenberg, the Lord's envoy to Halle, his superior in Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord, who favors and blesses your marriage, amen. We fight here for thee against [evil] 1) tongues stronger than perhaps thyself. There is no measure nor end of judging. But Christ says, "Judge not, lest ye be judged" [Matt. 7:1.], and rightly are they judged. For while they condemn the mote in another's eye, they will carry about in their own eye the damned beam, become a mockery to devils, a laughter to angels. Thus we say confidently 2) against them, "If there were ten harlots here, who corrupted many students with Frenchmen," no one judges or is angry; all are [dumb as the] fishes, or quite indolent judges and almost protectors; when half the city is full of adultery, usury, thievery, lying, and the like.

1) It seems to have failed about *tertias.*

2) Instead of violenter, we have adopted the variant *fidenter* given by De Wette.

and deceit, no one judges: almost all laugh, or rather they themselves give their will to it, or do it. "It is a vexatious thing about the world." So we do violence with violence. Enough of that.

I send a small gift through this envoy of ours, but you know my poverty and I have many debts. At the same time, daily weddings exhaust me here, so you will take it as fair and good that I do not give more abundantly. Fare well in the Lord, and greet the bride in my name. Monday after Viti [June 18] Anno 1543. M. L.

No. 3023.

(Wittenberg.) June 20, 1543.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther sends him the promised preface to his "Annotationes on the Five Books of Moses". 3) Desire to die, and lamentations.

From the Kraft Collection at Husum in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 265 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 571.

To the respectable and worthy man, Mr. Wenceslaus Link, the right doctor of the Theology, the exceedingly faithful servant of Christ in the church at Nuremberg, his very theur [friend] in the HErrn.

Grace and peace in the Lord! My preface comes to you very slowly, my dear Wenceslaus; this happens because your thoughts are different from mine. You think that I am well, (4) that I am not very busy, and, what is still more wrong, that I am able to write worthy prefaces. I think far otherwise: that I am a corpse, and yet overwhelmed with writing letters and books, busy with theological lectures, with accounting matters, and besides with many other things, so that I very seldom have time to read and pray privately, which is very burdensome to me. But behold! there thou hast the preface, such as it may be. If you do not like it well, you may either change it where dll will, or throw it away. I wish that I may be granted a good hour to go to GODr. I am full, I

3) The same is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 148.

4) Instead of *volentem* we have assumed *valentem.*

I am weary, I am no more. But send thou to pray earnestly for me, that the Lord may take away my soul in peace. I leave behind me not a sad figure of our churches, but one that flourishes with pure and holy doctrine, which increases day by day through very good and exceedingly loud pastors. The Swiss and the Zurichers, in their hopefulness and nonsense, want to be people who have condemned themselves, as Paul says [Titus 3:11]. May the Lord enlighten and convert their hearts, amen.

From the Turk we hear great things. I pray against him, but I am doubtful against what Turk GOD 1) will turn my prayer. For if our Raphaim [2 Sam. 21:16.], *Niphlim* sl Mos. 6:1. 4 Mos. 13:34.]), Samesummim [5 Mos. 2:20.], Emim [1 Mos. 14:5.], Enakskinder (*Enakim* f4 Mos. 13:34.]) continue thus, we shall be governed by them considerably more harshly than by the Turks. They rage exceedingly according to their lusts, and it is the time foretold after the overthrow of Antichrist, namely, that men shall be Epicureans and Atheists, that the word of Christ may be fulfilled [Luc. 17:26, 28.], "As it was in the days of Noah and Lot, so shall it be in the days of the coming of the Son of man." Thou art well pleased in the Lord with thine own. I respectfully greet your comrades in office. June 20, 1543. M. L.

No. 3024.

(Wittenberg.) 4. July 1543.

To Simon Wolferinus, pastor in Eisleben.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1604.

No. 3025.

(Wittenberg.) July 13, 1543.

To Spalatin, pastor in Altenburg.

Luther exhorts him to forgive his schoolmaster for a one-time lapse in love.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 4O6. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 267 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 574.

Grace and peace! I beseech thee, my dear Spalatin, that thou wouldest give me in Christ those

1) The Latin lacks *Deus*.

Give the matter that hovers between thee and the schoolmaster, and prove love against him, as Paul saith [2 Cor. 2:8. Let also some of thy right depart, if dll think thou hast it, lest Satan tempt us, who, as we know, hath such thoughts as to deceive us, and to blow up a conflagration out of a spark. It is hard for him to change his position so suddenly, which dll also easily understand. But you can do this comfortably and with a safe conscience if you tell him that you are moved by my name and by my petitions to accept him again without further negotiation. In this you will follow the example of the heavenly Father, who, for the sake of the petitions of his Son, our Mediator, and in his name, not only accepts us for mercy, but also hears all our prayers and does all good without rebuke or trial, forgetting all sins that otherwise cannot be atoned for by any merit of our humility or by satisfaction.

This one fault or thing, whatever it may be, I pray thee to forget. Then, if he should add anything, what the Spirit teaches must be done. Thou hast praised him before, and knowest that he hath been diligent. Who is there that is not absent at times, or if he be not absent, that would not, even innocently, be challenged of the devil? I have confidence and expect with certainty of your godliness that you will not despise these petitions of mine, because he has given himself entirely into my power. And I intercede for him, that thou also mayest be gracious and kind to me for his sake, and to him for mine. In the Lord be well pleased. On Margaret's Day [13 July] Anno 1543.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 3026.

(Wittenberg.) July 14, 1543.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Of Luther's long intended journey to Naumburg. Luther consoles him in his heavy burden of office.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 407. Printed from the collection of Sagittarius at Jena by Schütze,

Vol. I, p. 268 and at De Wette, Vol. V, p. 575. Incomplete l the beginning, of Luther's intended journey, is omitted) at Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth. lib. III, p.* 467 and in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 318.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Even today, my dear venerable bishop, I do not cease to think about the time when I will finally be able to come to you. During the winter it did not work. After Pentecost I had decided in the most certain way, for I had prepared everything, but my health was so shaky that I did not dare to undertake the journey, and even today, yes, even yesterday, I almost fainted, so that I must daily suspect the hour of my death. And oh, that God would tear me away from this satanic realm of the world as soon as possible at some good hour. 1) That this bishopric is burdensome for you, I believe very much, even without your testimony, but it is and has been the will of God, of which we say: "Your will be done"; in your will we must live, be happy and bear everything that happens. If it pleases no one, it is enough that what we do or what we suffer is most pleasing to his will. He will repay us in his own time for submitting to his good will, even though it is unknowable and imperceptible. It is a misery in which you live, but it is connected with eternal glory and the good pleasure of God, because you serve not yourself but His will in this bondage. Then it is a hindrance to the devil and to his own, so that they can no longer do evil. And far be it from thee to be a bishop like unto those bellies, which here have their consolation to everlasting shame and punishment. For they are not with us in suffering; they are not scourged with men. Comfort thyself therefore, and be strong in the Lord, knowing that thou art with the saints in blessedness. "Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted in the LORD." Pray for me, that I may either soon die in the Lord, or that, when I am restored, I may soon visit thee, Amen. On the Saturday after Margaret [July 14] in the year 1543. Yours, M. Luther, D.

1) This is where the incomplete issues come in.

No. 3027.

Wittenberg. 17 July 1543.

To Johann Hess in Breslau.

Luther tells him that M. Johann Crato has decided to go to Leipzig on Luther's advice.

The original is located in the public Rehdig library in Wroclaw. Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. 185.4. from the collection of Sagittarius at Jena in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 269 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 576.

To the highly famous man, Johann Heß, the exceedingly faithful and loud teacher of the church at Breslau and Doctor of Theology, his very dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! M. Johann Crato, your compatriot, wished me to indicate to you by this letter his decision, of which I was the author, namely, that he go to Leipzig, where he would have it more comfortable and better, especially since he is called to this honorable position. For here in Wittenberg the number of professors is too great for him to have many pupils or to get the richer ones. 2) Therefore, I ask you to take this up for the best and, if it should be necessary, to represent it to others. Leipzig now has (thanks be to God) no less learned and godly professors than Wittenberg, and the Gospel prevails there, while Satan murmurs and fades away. Herewith GOtte commanded. It is not necessary that I write news, since we have and expect such from you daily. Wittenberg, 1543, July 17.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 3028.

Wittenberg. 20 July 1543.

To Simon Wolferinus, pastor in Eisleben.

See St. Louis ed. vol. XX, 1607.

2) At that time, the doctors often took young students in board, supervision and instruction to increase their scarce income. Thus M. Georg Major had the children of the Jörger family in care. See Luther's letter to Mrs. Jörger, July 13, 1544.

No. 3029.

(Wittenberg.) 26 July 1543.

To his brother-in-law Bastian Müller, [1]citizen of Mansfeld.

About the repurchase.

A copy is in the library at Wittenberg, communicated by H. Lindner in the Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 1835, Heft II, p. 357. From it in the Erlanger Ausgabe, Vol. 56, p. LVII and in Seidemann-De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 346.

To the honourable, prudent Bastian Müller, citizen of Mansfeld, my good friend and dear brother-in-law.

G. and F. in the Lord. Honorable, prudent, dear brother-in-law! If you have read Brentium Lucä 6, then you have found good certain reason, which rhymes well with the disputation of Dr. Hieronymi Schurff, and my booklet on usury 2) is also not against it, although in the same booklet I write nothing of the Contract *reemptionis,* but of the Mutuo and Dato (which now all has also become usury or would like to be). Fifteen years ago I wrote of usury. 3) Then I dealt with the contract *reemptionis*. The fact that you say that it is strange to you that another should improve his property with your money, and you have nothing from it, is probably another unnecessary good work, as I might give 100 fl. to someone who should not have it. But this is no excuse for usury; why have I not kept it, or used it more needfully?

Belongs to the repurchase:

Primo hypotheca, a pledge, as an acre^.

House, city, land, upon which the interest is bought. For that which bears nothing can bear no interest. And if the pledge should perish, or be lost in war by enemies, as the Turks, then both lose theirs, the buyer and the seller.

Therefore on mere bad money, as on a hundred (or how much that is) florins, without subjection.

1) The editions name the addressee Bastian Weller, but Burkhardt, p. 500, notes that the letter is addressed to Bastian Müller, the brother of the Mansfeld chancellor Caspar Müller.

2) "To the Parish Priests, Against Usury to Preach," St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 860.

3) "Of Merchandising and Usury." St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 914.

Pledge expressed and called, five or more, yea, even one fl. To take a penny is usury.

Secundo, that the buyer (who buys the interest) remains obliged to allow the seller (who takes the sum of money on his credit) in turn to redeem the interest with the same sum, if he can or wants to.

Therefore if the buyer reserves to him the. Therefore, if the buyer reserves the right to demand the sum of his money, with which he buys the interest, again over one, two, three 2c. Therefore, if the buyer reserves to him the sum of his money, so that he may buy the goods, to demand interest again over one, two, three, 2c. years, which the lawyers call *repetitio sortis, that is* also usury, quite a villain, because it wants to be at the same time a borrowed money (which one may demand again) and yet also a purchase money (which I may not demand again according to the received goods).

Howbeit one wants to dispute here if the seller desires or grants the recovery from him himself as he no longer wants to have sold it, which is strange, and may well take notice that [it] is not an appearance without light. But this is not to be written now. Hereby commanded by God. Thursday after Magdalene [26 July] 1543.

Martinus Luther.

No. 3030.

(Wittenberg.) ' August 2, 1543.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

Luther asks him to give Johann Richius his lectureship in Marburg, which he will take up as soon as he has become Magister in Wittenberg.

The original is in the library at Cassel. Printed in F. W. Strieder, Grundlage zu einer hessischen Gelehrten- und Schriftsteller-Geschichte, vol. XII, Cassel 1799, p. 2; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 348 and in the Erlauger edition, vol. 56, p. HX.

G. and F. and my poor Pater noster. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! E. F. G. Johanni Nichio of Hanover has promised a lecture there at the University of Marburg. He then decided to go to Wittenberg to receive the Magisterium there, because he studied there and spent his time in the studio. Now a displeasure wanted to stir that some of the Faculty of Arts at Marburg wanted to bite him out and put someone else behind his will and before he could return to his profession, E. F. G., he was to be appointed to the chair at the University of Wittenberg.

say. They want to have understood his absence for too long, so that he is outside only to obtain the Magisterium, which is not his fault that he is so far gone; for the people have not been at home. He has therefore asked me to write to E. F. G. and to ask E. F. G. to keep him at the promised lecture, for he will certainly still be employed before Michaelmas, as soon as he has become Master. I do not write that E. F. G. should take disfavor upon the faculty of Marburg. People are people, even if they want to do things differently in good opinion. Thus God's children must always suffer Satan among them, as Job's book teaches us. Therefore, E. F. G. will graciously show himself on both sides that Richius will not be deprived of the promised lecture and that this opinion will be well interpreted and tolerated. Our dear Lord Jesus Christ strengthen and keep E. F. G. in the blessed regiment to his praise and honor and the bliss of many souls, Amen. Thursday after Petri Vinculor. [Aug. 2, 1543.

E. F. G.

willing

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3031.

(Wittenberg.) August 5, 1543.

To Hermann Bonn.

Bonn, a native of Quackenbrück in Westphalia, was first Rector in Lübeck, and when Bugenhagen introduced the Reformation there in 1530, he was chosen by him as Superintendent. When in 1543 the Bishop of Münster and Osnabrück wanted to reform his lands, he was called by him to Osnabrück to carry out this work. Now Luther asked him to follow this call, since the Lübeckers could manage without him for a while.

Printed in Tenzels curiös. Biblioth., Vol. I, p. 196; in Stark's Lübeck. Kirchenhist. vol. I, p. 90; in *Strobel- Ranner*, p. 319 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 579 f. German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1322.

Grace and peace! In what you desire from me and at the same time from Dr. Pommer, my dear Bonn, behave in this way. Since you write, and I believe this very easily even without your letter, that the Bishop of Münster cannot do without your help in the new planting of the church, then I advise and persuade you that you will in no case leave the Bishop.

who is called to the gospel by such a great gift of God. For you would not only cause trouble for all of us, but also for the spirit of Christ within us. We see God's miraculous deeds, who calls such great princes and bishops, which until now one could hardly even hope for, by his holy call, and draws them in sincere heart movement by the Spirit. How incompatible, therefore, it would be with our confession and our salvation if we either neglected or hindered such a work of God! We would certainly do so if we wanted to withdraw from or abandon those to whom we should rather run and serve them with all our zeal. I hope that your Luebeckers, as sensible and conscientious men, will easily grant you so much time, although their exceedingly godly care and zeal for you has pleased me very much. For I know no greater joy in this life than when I hear that the churches love their shepherds, bear desire for them, and are zealous for them. But they will consider, that after they have a well-ordered church, and very good men, who can do your service in your stead for a little while, they will gladly render this obedience to the Lord, that through you and their patience other people may also obtain salvation, that the Father of our Lord JEsu Christ may be more glorified. This hope I have in them, seeing that they are so minded against thee, that they will not willingly do without thee. There you have what I want and what I advise. I am unknown to your prince and bishop, but if it is not burdensome, you will offer my poor pater-noster to the Lord in my name. In him be well, and may you succeed, amen. August 5, 1543.

No. 3032. 11 August 1543.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse au Luther.

(Regest.)

Approving answer to Luther's intercession for Joh. Reich (Richius. See No. 3030).

Communicated by M. Lenz in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, IV, 149. The above regest in Kolde, p. 390.

No. 3033.

(Wittenberg.) 14 August 1543.

To Duke Albrecht of Prussia.

Letter of recommendation for Sebastian Schmidt. News from the Turks and the Emperor.

From Faber's collection of letters, p. 52, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 580 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 63.

G. u. F. and my poor *Pr. nr.* Serene, highborn Prince, gracious [Sir]! Bastian Schund, our city child, has asked me, because he has been put off by E. F. G. for his studio, I wanted to send him to E. F. G., and ask E. F. G. to help him graciously. Because he had previously served at school in Prussia, and had also received so much testimony there that Dr. Speratus, Bishop of Posamien, has entrusted and commanded his son [to him] 1) here in the studio: so my humble request is that E. F. G. would have him commanded in grace and perhaps be helpful to him for a time from the monastery goods for his studio. For E. F. G. needs (eight I think) church servants himself. So other countries must also have from us (where possible) what is left to us.

New paper E. F. G. will know more, because we. The Turk shall be there with power. The Emperor shall still be alive, although many find it hard to believe. God punish us mercifully. For such great ingratitude for the suffering of his dear Son and contempt for his holy word cannot remain unpunished. But those who are his will ask for the merciful punishment for themselves; the others may suffer what they deserve. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. Tuesday after Laurentii [14 Aug] 1543.

Martinus LutheR, D.

No. 3034.

(Wittenberg.) August 14, 1543.

To Duke Albrecht of Prussia.

Letter of recommendation for Doctor Johann Bretschneider, the bearer of the previous letter.

Printed (without citing the source) in De Wette, vol. V, p. 581 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 64.

1) Supplemented by us. Compare the note to No. 3027 - Albert Speratus, the son of Bishop Paul Speratus, was inscribed at Wittenberg in March 1543 (*Album* p. 202).

G. u. F. in the Lord. Sublime, highborn Prince, gracious Lord! I worry that my writing to E. F. G. will be too much, as often as I come with letters; but I have to do it, and hope E. F. G. will graciously grant it to me, because I am to serve others with it, and am asked to do so; otherwise I would know how to spare E. F. G. and others of the same kind, who otherwise have enough to do. Doctor Johannes Bretschneider has asked me to give him this letter to E. F. G., because he is called to E. F. G.'s service, so that E. F. G. may see that he has kept himself quite well with us, and is a pious, learned, faithful man, who (I hope) will please E. F. G.. Therefore I ask that E. F. G. graciously command him. God grant E. F. G. spirit and strength to do his will, amen. Tuesday after Sanct Laurentii [14 Aug.] 1543.

E. F. G.

willingR

Martinus LutheR, D.

No. 3035.

Wittenberg. 16 August 1543.

To Dietrich von Maltzan.

Luther praises him because of his evangelical attitude and promises to procure another pastor instead of the deceased one.
Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 408. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 270 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 582 f.

To the by ancestors and pedigree noble man, but by erudition and godliness exceedingly noble Mr. Dietrich von Maltzan, 2) his in the Lord exceedingly dear friend.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Your letter, dear man, found me suffering in the head, so that I could not answer sooner and in more detail. However, I was very pleased and am almost restored by such a pleasant letter, which I very seldom read or see, namely, that among the nobility there are still such blessed remnants whom God has chosen from the common heap of so many nobles who raged so against God and man that they became furies.

2) In De Wette both here and in the superscription: *Moltzan*.

seem to be more similar than human beings. There are also with us some, but there are few, whom we honor as the noblest pearls of the church. Christ keep thee and thy seed, who also shall abundantly reward all things. For the Holy Ghost is a gift which he hath caught in us; he also will perfect it. With how happy advantage would all the rest do the same, who resist at so great a cost, but in vain, and as in former times, with much greater trouble, deserve hell than heaven. More at another time. We will take pains that you get another man in place of the deceased 1) man Balthasar. For we recognize ourselves as debtors, especially to such faithful members of Christ's household, that we serve in whatever way we can. By the way, I wish to be excused for not having written more about the 2) school teacher, of whom, as is his scholarship, I wish that he be appointed in Balthasar's place; if that happens, there is no need for another, you may judge. Wittenberg, August 16, 1543.

Your Martin Luther, Doctor.

No. 3036.

(Wittenberg.) **18 August 1543.**

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

About the situation of things in Naumburg, and about Luther's intended journey there. About the world trade and the Cologne Reformation.

The original is at Dresden in *Cod. Seidel*. Printed by Schütze, vol. I, p.272 (very erroneous) and byDe Wette, vol. V, p. 583 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1506 f.

To the in Christ venerable and right bishop of the true church at Naumburg, Mr. Nicolaus von Amsdorf, his most reverend superior.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I have not yet heard or read, venerable man in Christ, what has happened to you in this much-discussed visitation of the Prince,

1) Instead of *sancti* we have assumed *defuncti*. Cf. No. 3037.

2) We suppose that de fell out before *ludi-magistro* fei, and have translated after it.

whether the visitation of the churches had been set up or completed? whether the consistory had been set up? whether your creed had been deposed or confirmed in his office? Only that Nicolaus Medler has written that at least he has been heard, and that splendid promises have been made to him. I have not yet spoken to Dr. Brück, nor do I wish to hear much from him, but I wish it all the same to you. It seems strange to me what the world is doing nowadays. Either I have never seen the world, or a new world is being created every day while I sleep. Every man complains that he suffers injustice, and yet there is no one who does it. All are just, if they be admitted to answer. Verily, now is the time when righteousness has arisen and is abounding: and yet there is no peace, but unrest in multitude. Perhaps we shall now learn that in the days of Noah it was thus said, [Mos. 6:13] "The earth is full of iniquity," that is, full of righteousness and truth. No one is unjust, no one lies, no one sins; only those who suffer injustice are unjust, liars, sinners. "It will rain filth!" The day of redemption hastens its coming, amen.

I still think of the journey to you, but I would like the condition of my head to be firmer first.

I have nothing of news or trifles that I think you do not know. That the emperor is alive, they want to persuade me by force, and truly I would rather that he were alive than that he were dead. Ferdinand grows more satanic and furious every day, that he may hasten his doom, amen. Our Prince is said to have received 40,000 men at fine expense in the Jülich affair, and only now, after nothing has been arranged, to stop with it; certainly quite late, after the purse is well emptied. Mall says that the Jülich war is being waged unwisely and unhappily; God Himself gives a good outcome. But the. Let the world be crushed, shattered, and destroyed as it will, since it not only despises and persecutes the Word of God, but also puts its own sound judgment behind its rage. Therefore she may have a good

year. Philip has told us good things about the bishop of Cologne, how sincerely he acts, how correctly he understands and accepts the word. And the whole diocese agrees with this. Only seven devils, namely the first ones of the cathedral church with some of the senate, do not agree. But even these the Lord will break, who breaks the cedars of Lebanon. Let us rejoice in the Lord, who demonstrates his power through his word before our eyes.

See that you write some things to me again. This I have written after supper, for when I am sober I do not look at books without danger, so that I wonder what kind of disease this may be, whether a blow of Satan's fist or a weakness of nature itself. Fare well in the Lord, and pray for me. August 18, 1543.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 3037.

(Wittenberg.) August 18, 1543.

To Dietrich von Maltzan.

Luther sends him the preacher promised in No, 3035.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 409, printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 271 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 585.

Grace and peace in Christ! As we promised, we are sending another man to take the place of the deceased Balthasar, esteemed man, and refer to you the very good man, M. Johann Frisius, of whom we believe 1) that he will be very pleasant and comfortable to E. G. also for this reason, because he was also known to E. G. before. Therefore, E. G. receives a highly recommended person whom we consider worthy of this calling, as much as it may be and is given among us humans. For who by himself is competent enough for the office of preaching? says Paul [2 Cor. 2:16.]. The word is God's, the sacraments are God's, the church is God's, so that the angels do not consider themselves worthy of this ministry, and in what is said,

1) Here a predicate is missing in the Latin; we have added *credimus.* - "E. G." == Your Gestrengen, the title of the nobles.

to always look into it 2) [1 Petr. 1, 12/. May the Lord, who calls him, bless him with the Holy Spirit, so that he may bear much fruit, which will remain forever. May he be well in Him, amen. August 18, 1543.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 3038.

(Wittenberg.) August 29, 1543.

To Eberhard Brisger, preacher in Altenburg.

Luther exhorts him to patience with a debtor and with Spalatin.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. 185. 4. and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 412. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 274 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 586.

Mercy and peace! I believe completely, my dear Eberhard, that you need your money and your things. Again, I see that Bruno, 3) I do not know under the influence of which stars, has little luck in getting rich, and he also needs support everywhere, and furthermore the Ballers act and live in such a way that they do not allow their country priests even a morsel of bread. Therefore I ask you, since you can spare your debt demands for a little while longer with less difficulty, to be patient with Bruno. We are anxious (if it can be done) to provide him with a fatter parish as soon as possible. I would not trouble you with this request, because I would not think you could be at my will quite well and without harm. With Spalatin, I pray thee, have patience as much as thou canst; thou knowest that he is otherwise a good and faithful man. Now since Satan was once among the children of God, yea, among the angels in heaven, what is it to be wondered at that he strives to be among us, that he sifts and shakes us? Then his old age contributes something to this, and especially the long habit of peace which he enjoyed under three princes. Therefore it is not necessary to speak of

2) Instead of *proficere* is to be read *prospicere*, according to the Vulgate.

3) Bruno Braun, pastor at Dobin near Wittenberg. He will have bought the house of Brisger about the beginning of the year 1535 (see No. 2098), which he sold again to Luther in the year 1541.

We must deal with him as with an untrained young man whom we might bend like a twig; the old trees can be broken, but not bent, and the neck of the old dogs will not put up with the lead strap. Therefore patience is necessary that we may have peace. But this I write only to remind you. You yourself will easily see what is necessary for you to do and what is useful for everyone. Be well in the Lord. Wednesday after Augustine [29 Aug.] 1) Anno 1543.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 3039.

Venice. 30 August 1543.

The Venetian Brothers to Luther.

(Regest.)

Answer to Luther's letter No. 3021. The letters of the princes to the council of Venice had been read in the assembly of the same by Matthias Flacius; out of consideration for the papists, however, the authenticity of the letters had been suspected 2c., for which reason the princes would like to write again, to which Luther should cause them to do. They confess Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper and express the fear that after his death false prophets will arise in this direction 2c.

From the *Cod. chart. bibl. Dorpatsus, No. 43, fol*. 191. communicated by O. Waltz in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, II, 150. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 390.

No. 3040.

(Wittenberg.) August 31, 1543.

To Christoph Froschauer, printer at Zurich.

Luther thanks him for his kindness in sending him the Bible translation of Leo Jude, but renounces all fellowship with the clergy there because of their false teaching.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2169.

No. 3041.

(Wittenberg.) 1. September 1543.

To Matthias Romaschi, pastor in Hermannstadt.

Luther refers him to a book published in Kronstadt because of the reformation of his church.

1) Instead of *Augusti, we should* probably read *Augustini,*
and therefore August 29, not the 30th what De Wette offers (Burkhardt). Also Seidemann assumes this date.

In Innocent News 1718, p. 1137, ex *autographo*; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 321 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 588. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1324.

To the man highly esteemed in the Lord, Mr. Matthias Romaschi, pastor of Hermannstadt (*Cibinensi* == Nagy Szeben) and dean of the same chapter, his extremely dear brother.

Grace and peace in the Lord! At the same time as your letter, my dear Matthias, your messenger brought me a booklet about the reformation of the church in Kronstadt and the whole Burzenland, 2) which was printed in Kronstadt. I wanted to send it to you, but the messenger said that there were many copies with you and wanted me to keep it. For all that you desire from me you will find better in this book than I can write it. I liked it very much, because it is written in such a learned, pure, and faithful way. Therefore, read this booklet and get in touch with the preachers of the church in Kronstadt; they will be very useful to you in the reformation of your church. For they have carefully followed the form of our church in this booklet; to the same and to them I will have referred you. Hiemit gehab dich recht wohl in dem HErrn, und es gelingen musst dir, Amen. On Saturday Aegidii [Sept. 1] 1543. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

No. 3042.

Roda. 6 September 1543.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Elector asks Luther to inform those of Brunswick where Dr. Heinrich Lüneburg, recommended by Luther as Superintendent, is staying, and also to write to him to go to Brunswick.

The original concept is in the archives at Weimar, *Reg. O, pag.* 145. EEE. 15 Printed by Burkhardt, p. 428.

No. 3043.

(Wittenberg.) September 11, 1543.

To Wolf Heinze, organist at Halle.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2042.

2) De Wette offers: *provinciae Bercensis*; Burkhardt, p. 427: *Barcensis,* but it should probably be read *Burcensis.* The Kronstadt district is also called "das Burzenland" (see Ungewitter, Neueste Erdbeschreibung und Staatenkunde, Dresden 1844, Vol. I, pp. 577 and 578).

No. 3044.

(Wittenberg.) 13 September 1543.

Luther and Melanchthon to the Council of Halle [?]

Luther counsels patience in the abolition of common women's houses.

From *Cod. chart.* 398. *f. Goth.* in Seidemann-DeWette, vol. VI, p.417, without all determination of time, and (likewise) in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. LXIX. From a copy in the archive at Zerbst, with the above date, in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 391. We give the text according to Kolde, in which alone Melanchthon's concern, written in Latin, is found.

Opinion Dr. Mart. Luth. about the abdication of the common women's house in Halle.

So it seems to me that for the time being, until the gospel is more firmly rooted and the weeds are rooted out, patience should be exercised in this matter for a little while longer, lest too much harm be done to the good by eradicating the evil of old; for there is still (I say) great heathenism among the Christians. But as soon as one can do this, it must be done with earnestness. However, the preachers should preach strongly against it, so that your honorable council can prepare the way and cause to control such paganism 2) more effectively. Given in 1543, September 13.

Opinion of Mr. Phil. Melanthon on the same matter.

I do not defend fornication, and I do not write this opinion of mine as a doctrine. And I wish that in the cities there had been such discipline and restraint of the people that the harlots had not been allowed places. But because we live among the heathen, I have exhorted the teachers of the gospel to teach their congregations duly that fornication is to be put away. That is enough for a preacher. Another office is to decide on the expulsion of notorious persons. Let the authorities see to it that they counsel both the heathen and others.

1) "would like" is missing from Kolde.

2) Kolde: "passion".

No. 3045.

14 September 1543.

Dorothea, Countess of Mansfeld, to Luther.

The countess declares herself ready to give him advice to alleviate his suffering, but first asks for more precise information about the nature of it.

From the original in the Wolf Collection of the Hamburg City Library in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 391.

[To Do]ctor Martinus [Luther z]u 3) own hand.

Dear Doctor (togktor)! I have read your letter and find from your report that it is not a river (Fluss), nor will it be, but only a woe (wettagen) of evil blood (gebleutt). If it is on the right side, it comes from the liver; if it is on the left side, it comes from the spleen. It is necessary to know this, otherwise I cannot give my advice. But when I am informed of this through your writing, then I will, by the help of Almighty God, continue to give you my advice, and I hope to God that it will ease your pain and be for your good. So I hear that you are burdened with the stone. Write to me how long it has afflicted you and what time (wilczeit) in the year, and how often, [so] I hope to God that I will also give you help by the grace of God. You are commanded to do so and remember me in your devotion to God. Given on Friday, the 14th day of the autumn month of Anno 43 Jare. Dorothea, Countess of Mansfeld, 4) Witt[ib].

No. 3046.

(Wittenberg.) September 25, 1543.

To Joachim Mörlin, pastor at Arnstadt.

Luther consoles him for fretting with his congregation, and commends his adherence to the Word.

3) Added by us.

4) According to Prof. Kawerau's communication, Kolde notes: She died in 1578. General-Superintendent Hieran. Mencel preached the funeral sermon to her: "Zwo Predigten von der Thabea" 2c. Halle 1578.4. Her husband, Count Ernst, died in 1531. of him is mentioned in *Cod. Goth. 402, fol.* 368d tells : "When Count Ernst zu Mansfeld heard singing : A firm castle 2c., he said : I want to help shoot the castle to pieces, and I do not want to live ; and after three days he died, Count Ernst zu Mansfeld, who wanted to destroy the firm castle, and cried : The Emperor, the Saviour is coming, he died without confession and sacrament."

Handwritten in *Cod. chart. Goth.* From the Wernsdorf collection at Wittenberg in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 275 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 589.

All Joachim Mörlin, the theologian steadfast in Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I have heard Styger, 1) the teacher of your school, who has explained to me your and that part's (*illius*) matter. But I rejoice and wish happiness to the courage that despises the devil and his wickedness. Continue thus in the Lord, and shake the dust from thy feet upon them. I wish that we were so ready to take the walking-stick, if the Lord wills it. Now if we were of the world, the world would love what would be yours. The thing is a very good thing, for the sake of which it troubles us so, namely, the word of God. Therefore we do well to be cheerful, to laugh, and to despise the fury of Satan until his judgment comes, of which we pray with one accord that it may shortly come to pass, amen. Styger will tell other things, if it is necessary. Fare well in the Lord. Tuesday after Matthew [25 Sept] 1543.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 3047.

Mögel. 25 September 1543.

Nicolaus Baserinus, pastor in Mögel, to Luther.

Ask for improvement of his material situation.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. O, pag. 397. YY. N. 3. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 429.

Worthy, Respectable and Esteemed, Favourable Dear Sir! Ew. A. W. I lament that I have now spent fifteen years in the parish of Moegel in the Silesian ministry, burdened with nine small, uneducated children, one of whom has been afflicted with seven years of constant illness to this day, for it is daily afflicted with ulcers of the limbs and aches and pains of the head, but must nevertheless have its food and drink, and the income of the parish is very small, for I have annually not [more than] 8 times grain, 5 times oats, 2 old shocks of offering money, 16 gr. annual interest, from which I have to live the whole year.

1) He is also called Steger, *Acta Boruss*. II, 482. 485.

shoes, clothes, books, and all necessities. The fodder for the cattle, which belongs to the parish, is no more than 2 small loads of hay, which I brought to the parish only two years ago, which a farmer had previously taken for himself and wanted to keep by force for his own. Thus, as God lives, I have forfeited 120 guilders these 15 years, 2) which I had in arrears on my sold little house in Wittemberg, and have not done this with splurging, indulgence or some excess, but the narrow and lean housekeeping has caused it grossly, for I am not allowed to drink up a bushel of grain throughout the year, but I must buy it again and borrow it; the hay is as blackish and small as half of the stalks; if I bring it to the market, it is not worth 3 gr. Accordingly, my high, diligent request to E. A. W. is that E. A. W., out of favourable consideration for my reported need and small children, will favourably help to decree that the Elector, my lord, may grant me a loan. Lord, grant me, a poor man (as has happened to several pastors before) a small allowance of 15 fl. per year, which S. Ch. F. G. graciously wished to give, for without this I can no longer remain in the parish in question, as I no longer have to atone for it 3), and for the sake of poverty alone I am urged to go elsewhere, as it is the least parish, both in the Schweinitz and Sido [Seyda?] offices, as 4) both castles will give me sufficient testimony.

Also, worthy, highly honored, respectable and favorable sir, there are two peasants (paur) of this parish who are my servants. Now I can enjoy them very little, because if they are to serve me at times in small things, which happens rarely, and since I give them food and drink all the time, out of no duty, but out of good will, there is nothing but vain displeasure, rumbling, cursing and scolding with mocking slanderous words against my wife and child, by which another is often moved to anger, and an annoyance may arise from it. And because they are of little service to me and my offspring, I consider that it would be of little disadvantage to this parish, even if the same peasants were to be smitten with services, according to S. Ch. F. G.'s gracious pleasure, either at Schweinitz or Sidisch Amt, and that the parishes might receive a small allowance for this, which I have promised to S. Ch. F. G. in the name of the parish.

2) "atoned for" == added to. See below.

3) "nachzubüßen" (== to add) put by us instead of: "nachzubeißen" with Burkhardt. Compare above: "120 Gulden zugebüßent".

4) Burkhardt: "that".

F. G.'s gracious favor. E.A. W. did not want to note and accept such my necessary request in any other way than that it was caused by great and urgent need and no stinginess, which I will never forget to ask for E. A. W.'s health and blessed welfare with heartfelt prayer to God. Date Tuesday after Mauritius [Sept. 25] Anno Domini in 1543.

E. A. W. quite willing

Nicolaus Baserinus, pastor to the Mögel of the office to Sido.

No. 3048.

(Wittenberg.) September 30, 1543.

Luther and the ordered Commissars of the Consistory to the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for Nicolaus Baserinus.

The original (in Canzleischrift with Luther's own handwritten signature) is in the archives at Weimar. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 430.

Most Serene, Highborn Elector! E. C. F. G. our subservient and quite willing services are ready beforehand. Most gracious lord! We do not wish to leave it undisclosed to Your Royal Highness that the pastor of Moegeln has arrived at the venerable and highly respected Martin Luther, Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, our dear Lord and Patron, and also at us, with enclosed writings in which he has asked for an improvement in the income of his parish, as Your Royal Highness has graciously requested to hear from him. Now we send enclosed recorded the income of the parish of Mögeln concerned, which is almost small, and place at E. ch. G.'s gracious favor and concern that the parish concerned should receive an allowance, for without it a parish priest would not be able to maintain himself for a long time. Such would E. ch. G. we humbly refuse, and are E. ch. G. in all submissiveness and are quite willing. Date Sunday after Michaelmas [30 Sept] Anno 1543.

E. ch. F. [G.] subservient

Martinas Luther, D., and decreed Commissarien of the Consistorii at Wittenberg.

No. 3049.

(Wittenberg.) September 30, 1543.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Lament over the bad times. Consolation for Wolf Heinze, because of the loss of his wife.

Printed in Litterarischen Wochenblatt, II, 317; from Börner's collection at Leipzig in Schütze, vol. I, p. 277; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 322 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 590.

Grace and peace! At this time one must pray much, my dear Jonas, but write little. For there is almost nothing good that one could write, given the great raging of evil everywhere. But only good can be prayed for. The scourge of the pestilence rages so much among you now, perhaps not far from us; but this rod has always been a rod for the church, as Paul says 1 Cor. 11:1) 30.32. with which the sloth and negligence of the church has been chastened. Many sleep among you, he says, and many are weak. But thus we are chastened, when we are judged of the Lord, lest we be condemned together with the world. The wars are a scourge of wrath, especially the wars at this time, which are not wars, but robberies of the raging Satan by these raging men, so that more evil cometh from them, because they defend us within the walls, than from enemies that besiege without. I grieve with Wolf Heinze, the very good man, and know his pain. But the time will come when he will thank GOtte, who snatched his own from him, by one so fatherly, and, as I have said, the very scourge of the Church, from these abysses and gulfs of the world. But now I rejoice that my exceedingly dear daughter Magdalene is snatched out of Ur in Chaldea, and for her sake I am safe, and she is safe in eternal peace, though I have lost her with great trailer. Be thou confident with thine own in the Lord, Who upholdeth thee and them to his glory. I will faithfully admonish your Justus, and also add my John, if it will be bearable for Philip. Farewell, and pray for me. I write nothing about the Turks and the Papists, whose praise I consider to be the devil's filth. On the last day of September, 1543. Yours, Martin Luther.

1) In the issues: 1 Cor. 10.

No. 3050.

Wittenberg. 30 September 1543.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

Luther speaks courage to him because of the vexations which he had to experience in his office.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 416. From the Ludwig Collection in Halle in Schütze, vol. I, p. 276 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 591. German in Walch, Bb. XXI, 1509.

To the highly placed man, Mr. M. Anton Lauterbach, your right and faithful bishop of the church at Pirna, his exceedingly dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Be ge-

Comfort, my dear Anton, be undaunted, and wait upon the Lord [Ps. 27:14.], and let the wicked glory and triumph, whose glory is put to shame [Phil. 3:19.]. For how often have these bulls and puffed-up bladders of water been bristling hitherto, and yet, as the 7th Psalm [v. 15.] hath said, they have been pregnant with calamity, and have borne a defect, and as Isaias, Cap. 33:11. hath said: With straw ye shall conceive, and stubble ye shall bear. It shall come to pass one day that the heavens shall fall, and be burned up with the earth; but even then shall we not perish, nor lose God. Your Meissners do not only now reveal to me what kind of people they were. I have always seen that they were those who waited for an opportunity to reveal their hypocrisy, which was not happily hidden. Let us only be careful to be sure of the word and to teach it diligently, but cast all care upon God. He cares for us; cast thy care upon the Lord. Terrible things are said of the Turk. But the emperor will not yet accomplish what the papists praise; "he takes too much in one mouthful." But let us teach, believe, pray, do, and suffer what we must, and let the dead bury their dead. What have we to do with them that are without? Be well in the Lord, and pray for me. My Lord Käthe greets you reverently with yours. Witten-

berg, the last of September, 1543.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 3051.

Leipzig. 5 October 1543.

The theological faculty at Leipzig to Luther and the other Wittenberg theologians.

(Regest.)

The Faculty of Leipzig invites you to the doctoral graduation of Bernhard Ziegler scheduled for October 10.

Printed in *Corp. ref.* vol. V, 191, a regest in Burkhardt, p. 431.

No. 3052. 6 October 1543

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

Response to Luther's Letters No. 3033 and No. 3034.

De Wette communicates this answer of the Duke in a note, Vol. V, p. 582.

Our favorable greetings and gracious will beforehand. Venerable, respectable and highly learned, especially beloved! We have now received two letters from you, have graciously listened to their contents along with your faithful Christian wishes, and although we are very much in favor of your replying to them with your own hand, it is still the case that we have not been able to send them, and you will kindly excuse us in this case. It happens to us, however, that you visit us with your letters, not to our annoyance, but to our great pleasure, for we feel from this your well-balanced, well-meaning good will, that you, notwithstanding your important, manifold business, and shall find it, where we may with gracious will recognize it against you and yours, that we want to be felt therein as the gracious Lord in noticeable deed, also for your sake Doctorem Joh. Bretschneider be graciously commanded 2c.

No. 3053.

Wittenberg. 7 October 1543.

Luther, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon to the theological faculty of Leipzig.

Answer to the invitation to the doctorate, No. 3051. The Wittenbergers have to decline the invitation because Erasmus Alberus wants to take his doctorate with them on the same day. However, they send Dr. Caspar Cruciger and M. Paul Eber, to be represented by them.

No. 3053.

From the rare book: *In hoc libello exponuntur quaestiones V, quibus tota doctrina et universum negotium Evangelii comprehenditur, propositae Lipsiae futuris doctoribus theologiae --- --- cui inclusa est oratio --- --- additae sunt duae epistolae etc. Lipsiae 1544, 8vo.* printed in *Corp. Ref.,* vol. V, 192 and in De Wette-Seidemaun, vol. VI, p. 349. Melanchthon is the author of this reply. The postscript and signature are by Luther. Melanchthon also wrote the above-mentioned speech for Bernhard Ziegler. The letter inserted in the booklet is the invitation of the Leipzigers.

Martin Luther, Johann Bugenhagen, both Doctor, and 1) Philippus Melanchthon say their greetings to the highly famous men, who are gifted with excellent scholarship, godliness and wisdom, the gentlemen Doctors of the Collegium of the Faculty of the Academy at Leipzig.

We had also promised the highly famous Mr. Bernhard Ziegler, who asked for it in the common name of all [to be graduated], that we would come to the public proclamation of his and his comrades' [doctoral] degrees, and after we received your letter, which is written very urgently and honorably, we were moved even more to wish that we could comply with you. For although at these distressed times some ill-wishers will judge differently of these meetings of ours, yet the cause mentioned in your letter is an exceedingly honest one, namely that it is useful to give expression not only to our agreement, but also to our true goodwill towards each other. But it so happens that we are being held back here against our will, because Erasmus Alberus will bring his friends here on the same day that is intended for your celebration, in order to attend the proclamation of his [doctoral] degree, and another day could not now suddenly be indicated to them. Since it is necessary for some of our college to be present, we are sorry that we cannot be at your beck and call, and we ask that you do not think that we are being held back by any other cause. According to your wisdom and

1) In the prints we find: "*Dr., D.*", which we consider incorrect. Melanchthon would not have attached to himself the title *D[ominus*]. We assume: *et*, read in "*d*.".

But equity ye will allow necessity to be an excuse.

We hope, however, that our unity and mutual love has often been demonstrated through other, greater ministries, and with the help of God we will strive with all diligence to preserve and demonstrate it in the future as well. For it is in itself a necessary thing that those who have the right doctrine should be united, especially those who lead the churches and the studies of doctrine, and in these areas it is exceedingly useful for a peaceful life. But the prestige of our ministry (*ministerii*) could not be preserved if we ourselves, out of spite, began to quarrel and fight among ourselves, which God would prevent. It was therefore very pleasant for us to have all your arguments about the harmony of our state (*ordinis*), and we ask the eternal God, the Father of our Lord JEsu Christ, with all our heart that He may always protect the union of those who have right doctrine in these churches. There is praised that which Dion, as he writes to his kinsman! Dionysius writes, or perhaps the author of that letter, Plato, cites: No shining 2) gold, no demant shines so in the eyes, as the perception of good unanimous men. This is certainly true and very sweetly said. The word of Basil is also true: "The left does not need the right as much as the church needs the unity of the teachers.

But you know many similar divine sayings, for God would that all who express zeal for the right doctrine should be moved by them everywhere; and yet they often arouse, by the most detestable storms, as in a ship, harmful seditions, confuse the doctrines, and divide the churches. From this arises among the people either superstition, or contempt of God, and hatred of all religion, destruction of discipline, parties, discord among princes, murder of citizens, and endless desolation. What can be thought sadder than these evils? Therefore, let us also pray to God to bind the hearts of all teachers with the eternal bonds of right opinion and His Spirit, and let us ourselves be bound by the eternal bonds of right opinion and His Spirit.

2) Instead of xxxxxx in the prints read.

Love one another's counsels, and direct our actions to the common tranquillity.

In order that we may also show you our good will, we have ordered that our friends, Doctor Caspar Cruciger and Magister Paul Eber, should travel to you in their name and in ours, since we are not all allowed to be absent, of whom we knew that they would be very pleasant to you both because of their virtues and their diligence in every task, and especially because of the private and old intimate connections. Be well. Wittenberg, October 7, 1543.

[Postscript of Luther.]

May the Lord out of Zion bless your endeavors, that is, in Christ our Lord, that the Father may be glorified by your bearing much fruit, and that we may all become His disciples, Amen. M. Luther with his hand.

No. 3053a

12 October 1543.

Caspar Schwenkfeld to Luther.

(Regest.)

Injured by Luther's writings, especially by the one that had just gone out "from the last words of David", in which he is called a heretic, he tries to justify his Christology by referring to the false doctrine of the Swiss, and asks Luther to read his last writings sent to him enclosed together with the Confession sent to Melanchthon a year ago and to examine his teaching, and not to condemn him any more without reason 2c.

Printed in Schwenkfeld's *Epistolar*, 1570, vol. II, 701 ff. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta* p. 393.

No. 3054.

Wittenberg. 15 October 1543.

Faculty certificate for Hieronymus Nopus.

From the Thomass collection in Halle (now in the library in Munich as *cod. in 4to , no. 89, no. VI, pag. 99)* in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 278; in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 592 and in *Corp. Ref., Vol.*V, 199. -Although Luther's name is at the top as Decan, Melanchthon wrote this testimony.

The Dean of the College of the Theological Faculty at the Academy of Wittenberg, Martin Luther, Doctor, sends his greetings to all who will read this letter.

It has the highly admirable, gifted with excellent godliness and erudition,

Doctor Hieronymus Nopus, requested from us a certificate about his studies, manners, and his [doctoral] degree, which we granted him with the utmost willingness. For since he has lived a most praiseworthy life in these lands and in this academy, we have recognized that he has an honorable, chaste, quiet, and godly way of life, and that he takes great pains in the study of the sciences. However, although he is naturally gifted in all the arts and has happily learned a large part of philosophy, he has nevertheless, because he truly and wholeheartedly believes that the human race did not come into being by chance, but was created by God, and that God has revealed Himself through certain testimonies in this One kind of teaching, which has been handed down to the Church through the Prophets, Christ, and the Apostles from the beginning until now through a known succession, he has directed his studies primarily toward learning about the heavenly teaching. In order that he might be able to hear the words of the prophets and apostles, he learned the Hebrew and Greek languages, and studied the history of all times, which is contained in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin writings, the knowledge of which does much to instruct the minds and strengthen the right opinions. He has diligently listened to the exegetes of the Prophets and the Apostles at this school, and compared the ancient Greek and Latin writers on the teachings of the Church and the decrees of the godly Conciliar, so that he could record what the Church of the Apostles had held in the purer times, and he could call upon God with firm faith and teach others rightly. Since he was appointed by the honorable council of Regensburg to teach the Gospel, and since we requested that he be recommended by the testimony that is customary in the schools, we gladly appointed this Jerome to teach the Gospel, We have gladly adorned this Hieronymus Nopus with the degree of Doctor of Theology because of his very good conduct and his excellent scholarship, and testify to this by this letter, and beseech the eternal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, because He has drawn him into the light of the Gospel and has given him the will that he may desire

It is God who causes us to desire good and helps us to accomplish it according to His good pleasure, that is, so that something pleasing to Him may happen. For the greatest part of the human race, which senselessly despises God, proceeds in deeds of shame, by which God is terribly angered. But lest the whole human race perish, God snatches out some and places them in His Church, through which good and salvific things are done, through which the light of the Gospel is spread far and wide and many are called to the knowledge of God and to eternal life, for whose sake the world regiments are preserved, which provide hostels for the Church. We hope that Jerome Nopus will be among the number of these, and we pray from the bottom of our hearts that God will always assist him and always govern him with the Holy Spirit. Finally, we also exhort the Church at Regensburg to strive to maintain the purity of the Gospel, and to nurture and care for the church servants who teach rightly, so that they may show their gratitude to God for the renewed light of the Gospel. For it is said that in these regions, immediately after the Apostles, the seed of the Gospel was scattered by Lucius of Cyrene, who is mentioned in Acts 13:1. It is said that he followed the Roman armies to the Danube and preached the name and doctrine of Christ in Augusta Tiberina 1). So soon GOtt gathered a church among these peoples. But even now the godly may rejoice that the light of the Gospel is once again kindled, and they should take care to keep it by right service, so that the eternal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, may be rightly called and praised. Given at Wittenberg, the 15th of October, Anno 1543.

M. L.

1) This is said to have been the name of the city on whose site, after it had been destroyed, Regensburg was built.

No. 3055.

(Wittenberg.) 18 October 1543.

Facultiitszeugniss for Friedrich Bachofer (baking oven).

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, bl.417; in *Cod. Movacens. in 4to , no. 88, no. IV, p. 59* and in *Cod. Movacens*. 90, no. VII, p. 389. printed by Schütze, vol. I, p. 281, and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 594, as by Luther. On the other hand, in *Corp. Ref.* vol. V, 203, as written by Melanchthon. That the latter is correct is evident from comparison with the preceding number. Luther signed as decan.

The dean of the college of the theological faculty at the academy of Wittenberg, Martin Luther, says his greetings to all who will read this letter.

We give thanks to the eternal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that He has chosen, founded, and preserves a church in the Son, and continues to raise up some skillful teachers, as Paul teaches: "He ascended up on high, and gave gifts to men, some as prophets, some as apostles, some as pastors, some as teachers. Therefore, it is not doubtful that wholesome teachers are God's gifts. Nevertheless, God desires that there be a ministry of teaching; He has delivered to His Church the writings of the prophets and apostles, desires that these be read and known, and in these He indicates His will; through this reading He instructs the minds, calls them, and draws them to Himself. Therefore it is commanded concerning the study of the divine Scriptures [Col. 3:16], "Let the word of Christ dwell among you richly, teaching and admonishing yourselves." Therefore, GOD also calls and chooses from among the crowd of learners skillful and wholesome teachers. For this purpose, theological schools were established by the prophets and apostles according to divine counsel, and have been preserved and restored by God continually. As we must now faithfully guide the studies, so it behooves us to give testimonies in view of the Church to those who are called to offices, and the proclamation of our testimony is done by recognizing the [doctoral] degree according to the customary manner of the school. However, since Mr. Friedrich Bachofer 2) from Leipzig was for a long time on the

2) *Cod. Monacens. 90: Bachofen*.

When he lived in the school of our church, we knew that he was of a good nature and of honorable and godly manners. But having labored diligently in philosophy and in the study of the languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, he diligently heard the expounders of the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures, and compared the approved ancient writers, that he might assuredly hold the opinion of the general church of Christ. Therefore, for the sake of his scholarship and godly conduct, he has been called ill our church to the fellowship of the evangelical preaching ministry 1) where he has given an excellent test of his scholarship, and has shown that in truth he accepts the unanimous teaching of the general church of Christ, which our church also follows, and he abhors all fanatical opinions that are condemned by the judgment of the general church of Christ. Since he was then appointed by the Council of Hammelburg, we considered that he should be recommended by a public testimony. Therefore, since his morals were godly, and his scholarship was approved by us, which we had long recognized from his sermons and disputations, and since he promised constancy in the godly doctrine which he had hitherto professed with us, the dignity of Doctor of Theology was publicly conferred upon him by the pronouncement of the College, so that a testimony of our judgment of him might be available. And this we testify by this public letter, and ask the eternal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that He, since He has called him to the evangelical preaching ministry, help him so that his ministry may be happy and beneficial, as it is written [Phil. 2:13]: "It is God who works that we may will what is good, and helps that we may accomplish it according to His good pleasure, that is, that something pleasing to Him may be done. For the greatest part of the human race, which senselessly despises God, proceeds in deeds of shame against which God is terribly angry. But so that the entire human race will not perish, God will take out some of them.

1) Among the number of deacons at Wittenberg, Seidemann, in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 514, note 3, also lists "Friedrich Bachov of Leipzig, 1542 f.".

and places them in His Church, through which good and salvific things happen, through which the light of the Gospel is spread far and wide, and many are called to the knowledge of God and to eternal life, and for their sake the world regiments are preserved, which are the hostels for the Church. We therefore ask God to govern and assist this Doctor Frederick, who has been called to this godly service that is necessary for the Church. Given on the day of St. Luke the Evangelist, October 18, 1543, Martin Luther.

No 3056.

(Wittenberg.) October 22, 1543.

To Daniel Cresser (Greser),^ pastor at Dresden.

Luther does not hope anything good from the form of excommunication that is in the works at the Dresden court.

A copy is in the *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden from the blank page of Luther's letter to Lauterbach of Nov. 3, probably from the latter himself. In the margin are the words: *Hanc epistolam ad me Dr. Lutherani scripsisse testor ego Dan. Cresserus hac mea propria manu*. Printed in the Unsch. Nachr. 1715, p. 407; in Schütze, vol. I, p. 283 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 596. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1325 (as au Grosser).

To the man to be highly honored in the Lord, Mr. Daniel Cresser, the exceedingly faithful pastor of the church at Dresden, his very dear brother.

Mercy and peace! I cannot hope for anything good, my dear Daniel, from the form of excommunication that has been taken at your court. For if this happens, that the courts want to rule the churches according to their desires, God will not give a blessing, and the last will be worse than the first, for what happens without faith is not valid. But what is done without profession is undoubtedly done without faith and comes to nothing. Either they themselves may become pastors, preach, baptize, visit the sick, administer the Lord's Supper, and do all the works of a church servant (*ecclessiastica*), or they may cease to combine their professions. They shall take care of their farms, and leave the churches to those who are attached to them.

2) About the different spellings of the name see No. 2929.

Who are called to give an account of it to God. It is not to be suffered that others should do anything, and that we should be burdened to give an account of it. We want the offices of the church and the court to be separated, or both to be in place. Satan continues to be a Satan: under the pope he mixed the church with the world's government; in our time he wants to mix the world's government with the church. But we want to resist with God's help and make every effort to keep the professions separate. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. October 22, 1543. Your M. L., D.

No. 3057.

(Wittenberg.) October 22, 1543.

To the Elector Elisabeth of Brandenburg.

About the filling of a parsonage.

From the original in the library at Wolfenbüttel in De Wette, vol. V, p. 596 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 67 (with the wrong date: "October 23").

To the most illustrious, high-born princess and wives, wives Elisabeth, born of royal stock in Denmark, Electress of Brandenburg, Duchess of Stettin, Pomerania 2c., widow 2c., my most gracious wives and dear godparents.

G. u. F. in the Lord. Most gracious, highborn Princess, most gracious Lady 2c! As Your Holiness desires, I will gladly do my best, in addition to the visitators, so that the people of Prettin may have another preacher in place of Johann Fabri, whom Your Holiness has appointed as court preacher, where the pastor Er Severin 1) is otherwise absent. For yesterday a word occurred to me, as if he should not want to go to Pelgern. But that will soon be found. E. C. F. G. I am willing to serve. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Monday after Lucia [Oct. 22] 1543.

E. C. F. G.
willing

Martinus Luther, D.

1) "Severin" is the pastor Schulze zu Beizern.

No. 3057a

Torgau. 27 October 1543.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector sends him a gift of wine and must, and asks him to have the Schmalkaldic Articles printed again before the upcoming Imperial Diet.

From the original concept in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, fol.* 168, in Burkhardt, p. 432.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We hereby send you two barrels, one with old wine, the other with this year's grown must, a "Suptitzer" (suptezer), as good as the Almighty has given it to us this year; for our sake, accept it willingly and enjoy it with cheerfulness. We would have liked to send it to you better, but this time it did not grow or arrive, otherwise there should have been no lack of it.

After the highly esteemed, our council and dear faithful, Magister Franciscus Burckhardt, also talked with you about the articles of settlement in our Christian religion, of which you, along with Ern Magistro Philippo Melancton, united with the other scholars and theologians of our 2) Christian religion in the year 1537 on the held day in Schmalkalden, that they would like to go out once again 3) in print, both in Latin and German, as we would like such printing to be promoted before the future Imperial Diet. We therefore graciously request that you will be interested that such books of the Schmalkaldic Settlement be published and printed again in a small way, 4) both in Latin and German, in the most beneficial way. We have not wanted to leave this unindicated in your gracious opinion and are graciously inclined to you. Date Torgau, Saturday after Ursulä [Oct. 27], Anno Dom. 1543.

No. 3058.

(Wittenberg.) 29 October 1543.

To Prince George of Anhalt.

Comfort in temptations, which the prince had to suffer through his cousin Wolfgang.

2) Burkhardt: "mit den anderen unsern christenlichen religionsverwandten stende, gelerten vnd" 2c.
3) In the text: "nach einsten". Luther had already had the Schmalkaldic Articles printed in 1538 in 4. at Wittenberg by Hans Luft. This edition was followed in the same year by two others also in 4. J. T. Müller, Die symbolischen Bücher, p. LXXXVII.
4) That is: in octavo. In this format were the editions published in 1543 and 1545.

The original is in the Dessau Archives. Printed in Lindner, Mittheilungen, vol. 11, p. 85, no. 823; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 240 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 351. De Wette, vol. V, p. 597 has only a Piece.

To the illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Georgen, Provost of Magdeburg, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien, Lord of Bernburg, my gracious Lord.

G. u. F. in the Lord. Sublime, high-born Prince, gracious Lord! M. Forcheim 1) has indicated to me what kind of challenge the tempter now wants to inflict on E. F. G. through E. F. G.'s cousins, Prince Wolfgang 2c., which I am truly sorry for, and for this reason I have attributed quite a bit of writing to S. F. G., hoping that S. F. G. will remember something about it and mean something to himself. For I perceive that evil mouths are set between his and E. F. G., which stir up the pious prince against E. F. G., as the devil and the old serpent hath his seed at all times, and soweth against the seed of the woman. It cannot be otherwise: the serpent's seed must always prick the heels of the woman's seed, but at last its head must be crushed. Therefore let E. F. G. be patient, and let God take care of all things, 2) according to the saying, "Cast thy care upon the Lord; he careth for you," as Peter says [1 Ep. 5:7]. "If He be for us, who can be against us?" [Rom.8:31.] Perhaps this contest is but an hour, as Abraham was contested an hour. "I live (saith our life [John 14:19.]), and ye shall live also," and [Luc. 21:18.] "One hair of your head shall not perish." And though we suffer some loss in this time, yet shall we recover it a hundredfold at the same time with eternal life, if only we follow not the eyes, but faith, unto the invisible, until it be seen. But what do I, the unwise, teach the wise (*sus Minervam*)? I have only wished, at any rate, 3) to display my zeal and affection against E. F. G., who

1) M. Georg Held von Forchheim.

2) We have translated the following to the end from the Latin.

3) Instead of *utrumque* we have assumed *utcunque.*

ther Prince. E. F. G. is quite at ease in the Lord, whom I not only honor, but also love forever. The 29th of October 1543.

E. F. G.
devoted

Martin Luther, D.

No. 3059.

(Wittenberg.) 3. November 1543.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

Luther consoles Lauterbach in the temptations he has to suffer from the great ones at the ducal Saxon court, namely from Dr. Pistorius (Becker) and Carlewitz.

The original is in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. From the Börner Collection at Leipzig, fol. 413, in Schütze, vol. I, p. 284 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 598.

To the worthy man, Mr. M. Anton Läuterbach, pastor of the church at Pirna and bishop of the place, his brother in the HErrn.

Grace and peace! I read your letter, my dear "Auto," with pleasure, especially the part where you write that Doctor Pistorius said: "You should let us keep the Canons 2c. Of course we would very much like" these. to let these sows keep their barns, "and the hellish fire with them," as they will. Fire to it," as they will and seek. Again, "let them leave us our Lord, the Son of God, and the kingdom of heaven with it. We are soon parted, as a ripe mire and a wide asshole." But my joy is this, that at last the thoughts of this exceedingly wicked hypocrite and his ilk have been revealed. Now they may, with a more cheerful and secure conscience, be taken by us for lost slaves of Satan, whom one can believe nothing, even if they swear a hundred times, for behold what this quite wicked "Becker" has thought to bake 4) since, communicating under both guises and putting forward good words, he ridiculed God and mocked you. Do you not remember that I was slow to believe your praises with which you adorned him to me? 5) Now you have what Doctor "Becker" is, Carlewitz, and this yeast at your

4) So pinsere will have to be translated here, because of the allusion to *Pistorius*. *Pinso* also has *pistum* in the *supinum*.

5) Cf. no. 2909.

Court. Therefore be thou strong against them, and despise the devil in these devils, and the children of devils, and the seed of the serpent, until they cast thee out. The earth is the Lord's, and all that is therein, without doubt Dresden also, and all that is therein 2c. If Dr. "Becker" misses that heaven is his and all that is in it, then hell and its constricted narrowness will be all too close for him shortly after these days, amen, where he will dine with Duke George and become partaker of his canons and the dung of Satan, as he is worthy. May the Lord Jesus (as he began) accomplish his work in us, and continue to scatter those who are trustworthy in their hearts, amen. Take heed that thou be not sad or humble before them, but that thou deal safely and cheerfully in the cause of Christ. By such cheerfulness thou shalt crucify them, and Satan with them, for he intends to overthrow and grieve us, but we, speaking in German, will throw him into his mouth. He may will or not, he shall be forced to suffer him that bruiseth his head, however much he may bite, and threaten with his terrible teeth to devour us. The seed of the woman is with us, whom we teach, confess, and desire to reign. In him be well, and pray for me. The third of November, 1543. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

Postscript.

Give my best regards to Mr. Daniel, the pastor at Dresden, and what I have written to you, I want to have written to him as well. I know that I answered his last letter. 1) If the letter has not been delivered, it has undoubtedly been caught by the Becker family.

No. 3060

(Wittenberg.) November 7, 1543.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Of Luther's repeatedly prevented journey there. Lament over the evil times.

The original is at Dresden in Cod. *Seidel*. From the collection of Caspar Sagittarius at Jena in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 287 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 599 f. German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1512.

1) No. 3056.

To the venerable man in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus von Amsdorf, the fair and right bishop of Naumburg, his superior in your Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I am angry with myself to the point of impatience, venerable man in the Lord, that I have so often intended to travel to you, and since I wanted to leave on the following day, and everything was ready, a cause always arose that prevented my intention. By God's permission (as it seems) Satan, according to his name, thus sets himself against me. Therefore, henceforth, God willing, I will try to hasten to you on some sudden occasion even without a resolution. For I am very eager to see you once more before my departure. The condition of my head was reasonably good; although the leg (*crus*) had been troubled by the physicians' *cautery* (*cauterio*), this would not have prevented my journey. They are trying to cause a flow on my left leg, but so far not with luck to help my head. But I believe that my illness is the old age, then also the works and the very violent thoughts, but most of all the blows of Satan. Against all this, the whole art of healing will heal me in vain. Nevertheless, I yield to their opinions, lest I seem to be hostile to myself, though I think they are mistaken. "It is for the lazy rogue that I dare; it helps, it helps." For the head hath begun to suffer again (without cause). I think it is Satan.

I write this so that you may know that I have the best will, as soon as God bestows it, to come to you.

I know nothing of news, nor do I much desire to know it. The world is the world, was the world, and will be the world, which knows nothing of Christ, nor desires to know anything. Let it therefore go on its way, that Christ, and we also, may know nothing of it; only that we know this, that that which the world knows and desires is not true, neither shall it come to pass, because it is written [Ps. 39:6, 7. Vulg.], "All men that live are vanity, and thou, O Lord, wilt make their image to be nothing.

make." Nevertheless, they continue to rage and become more angry day by day. This is a great comfort, it shows that the day of the coming of the glory of God is near. For the contempt of the word, which is not to be spoken, and the inexpressible groaning of the godly, indicate that the world is given up, that it hastens the day of its destruction and of our blessedness, amen, let it be done, amen. So was the world before the flood of sin, so before the Babylonian captivity, so before the destruction of Jerusalem, so before the desolation of Rome, so before the misery of Greece and Hungary, so shall it be before thy fall of Germany. "Hear they shall not, but know they must." Here would I most willingly trade with thee for our mutual comfort. "We must sing with them," Jeremiah 51:9: "We heal Babylon, but she will not be healed. Let her go." Farewell in the Lord, who is our salvation, and will make us eternally blessed. Amen. On the 7th of November, 1543.

From the heart, your Martin Luther.

No. 3061.

(Wittenberg.) November 7, 1543.

To Veit Dietrich in Nuremberg.

Luther exhorted him to continue with the work of editing Luther's lectures on Genesis. - Rörer and Cruciger had copied them, and Dietrich arranged and edited them for printing. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. I, XIII, § IV.

The original is in the Munich library. Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 414. Printed in Strobel's Miscell., vol. I, p. 170; in *Strobel-Ranner, p.* 323; in Schütze, vol. I, p. 286 and in De Wetzte, vol. V, p. 601.

Grace and peace in the Lord! M. Rörer, who exercises a very great and much dominion over me, wanted me to write this to you, my dear Veit, but, as I am rebellious against such my ruler, I might have despised his dominion if he had not used oratory and persuaded me that you must be admonished to continue in my Genesis as you have begun. But even this oratory of his I could easily have undone by oratory used against it, if the

This dialectical reason of proof would not have moved us: after the beginning is made (*jacta est alea*), it is shameful to let it go, lest perhaps Moses himself should wish to hold this well-known word against us:

Turpius ejicitur, quam non admittitur hospes [It is more shameful for the guest to be thrown out,
As if, from the outset, entry into the house were denied him].

Other and similar things you can very easily sing to yourself from the Greeks. But I confess that I am very much at fault in my labors, seeing that there is much that may justly be required. But I comfort myself with Paul's word [2 Cor. 2:16.], "Who is able to do this?" For since the mouth shall not be opened until only able, Christ shall never be preached. But it standeth well, because he himself maketh a power out of the mouths of young children [Ps. 8, 3.], who by the stammering Moses, or, as he himself [2 Mos. 4, 10.] saith in the Hebrew, having a heavy tongue, cast down the kingdoms of the Egyptians, the Cananites 2c. to the ground, and by the unlearned apostles the whole face of the earth. Proceed, therefore, that my sovereign M. Georg Rörer may be done enough; if thou sin against him, how shall I be able to be gracious to thee? Fare well in your Lord and pray for me. November 7, 1543, your Mart. Luth.

No. 3061a.

(Wittenberg.) 8 November 1) 1543.

To Caspar Schwenkfeld's messenger.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1664.

No. 3062.

(Wittenberg.) November 17, 1543.

To Anton Lauterbach in Pirna.

Of treacherous attempts which the Archbishop of Mainz tries to enforce by Julius von Pflug at the court in Dresden. Thanks for things that Lauterbach has provided for Luther's housewife.

1) In the editions "without date". We have, after the Table Talks, Cap. 7, §25, with Seidemann at De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 596, Note 6, and Köstlin, Martin Luther (3rd), Vol. II, p. 590, set the above time determination, which also fits No. 3053a very well.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 416. From the Ludwig Collection at Halle in Schütze, vol. I, p. 289, and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 602. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1514.

To the worthy man, Mr. M. Anton Lauterbach, the extremely faithful bishop of the church at Pirna, his very dear brother.

Mercy and peace! We know, my dear Anton, what that plough (*Aratrum*) has been up to in Dresden. They are all cunning plots of that devil, the Mainzian, who always undertakes many things under the name and seal of the Emperor. But God always prevents him, who will also disgrace him eternally, amen. Let us only pray without ceasing. We give thanks for the butter and apples that have been sent; my Lord Käthe will pay properly. Fare well in the Lord with all your relatives, amen. We have heard no more about the Emperor, nor about the Frenchman, nor about the Turk, nor about the Pope. But it is all full of devils, even in your court. God keep your prince with ours, amen. I have written before to Daniel, 1) and believe that you have read it also. Given the 17th of November, Anno 1543. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 3063.

(Wittenberg.) November 22, 1543.

To Princess Margaretha of Anhalt.

Luther promises her to work with the prince Wolfgang so that his cousins and heirs do not get into damage.

First printed in 1830, after the original, in Lindner's "Mittheilungen," vol. II, p. 86; then in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 241, and by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 352.

To the illustrious, highborn princess and wives, wives Margarethen, née Margravine of Brandenburg 2c., princess of Anhalt, countess of Ascanien and wives of Bernburg, my gracious wives and godparents.

Your Serene Highness, Madam 2c.! I have written to m. gu. H., Prince Wölfen, a strong letter written with strong

1) See No. 3056.

I have received a warning from S. F. G. that they do not want to burden their conscience with great damage to his dear cousins and natural heirs 2c. S. F. G. answered me that they would shortly report to me verbally or in writing for what reasons S. F. G. had done such. If now God wants that S. F. G. would thus enter into the dispute with me, then I will certainly do my part (whether God wills it). For I would not wish such harm on any of my enemies as would be encountered by H. F. G.'s rule in this; and I am almost sorry and disgusted that Satan seeks such displeasure among and between such close cousins. God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, forbid him, and give me or others who can prevent it, word and blessing that it may ever be prevented.

I believe it well, madam, that E. F. G. does not always walk on roses, especially at this shameful time, when the devil rages against God's word and causes all misfortune. I also experience his raging more than enough every day; but it is said: He is greater who is in us, neither he who is in the world. He will finally be enough for us, when all things fail, to bring us all happiness. To whom I commend E. F. G. and all yours, amen. Thursday after Elizabeth [22 Nov] 1543.

E. F. G.
willing Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3064.

Wittenberg. 22 November 1543.

To Dr. Joachim Mörlin, pastor in Arnstadt.

Luther advised him to leave his post.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 415 and in *Cod. Goth*. Printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 215 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 604. German in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 276; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 574 and in Walch, vol. XXI, 483.

To the respectable man, Joachim Mörlin, Doctor of Theology, the faithful bishop and pastor of the church at Arnstadt, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! What can I advise thee but what Paul, yea

even as the Lord himself hath counseled, my dear Doctor, who saith, Matt. 10:14, If they receive you not, come out of the same city, and shake off the stall from off your feet." For thou hast not rejected them, that they should not hear thee; but they reject thee, that thou shouldest not teach them. "They have not rejected thee, but me," said the Lord to Samuel [1 Sam. 8:7.], "that I should not be king over them." And Paul [Acts 13:46.], "Because ye cast away the word of salvation, behold, we turn unto the Gentiles." And thou canst not load thy conscience with strange sins, especially those which defend them by contradicting the priest. Therefore give place to thine anger, and depart; for this house is not worthy that our peace should rest upon it. And as much as it is in me, they shall have no other priest after thee, whom they will propose to me, 1) neither will I esteem him a good man, but rather a faithful shepherd, who will confirm their sins and wickedness, that is, who will dare to take thy place. It is the LORD that will judge him, and at the same time those people; we are innocent, their blood be on their head. This is my opinion; I will say this to the count 2) for I hear that he will send a legation to me. And thou hast done well in setting the matter before me, that I might know what to answer. Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, on the day of Cecilia [Nov. 22], Anno 1543.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 3065.

(Wittenberg.) November 23, 1543.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

Luther wants to write a preface to Spalatin's writing. From an economic matter.

The original is in *Cod. chart.* 1. 122, *Bibl. Goth.* Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 281; in *Schlegel. vit. Spalatin. p.* 230 and by De Wette, vol.v, p. 605. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1326.

1) In the German editions the words: *quem mihi velint communicare are* given by: "with whom I will be satisfied".
2) Arnstadt was under the sovereignty of the Count of Schwarzburg.

Grace and peace! Your little book, 3) which you have left here, my dear Spalatin, pleases me very much, only that where the life of nuns is touched upon, I will warn the reader in the preface, or if you would rather change it yourself, I will send it back. For I am not fond of being wise in another's part. Then it shall soon be given to the press.

By the way, my lord Käthe asks you that if my servants should need your help or advice, you will not find yourself burdened. For she sends her horses and wagons to cut down the remaining trees "on the line" while the weather and the way are good. She saith that 11 are felled, 24 are yet to be felled; they will give and provide what must be. Fare well in the Lord with all your relatives. On the day of Clement [23 Nov? 1543. Yours M. L., D.

No. 3066.

Weimar. 2. December 1543.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

The Elector asks her to give up her objections in the Brunswick matter.
A concept with many corrections is found in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, fol.* 1122. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 433.

Our greetings first. Venerable and Reverend Sirs, dear devotees and faithful! We do not wish to leave it undisclosed to you in gracious confidence that the Roman Imperial Maj. Maj. our most gracious Lord, has answered our cousin, the Landgrave, and us, as well as the other estates related to us, to a letter recently sent by all of us to her Maj, Duke Henry of Brunswick, among other things to the effect that her Majesty has ordered our cousin, H. Moritz of Saxony, to take action with her loved ones, us and them, concerning the land of Brunswick, of which we, her Majesty's cousin, have the gracious opinion, and that her Majesty does not wish to see anything better,

3) ***Magnifice consolatoria exempla et sententiae ex vitis et passionibus sanctorum et aliorum summorum virorum brevissime collectae. Viteb. 1544.8***.

for that the same matter may be laid down without further disruption, 1) would further hear.

Now perhaps the Imperial Maj. Maj. may order that Her Majesty will request and seek to have Brunswick or his sons come to the land again for a settlement or payment of the war costs and conditions, and also for a peace assurance, or that the land be placed in our third hand and sequestered until Her Maj.'s further hearing and action. And although for many reasons the Landgrave and us, especially also other of our kinsmen, would like to think highly of letting the said of Brunswick or his children come again to touched land, because they do not hold of the place 2), If they commit themselves, we are especially concerned about this, even if otherwise acceptable conditions are proposed to us by all sides, which should also be sufficiently assured, if the land is to be ceded or sequestered, that Maj. Maj. will not want to act on it, nor will he of Brunswick be inclined to do so for his own sake and that of his children, that they should be bound and also sufficiently assured that they should allow the Christian religion established by us and our kinsmen to remain unbroken and uninterrupted in the country. If we and our reported kinsmen should agree to some amicable means or even to pre-touched sequestration, and if the poor people of the country should be given and pushed back into the papacy by our cooperation, we do not know, nor can we consider, whether it would be in our conscience to accept means and conditions, and yet let this, as the most important one, go and pass without being insured, since we can keep the same point in value. Thus, again, it is well to be remembered where the matter is not undertaken in goodness, and Kai. Maj. will defend Brunswick, and also want to encourage him to take action, so that the matter will not be resolved without a long, arduous war and hardship. Therefore, our most gracious request to you is that you consider what we may or may not do in this matter, first of all, for the sake of religion and conscience, and what you will consider in this matter, that you may give us reasons and sayings.

1) Burkhardt: "would like".

2) "From the place" will probably mean: from hour on. Perhaps we would like to read: "ir Wort".

and good causes of the Holy Scripture by your rewriting, and have not wanted to leave it unreported to you, you also do us a special gracious favor, and are inclined to you with grace. Date Weimar, Sunday after Andreä [2 Dec.] 1543.

We also send you herewith a copy of the form in which a procession has been arranged and held in Cologne by the priests, and also written out in an article, and as we note, it was caused by the mayor Arnold of Sigen, whom you, Magister Philippus, will know well, for the sake of His Majesty the Archbishop and his electoral liberties. Maj. and contrary to the archbishop and his churf. liberties. So we do not know how to reassure you of our gracious opinion that we have received many more plausible reports that the matters between King's Maj. and the French have been settled this time. Maj. and the French has not resulted in any reconciliation this time, and that Maj. intends to hasten to the Imperial Diet, which is not to be held at Speier because of his death. Therefore, may God have mercy on him, so that something fruitful and effective may be decided and carried out against the Turks, and in his gracious opinion, we do not want to leave you without notice of this, to further ask the Almighty for gracious welfare, and to admonish the people to do so.

No. 3067.

(Wittenberg.) 3. December 1543.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther recommends Lucas Edenberger for the Hebrew professorship.

The original is in Weimar, Reg. O, p. 124. W 26. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 103, No. 194; in Walch, vol. XXI, 485; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 605, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 69.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg. R. Reichs Erzmarschall und Churfürst, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

G. u. F. in the Lord and my poor *Pater noster*. Most illustrious, high-born Prince, most gracious Lord! The Lectionary in the Greek language has been dispensed with by the death of Aurogalli, so perhaps some will accept it; but I humbly request that E. C. F. G. lend and command it to M. Lucas Edenberger before others, not only because he has to

(which others may feel more in such a nature), but that he is well known to E. C. F. G. and to all of us, that he is faithful and diligent, and also earnest about the pure doctrine, all of which is necessary to him who is to read Ebrew. For there are many Ebraists who are more rabbinical than Christian, and yet the truth is, whoever does not seek Christ or see him in the Bible and in the Ebraic language, sees nothing, and speaks like the blind man of the dye. Now, M. Lucas is a true theologian, and capable of teaching in the Hebrew language, and is also deserving of E. C. F. G.; who knows the others who have recently come here, and have not yet proven themselves? E. C. F. G. will graciously hear my humble request. I ask not falsely nor without cause. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, der helfe E. C. F. G. and all pious princes and lords in such difficult times, when the devil thinks so beautiful and evil 1) that God will defend him, Amen. Monday after St. Andrew [Dec. 3] 1543.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Mart. Luther.

No. 3068.

6 December 1543.

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

(Regest.)

About the lack of suitable church servants.

A short regest in J. Voigt, p. 15, the above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 392.

No. 3069

(Wittenberg.) December 10, 1543.

To Dr. Johann Heß in Breslau.

Teaching about marriage in near degrees.

From the Mayer collection at Hamburg at Schütze, vol. II, p. 384 and at De Wette, vol. V, p. 606. With a Latin continuation in *Cod. Palat*. 689, p. 72. German at Walch, vol. XXI, 1570 (without time determination).

"How? Are not women enough virgins in your country, that one must so near

1) "beautiful and evil" == beautiful-evil, that is, evil under a beautiful semblance. In the original : "beautiful and evil".

What is the degree of the sisters' daughters or two sisters one after the other? Yes, Luther, for example, has issued a note stating that such degrees are appropriate. But has it not been possible to look at other books that follow, since such things have been corrected or, if you want to call it that, revocirt 2)".

But it is a mere table, in which nothing is taught or commanded, but it is shown in a modest way, what has been handed down in the old law of these things. For one thinks that also the mother of Mosi was the relative of his father Amram, 2 Mos. 6, 3) 20, although Lyra fiercely argues against it, not because it would not have been allowed at that time, Lyra does not deal with that, but because it was impossible because of the age. For one does not have to care about the words of Tamar to her brother Amnon 4) [2 Sam. 13), they do not prove anything. Thus also M. Philippus has published something similar^) about the degrees, and brings the examples of the fathers Isaac and Jacob and of Margrave Joachim of Brandenburg, who married the daughter of the King of Poland, although he had previously had the sibling of this very daughter, namely, the daughter of George, the Duke of Saxony, that is, he married two nieces of this King of Poland, who was the father of this Sigismund. But these examples do not make a law for nations, nor is it necessary to draw any inference or rule from them. Nor does M. Philip say this, but it is to be remembered for the comfort of the confessors or consciences. For this purpose also is my note omitted against the pope, who sold to anxious consciences the fourth, the third, the second degree, and as he said, gave and repealed laws for money. For from the beginning of our doctrine we have taught very constantly and always that civil orders and laws must be kept. For we have taught that civil rights and the

2) So Walch. De Wette: "renovirt". - Until now in all editions German.

3) In the editions: *Exod*. 2.

4) Walch: "Thomas' Words to Brother Amnon."

5) Walch: "Parables."-In the following are more such performances, but let this be enough.

We have fixed and approved the sword of the authorities with all their orders according to Rom. 13: "Let every man be subject to the authority that has power over him" and 1 Petr. 2, 13: "Obey the king. We have also done this from the beginning, that we have forbidden the law of Moses to be brought again into the church, and have determined that the laws of our worldly government must be used, except where a case of necessity, for the consolation of consciences, compels something to be taken, not from a law, but as an example from history. Why have they not read these writings of ours, in which we have so often stated our opinion? Therefore let the laws of the fatherland and of the authorities be kept. Now if a case should arise in which it is necessary to act or counsel against the common laws, we may now use the law of Moses as an example, and that from the public power of the authorities, if it should be a public case, which could then console itself with such an example; but the desire of an individual shall not be permitted to do such a thing. Thus our Prince, the Duke of Saxony, Elector, permits the fourth degree, the third he forbids. Duke Moritz permits the third degree, which is full on both sides in the same line, but that which is not full in the unequal line, he forbids. We stand by these orders of the authorities, because it does not belong to the ministers of the Word to make laws; this belongs to the civil authorities, who must dispose and judge of inheritances and successions that come from marriage. Therefore, marriage must also be regulated by law. However, if any case should require a dispensation, I would not hesitate in conscience to advise otherwise, or, if it were a public case, to advise that he ask a dispensation from the authorities, which would be taken from some example of the Mosaic law, especially if there were descendants and an inheritance and the like. On the 10th of December, Anno 1543.

There you have my opinion, my dear Heß 2c.

Martin Luther.

No. 3070.

Wittenberg. 10 December 1543.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

Of a pastoral question and several other matters.

The original is at Gotha in *Cod. chart. fol.* 347. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 282; by *Schlegel, vita Spalatini, p.* 250 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 608. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1327.

To the highly famous man, Magister Georg Spalatin, pastor of Altenburg, bishop of the churches in Meissen, his exceedingly dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I would do so with the sacrament, which, since it was consecrated, that sick man refused?) my dear Spalatin, I would hand it over to the fire, which removes innumerable such impulses. But if anyone in his right mind should so scoff, he should be severely punished. Why should we hand it to senseless people?

Of Einsiedel's questions, the most important is the one of which you speak, that the name of the father is reviled so much among the subjects. This matter should be investigated and a remedy sought.

Although I do not know what induced the prince to give the benefice at Naumburg to his son and why he did it, he may let his son enjoy it for the time being, until the light brings everything to light, so that it does not cause the prince an evil name before the time.

As for the pasture of the horses, let him go in like manner what he can, until he hears a complaint, especially since so much has been granted.

I would not ask any questions about the tavern, since there is no fraud in this sale, and the owner of the tavern is free not to keep the one he has bought, as you write. This I answer (as I think) without complacency (*adulatione*).

Your book I will, as you desire, embellish for the press (*adornabo*) as soon as I have

1) *Buddeus* offers: *retinuit*; De Wette reads in the original: *rennuit,* but has put *renuit in the* text.

can, if that, that I smear my bad prefaces before the books, is an adornment (*ornare*).

By the way, I thank Herr von Einsiedel for the promised carriage. My Herr Käthe had her wagons and horses in Zülsdorf, but they returned deceived, as they could do nothing before the snow fell. Therefore she sends them again, and will see to it that what she wants happens; but meanwhile may the road not have rest and be free from the suffering of the hoofbeats of the horses and the ripeness (*cantis == canthis) of the* wheels. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. December 10, 1543. Yours, Mart. Luther, D.

No. 3071.

(Wittenberg.) December 14, 1543.

To Johann Mathesius, pastor in Joachimsthal.

Luther consoles him against the rumour that King Ferdinand wants to drive all married clergymen out of his kingdom.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 418. From the Thomass collection at Halle in Schütze, vol. I, p. 290 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 609.

To the man to be highly honored in the Lord, Johann Mathesius, the exceedingly faithful servant of the Word.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I have been told by M. Caspar that you are somewhat concerned about the tyranny and rage of Ferdinand, the exceedingly sad and wretched king, who has decided to expel from his kingdom all servants of the word who are husband and wife. And though I wonder, if the Bohemians consent to his raging, - but they may consent, after all, what then? Is the kingdom of Ferdinand alone on earth? Has not Christ elsewhere a hospitable place of his grace, and left the kingdom of Ferdinand to be a place of his wrath, which shall smite kings? What fearest thou then, or art thou full of sorrow?

1) We have erased the comma after *fieri*, and put it before it.

Be confident and undaunted. Despise this bubble of water, which knoweth not whether it shall be a king or a worm tomorrow. But we shall reign with Christ for ever: they shall burn in hell with the devil. Herewith be at ease in the Lord. December 14, 1543.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 3072.

Wittenberg. 16 December 1543.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

On Luther's verdict of condemnation received from Rome. On the incidents of war; on the corruptibility of the generals. Luther's fear that the same would happen in a war between the Elector and the Emperor. - When on April 24, 1547, in the battle of Mühlberg, the cavalry had shamefully abandoned the Elector, and the Elector had been taken prisoner by the Emperor, Jonas sent this letter to Duke Albrecht of Prussia (on May 24, 1549) as a strange prophecy.

The original is in the Königsberg Archives. Printed by Faber, p. 69 ; from the Wernsdorf collection at Wittenberg by Schütze, vol. I, p. 291 and by De Wette, vol.V, p. 610. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1515.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Justus Jonas, Doctor of Theology, Provost at Wittenberg, the messenger of Christ in the church at Halle, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I have received your letter, my dear Jonas, at the same time as the Roman copy about Luther, who was condemned 25 years ago. What do you think has been written, said, done, and in any way undertaken in the meantime to our death and destruction? What do they still send forth at this day? And their raging against us is eternal with their eternal fire, as the Scriptures foretold, for even in hell they will not cease to hate and blaspheme the Son of God. Praise be to God, who has separated us from their fellowship through his holy and blessed profession.

What you write of the Emperor's affairs, the same we have, and nothing else, namely, that the Frenchman fled with his troops and refused to fight. But I suppose that he had recourse to the counsel and cunning of Fabius Maximus and the door.

We must be careful not to use a wedge, which by procrastination wearies the enemy, and not to fight unless there is some prospect of victory, where necessity does not compel it. Meanwhile we are exhausted by the cost and by weariness.

But I do not know whether you have heard this beautiful thing. It is said that the Emperor said to the Duke of Jülich: "I have spent more money on your captains than on the whole war. The same is said to have been said to him by the Duke of Orange, who is full of Nassau: "Oh, dear sir, what do you want to get with the Emperor? your captains confess more to him than the whole war." I pray thee, what will at last be done by this dreadful disloyalty and treachery to princes and kings? With gold, not with the sword, the wars are waged. They take pay from their princes, and gifts from the enemy. By this bravery the Frenchman is said to have gained Luxembourg, since the French leader promised and paid the imperial twenty thousand ducats that he should surrender defeated and surrender the city. Who does not suspect that Ferdinand, with the same luck, has now fought for the third time in Hungary? Yes, it is said that Andrew of Doria had a secret understanding with Barbarossa on the sea and said: Let us be friends with each other; why should we spoil each other? nevertheless, both your lord and my emperor will remain. O heroic and more than heroic valour, to wear out kings and princes and nations! For what will the poor common people keep at last, since they are forced to fill these gullets insatiable for gold? In a short time we shall also feel this infernal rapacity in our purse.

Finally, it is written that the Turk raged greatly in Weissenburg (? *Alba regali*), 1) in that three thousand citizens were slaughtered, and also old men, and likewise the preachers, so that the heaps of corpses were higher than the walls. Satan fears and feels the day of his judgment beforehand. What thinkest thou that he will think upon us? He is furious,

1) Walch: "in Imperial Albania".

because he has but little time. The Lord keep his own, or rather, he governs them at the same time with us through his joyful spirit, so that we, whether we live or are slain, may bravely laugh at the raging of that [evil spirit].

The Emperor, they say, wishes to restore the Duke of Brunswick, I know not by what means. Let us pray for our princes. For I have no doubt that, if a war should arise, our Centaurs will do the same as the Jülichers, namely, they will sell the princes, and accept gold, after having exhausted the same beforehand. "Only money! Lords remain lords." This is nowadays the custom and the salvation of the Niphlim, 2) not to stand in danger, not to spend anything for the fatherland, but they want to become rich and devour everything under the pretext and on the occasion of wars. "Devour in the devil's name, hell shall fill you!" Come, Lord JEsu, come, hear the groaning of thy Church, hasten thy coming, the evil rises to the highest. "It must break," amen. This I have written, lest I write nothing. Fare well and teach little church to pray for the day of the Lord, for better times are over. God will not hear except the cry for the day of our salvation. And all signs are in favor of it. Wittenberg, December 16, 1543. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 3073.

Wittenberg. 20 December 1543.

Luther, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon to the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Accompanying letter to the concern demanded by your Elector in the Brunswick affair, which they send to the Elector (in the next following number).

In the Weimar archives, *Reg. H, fol.* 1122. From Kanzleihand, but with original signatures and Luther's small petschaft. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 435.

God's grace through His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Saviour. Through

2) Gen. 6:4: "giants." *Niphlimi* with De Wette is probably a misprint.

lewdest 2c.! E. ch. F. G. we send in submission our slight and simple concern in the highly important matter, concerning the action of Brunswick, which truly needs more than human prudence. Therefore we do not write much, besides that E. ch. F. G. see how difficult it is to advise where so many unequal, uncertain people are to act and conduct a matter. Therefore we ask, E. ch. F. G. may graciously understand this short writing.

But that God would take care of His churches and provide for us, He has clearly indicated that the Son of God has taken upon Himself human nature, so that He may testify that He greatly respects and loves man. With these With this consolation we should strengthen ourselves and in this faith ask God for help. May he E. ch. F. G. graciously protect, govern and preserve us at all times. Date Wittenberg, 20 Decembris Anno 1543.

E. ch. F. G. subservient servant Martinus Luther, D.

Johannes Bugenhagen, Pomer, Dr. Philippus Melanthon.

No. 3074.

(Wittenberg.) (20 December 1543.)

Concerns about the Brunswick cause, jointly with Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

At the location indicated in the previous number. With Burkhardt, p. 435 ff., in the note.

If an action were to be taken by the land of Brunswick, and otherwise, due to other circumstances, the matter might be directed to peace, whether, for the sake of peace, the article of religion should be concealed and not disputed, or whether this article should be held in such high esteem that, because of it, these lords and lands should be put into strife and extreme danger, and wars should be waged, of which no one can see any end, from which devastation of the German nation is to be feared, as Graecia and other lands have been terribly devastated by war among themselves 2c.., For war is not every man's art,
and to conclude in such matters, the Holy Spirit alone is the right counsel; human thoughts may easily be abominably wanting in this, for divine punishments are many.

But, to speak according to the rule, this is the truth. If these lords and estates hold that they truly and fundamentally had the right to take the land of Brunswick, and that they governed it diligently and praiseworthily, and had a serious regard for churches and schools, and thus sought God's praise, and respected their property to some extent in this way, that with God's help they might protect the land, it is right and necessary not only not to conceal the article of religion, but also, in the event that force should be used, to protect the churches in the land as their own churches. And as David would have done wrong, if he had willingly given one or more spots to the idolaters, where he had reason to believe that idolatry would again be established: So in this case it is also wrong to give the land again into the hands of Brunswick, and with concealment again to allow idolatry, unjust teaching and persecution, and with the weak confusion of their consciences, chasing away or murder of the Christian priests, their wives, poor children, item, others who do not want to accept idolatry again. Against this concealment speak actually these following sayings, which are rightly dressed, and are the proper rules of such things and cases. Matth. 10, 32. f.: "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my heavenly Father: but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my heavenly Father." Matth. 12, 30.: "He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth." Gal. 2:18: "If I build again that which I have broken off, I make myself a transgressor." Rom. 1, 32.: The doers and the approvers are alike guilty of death. Matth. 18, 6: "If any of the least offend one that believeth on me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the deepest part of the sea." Matth. 25, 24. ff. the servant is rejected and condemned [who buries his centner

had]. 1) Ezekiel 34:2: "Woe to the shepherds of Israel that feed themselves. Shall not the shepherds feed the flock?" Isa. 5, 22. f.: "Woe unto you that speak right unto the wicked" 2c.

These sayings are the rule, from both of which it is clear that one cannot consent to unrighteous teaching, idolatry, and persecution again being wrought in the land [and that one owes protection]. 2)

But there are several things appended to this, namely, that it is not a public impossibility, for in this case the gospel gives the same doctrine to both sovereigns and subjects, namely, that we should be ready to suffer if we are defenseless, as Christ saith Matt. 16:24: "If any man will follow me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." As an *example*, when Maximianus persecuted the Christians in the Orient, he overran the Armenians, who had been subjects of the Romans for a time, but had adopted Christian doctrines. But because they saw public tyranny, and yet the cities had a regiment, they faithfully joined together and protected themselves against Maximianus their emperor, and victory and happiness were with the Armenians. This was right, for the cause was right, and there was quite a fortune. But where there is no such fortune, and human protection is gone, one must do as the prophets, apostles, and many saints have done at all times.

At the same time, Maximiani had a magistrate in Phrygia, Adauctus, a noble lord who ruled well. He had adopted Christian doctrine, and had done away with idolatry throughout his city, and governed the city with Christian doctrine and discipline. This reached Maximianum, who sent a war party against Adauctum. Now there was a public impossibility of resistance. Therefore he sent in the army, which killed him and other Christians and burned the city, as described by Eusebius in Book 8.

1) We have substituted "etc." for Burkhardt, who notes: "For the sake of brevity, we do not give all these biblical passages *in extenso*. We have added them all.

2) These bracketed words were inserted by Melanchthon.

Now where this impossibility is, a superintendence is excused for not protecting, as Christ saith, Luc. 11:41, Give elemosyns of your ability; the like also saith Paul 2 Cor. 8 [v. 11.].

And especially with negation and wars, not only the ability, but also the measure of each one's grace is to be considered: as not all are at the same time gifted by God with strength of body, with speech, so not all are made by God for blissful wars, as Alexander, Julius.

Therefore saith St. Paul Rom. 12:3, Let every man know the measure of his grace and bounty, and let him not exceed his bounty.

Now it is not for us to know the occasion of the lords, but this we well see, that this matter is not to be decided by one or two alone, but by many estates, and whether they all agree and are willing, the lords themselves will consider; but this is indicated by us, that one may know where one is indebted for protection, and that in case of impossibility one must have patience.

The people of Israel were so severely afflicted in Egypt that even their young children were killed, and the tyranny lasted 80 years. Then God raised up Moses so that they would have a captain who would succeed. So these things are not done by the will of man, but by the will of God, if there is to be good fortune in them.

Martinus Luther, D.

Johannes Bugenhagen, Pomer., Dr. Philippus Melanthon.

No. 30 75.

(Altenburg.) December 25, 1543.

Spalatin all Luther.

(Regest.)

Spalatin asks Luthern to give his opinion on the book he has written (see No. 3065), whether Spalatin should keep it only for his private use or whether he should publish it to benefit others. Spalatin should keep it only for his private use or, in order to benefit others with it, put it into print. In the latter case, he asked Luthern for a short preface. - Luther complied with him. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XI V, 408.

A copy is found in *Cod. chart. Goth.*, p. 105.

Printed in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 393.

No. 3076.

Wittenberg. 25 December 1543.

To the council of Halle, together with Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

Notification that at the request of the Council they have asked the Elector to leave Dr. Jonas in Halle for another year, which has been granted.

From a copy found in *Cod. Monac*. 90, p. 3626, no. VII, found in *Corp. Ref.* vol. V, 268 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 353 s. The author appears to be Melanchthon. The signatures are missing.

God's grace through His only begotten Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. Honorable, wise, noble, favorable gentlemen! After E. W. wrote to us some weeks ago that we, in consideration of your need of the church, wish to petition the most noble, high-born Prince and Lord, Duke of Saxony, Elector, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, our most gracious Lord, that S. C. F. G. graciously extend the time that the venerable *Doctori Justo Jonae is* permitted to stay with your church. Lord. To which His Holiness graciously replied: although, especially at this time, there is a great lack of such persons in the university, His Holiness wishes to give greater consideration to the need of the church at Hall, and to allow *Doctor Jonae to remain at* Hall for another year, but with this proviso that he substitutes a legatee here, and decrees that he receive 60 fl. from his income here. This most thoughtful answer of our most gracious lord we have sent to the most esteemed *Doct*. *Chiliano*, our good friend, who will report it to Your Worship. At the same time we have also wanted to attribute it to E. W.. For whatever we know how to do to promote and serve the Christian Church in Hall, E. W. will find us willing to do according to our ability. May the eternal God, Father of our Saviour JEsu Christ, graciously protect, govern and preserve your churches. Date Wittenberg, on the day of the holy birth of our Saviour Christ *anno* 1544 [that is, 1543].

No. 3077.

(Wittenberg.) December 27, 1543,

To Dr. Nicolaus Medler, pastor at Naumburg.

Luther consoled him and offered him a position at the cathedral church in Naumburg.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 441. Printed in the Innocent News 1740, p. 138; in *Schlegel, vita Jo. Langeri,* p. 229; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 326 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 705 (incorrectly placed in the year 1544). German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1340.

To the respectable man, Mr. Nicolaus Medler, Doctor of Theology, pastor of the church at Naumburg, his extremely dear brother.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I refrain now, my dear Medler, Doctor, and man of great renown, from comforting you in your very bitter cross, with which the Lord has crucified you, 1) but as a sweet and pious Lord and Savior, since you yourself know and teach others this, that the will of our Father is always the best, whose immeasurable goodness, though hidden from flesh and blood, yet so instructs us that we learn to taste how kind the Lord is. This cannot happen unless, after the flesh has been killed in various ways, there is room for the spirit, which groans and longs for the will of the Lord in the land of the living. But of this at another time, and it is not so necessary (as I hope) with thee. Now I deal with this matter: The venerable Lord, the man beloved by God and man, the Bishop, Mr. Nicolaus von Amsdorf, has written to me that the lectureship in the cathedral church at Naumburg is vacant, and would like you to accept it. Therefore, I also ask you, if it can happen at all, that you also accept this lectureship, prompted by such an honorable profession, or that you answer me immediately, so that I can name someone else. I write briefly, because I am very busy. For these days I am

1) "His wife had died on him, and when his son came from Wittenberg to comfort him, death snatched this away from him as well." (De Wette.) "Medler's son, Samuel, died November 17, 1543, according to Medler's letter to Melanchthon, November 18, 1543, which is printed in Fortges. Samml. 1740, p. 130." (Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 70.)

I have come to life again from death, and have preached twice without any difficulty, which is almost considered a miracle. Be at ease in the Lord with your own, and believe that almost the same pain has befallen us all through the departure of your son, the young man for whom the best hope was. But he is torn away, as that [wise man, Wis. 4:11] says, "that wickedness turn not his mind." God's counsels are different from ours, and without doubt better. On the day of St. John in the feast days of the Nativity of Christ 1544 1) (that is, 1543).

Your Martin Luther.

No. 3078.

(Wittenberg.) December 27, 1543.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther asks him to forward the previous letter to Medler. About his visit to Amsdorf or also a meeting with him.

The original is in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 332 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 706 (as from 1544). German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1535 (with many translation errors).

To the in Christ venerable Lord Nicolaus, the right and faithful bishop of the church at Naumburg, his superior to be highly honoured in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I am writing in this letter to Dr. Medler, in Christ venerable bishop, about the theological lecture which you, dear Lord (*tua Humanitus*), have mentioned to me, and I advise that he accept it. You, dear Lord (*T[ua] D[ominatio*]), can send this letter of mine there more easily than I, because I have no accidental messengers.

By the way, I have definitely decided, if it should be possible, to walk to you during the upcoming Leipzig Fair. For my head and my feet are strong enough for my age. I have preached twice during these feast days, without any difficulty or stress.

difficulty (thanks be to God), contrary to my and everyone's expectations. I am told that there are indeed dangers from those of Plough, 2) of whom it is thought that, having become bolder through the happy progress of the Emperor's affairs, they could also undertake something against the will of the Prince, and that everything is full of disloyalty, even on our side. But if I cannot come during the fair, you will indicate to me at what place I may meet you when you come, either at the Eilenburg Castle (which will be easily obtained by the Prince) or at the house of Mr. Dietrich of "Schönfeld in Wilkow," between Leipzig and Düben (*Didon*). Or if you know of another more convenient place, show it to me. I would perhaps want Leipzig, you would not want it for reasons. For in our neighbourhood than in "Pretzsch" or "Brettin" (Pretyn) or "Schmidberg" it would be easy to be granted our wish. But so I write, as if my run to you had to be stopped (which I did not want), so that we may give each other news of the place and the day in good time. Farewell, my brother who is exceedingly dear to me in Christ and who is by far the most worthy bishop of a much higher office in the Church of God. On the day of St. John (as it is called) in the days of [the feast of] the Nativity of Christ 1543.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 3079.

Weimar. 30 December 1543.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

The Elector reports that he has received their concern (No. 3074). He declares himself willing to provide the churches and schools in Brunswick with the necessary supplies, and instructs Bugenhagen to inquire of the superintendent employed in Brunswick where there is a lack, and to inform the Elector of this.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, p.*1122.
Printed by Burkhardt, p. 437.

1) After the way to start the new year with Christmas.

2) *de Aratro* - of Julius von Pflug and his comrades. Walch: "from the peasants".

No. 3080.

(Wittenberg.) December 31, 1543.

To Christoph Jörger.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 196.

No. 30 81.

(Wittenberg.) In December 1543.

Concerns about a council of the cities in the Brunswick matter, together with Bugenhagen.

As it seems, a town meeting took place in Constance, whose council sent in the town of Constance. Luther and Bugenhagen speak out against it.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. H, p. 1122. 9th chancery hand with original signatures. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 438.

The council of the Duchy of Brunswick in Costentz says: that it would be laudable not to give the land out of one's hands or to cede it by some means, and [they] complain about this to their consciences. Now it is true: it would be praiseworthy, if one wanted to preserve the hut, and do what belongs to it; but to argue about it alone, and to do nothing or little about it, is not enough. And the matter is highly weighted with words in the reported council, as Demosthenes puffs up his speech that it is very inglorious for the praiseworthy city of Athens, which has waged such great wars and defeated foreign nations, to make peace with the king of Macedonia. To such speeches also belong willing people, who want to add their goods, life and limb, and do not advance other people. Whether the cities 1) were thus minded, of this we have heard nothing. Now we do not want to argue about what is "praiseworthy," but what is necessary, and what concerns the conscience. 2) What is necessary is what God has commanded, and what each state is obliged to do according to its profession or ability.

1) This passage has led us to the assumption that a so-called city council had taken place at Constance, on whose behalf this city had sent in the council. Burkhardt in his table of contents only says: "Bedenken über den von der Stadt Costnitz eingesandten Rathschlag" 2c.

2) Here Burkhardt has no interpunction sign.

Kings, princes, and sovereigns are commanded to protect Christians against Turks or tyrants as far as each is able. But if a pious ruler, who would gladly add his body and goods, has no help from others, or if private persons are abandoned, they do right to accept a tolerable peace, which God's word does not forbid, with the enemies, to whom alone they are too weak, as Judah accepted peace with the Romans, who left them their temple and worship, though it would have been much more beautiful and praiseworthy if they had put Herod and Pilate out of Judea, as Esaias drove out Sanherib. There were also some holy men at the time when Esaias was, namely, Mary, John Baptist, and others. But this time should not have such great honor, because it was the time of punishment, therefore also the people did not hold together, as it is unfortunately now, that nothing holds together. And this case of Brunswick is quite equal to the Elemosyns. For that these estates took the land from the tyrant out of right causes and brought it to right teaching, this is a high, God pleasing Elemosyna. Now no man is guilty of giving elemosyna above his ability, as Christ saith, Prayer elemosyna 2c., and Paul 2 Cor. 8 saith, One ought thus to give, lest we suffer need, and others have idle days. So a gentleman is not guilty of neglecting, putting in peril, and spoiling his own churches and country, that others who should labor with may have gentle rest. Further also Paul speaketh, that they should give elemosyns, every one first to his kinsmen. Thus a lord is bound to help his country and his people first, and then, as much as he is able, others also. And there are many of these sayings in the Word of God, which teach that each one should take care of his house, his country, his profession, and his office; in this diligence God gives blessing and happiness. It is beyond human ability to govern one's own house; but because the householder remains in his profession, and this is his own and necessary work, God is with him and helps to keep house. But if the householder wants to burden himself with many other people's things, that is out of the rule; God is not always with him. It is true that

God often gives great victory through weak people, as through Gideon, Jonathan, David 2c. But these are special works, which God Himself brings into being, and does not keep counsel with men beforehand. Now if one or two would find the burden of Brunswick alone, and their churches, land, and people too heavy to bear, it would be an elephant in their power, which they are not obligated to do, and their consciences are excused, especially if they nevertheless reserve this in this cession, so that the right order of the churches will not be disrupted. And it is true that this is a matter of concern, but the blame for the country's non-compliance lies with those who do not want to help, but rather drag themselves out, and want to blame misfortune, danger, costs, and damage on a few. Let us also suppose that the emperor had proposed these two things, to agree to sequestration or to wait for war; and to suppose that such a proposal would be a true seriousness, as one nevertheless sees that the emperor has strange suggestions: what should a preacher, whom one asks for advice, answer? Shall he counsel war in the fatherland, that no man can see no head, no end, no remedy? Thus the histories remind us, when such fires are once kindled, that afterward one thing burns for another. How have Athens, Sparta, Corcyra, Platea, Argos, Thebes, one after the other, been destroyed to the ground! Therefore we cannot and should not advise war, except in the public necessity of resistance. But if there are people whom God has awakened, He will give it into their hands, and they need not ask questions. If God wants to make a salutary change in the world through war, he will give the beginning to it in such a way that we must defend ourselves and not hurry to do so. Yes, say some, then it is too short, and we are overhasty. All this is human fidgeting and faintheartedness, and is contrary to the teaching in the 46th Psalms [v. 11]: "Stand still, and you will see that I am God. And Moses saith, Stand still, and ye shall see the glory of God. The wisdom and strength of Christians is not to hurry without a certain calling, but to stand still in faith and await the time. Human fear hurries and runs away. In the Costenzer Rathschlag are many worldly argumenta
as the preservation of the land would have made the persecutors of the gospel fearful. These and such arguments do not trouble the consciences, and wise men can speak much against them, and their arguments are good, if the help also follows.

Martinus Luther.
Johannes Bugenhagen, Pom., D.

No. 30 82.

(Wittenberg.) No date 1543.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for M. Ambrosius Scheffer and for the widow Johann Mantels.

This is an inscription by Luther in a register of scholars. In the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O. pag. 160. NNN. 4* Printed by Burkhardt, p. 438.

And I also ask humbly for the preacher at Pretyn, M. Ambrosius, who has many children, and he is well skilled. Again, for Johann Mantelin, a poor widow.

E. C. F. G. willing and submissive

Mart. Luther.

No. 30 83.

(Wittenberg.) No date 1543.

To the preachers (M. Antonius Otto and M. Joh. Spangenberg) at Nordhausen.

Luther exhorts them not to disturb harmony for the sake of trivial things.

Handwritten in *Cod. chart. Goth*. 451. printed in *N. Ericeus, Sylvula Sententiaruin, Francof. ad M.* 1566, p. 215 [185]b; in *Buddeus*, p. 288; *Joan. Manlii Epistolarum Dr. Philippi Melanchthonis Farragoo etc. Basilae, Per Paulum Queckum: M.D.LXV*. 8. pag. 289; in M. J. H. Kindervaters *Nordhusa illustris etc*. Wolffenbüttel 1745. 8. p. 263 (after Manlius); in the Fortges. Samml. von alten und neuen *Theol.* Sachen 1728, p. 499, and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 356 (after Manlius). German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1346; in another translation in the Tischreden, Cap. 34, § 4 (except in the St. Louis edition, where vol. XXII, 997 refers to this passage) and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 356. - The Latin offers so many variants that their indication in Seidemann occupies more space than the text. We have retranslated according to Seidemann.

To the highly esteemed and worthy men, 1) the servants of the Word of God in Nordhausen, his exceedingly dear brothers in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Dear men! You yourselves see how great disturbances Satan is stirring up everywhere in the church, for there are almost as many opinions as there are heads of the church servants. Therefore a certain rumor has also reached me that insignificant questions have also arisen among you concerning very trifling things. For in regard to the epitome of right doctrine (*summa pietatis*) your reputation is still inviolate. Nevertheless, as the rabble is crude and despises the whole doctrine of godliness, so it easily seizes the opportunity to disparage and blaspheme even the highest articles of the faith, especially among those who are papists, who fan the flames and arouse bitterness, and from a little spark blow up a conflagration. Therefore I beseech you for Christ's sake, in whom we live and of whom we boast, 2) in whose Spirit we are one, that you may know and consider the grace of God, by which he has made us one, and has hitherto preserved us in the epitome of right doctrine 3) and the chiefest articles, and, as Paul [1 Cor. 10, 32.] give no man offence in these outward and *indifferent* (*indifferentibus*) things, yea (as now the Papists rage), with speeches injurious and dangerous among the weak, but pernicious among the hardened. Thus Christ shall be the some 4) and reign among all, whose death and blood we must justly prefer to our thoughts, or rather to the temptations of the devil. But as He hath begun His work in you, so keep and perform it unto that day, in which we hope, Amen.

Dr. Martin Luther.

1) Here are in the Fortges. Sammt, the names: *M. Joh. Spangenbergio et M. Antonio Ottoni* inserted.
2) Instead of *gubernamur* we have assumed with *Buddeus*, the manuscript and the Fortges. Collection we have assumed *gloriamur.*
3) Instead of *summa pietate* We have assumed *summa pietatis* with *Buddeus* (as above).
4) Instead of *meus* we have assumed *unus* according to most sources.

No. 30 84.

(Wittenberg.) January 10, 1544.

To Eberhard von der Tann (Thann), Captain at Königsberg. [5)]

Luther speaks out about the beneficial use of spiritual goods.
From a copy in *Cod. Goth*. 40, fol. 211, printed by Burkhardt, p. 441.-The occasion is not known.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Faithful, firm, dear Lord, good friend! I have indeed been so overloaded with letters and business this time that I have not been able to do any of them before the others, and everything must go through my head and hand alone. Therefore it has been delayed to answer you. That some grumble that my most gracious lord sells the ecclesiastical goods (as they are called) does not annoy me, for his churf. G. has otherwise done great harm to them, as it is tried with visitators and sequestrators, who have not been satisfied, and yet monasticism cannot be restored, one truly cannot do otherwise. Also S. ch. G. to receive the gospel with daily lists and messages and the like, an excellent great fare, which is all too heavy for the country. This is also a good thing, that such goods come among the nobility, 6) and especially to those who need them, for the very rich do not need them. It is not necessary for the rich. Therefore they that are vexed in this, and see the mote in another's eye, may well first look at their beam. Tell me, what use is the entire Würzburg Abbey to the church, as are all abbeys? Here schools, parishes, hospitals are supplied for the word of God and churches, there such large estates serve the devil and the persecution of the divine word; here the monastery is poor, the brothers are many, there the monasteries are rich and the lords are wavy. Therefore they would grant us such a poor beggar's sack in God's honor (even if not everything would be pure), so we must grant that they

5) If this heading, which is found in Burkhardt, is correct, then "Königsberg in Franconia" is to be understood in the duchy of Coburg, where Eberhard von der Tann, who was captain at the Wartburg, must have been transferred.
6) Burkhardt: compt.

turn their full boxes to the devil's service. Enough this time. Hereby GOtte commanded, Amen. Thursday after *Trium Regum* [10 Jan.] 1544. Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3085.

(Wittenberg.) January 22, 1544.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 700.

No 3080.

(Wittenberg.) Soon after the previous one in 1544.

To the members of the Consistory at Wittenberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 694.

No. 3087.

(Wittenberg.) 25 January 1544.

Concerns of the Sins of the Elect, jointly with Melanchthon and Bugenhagen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1706. - There, as in the other editions, placed in the year 1536. But according to Burkhardt, p. 274, it is to be put here.

No. 3088.

(Wittenberg.) January 25, 1544.

To Peter Walzdorf, mayor of [1]Arnstadt.

About the petition of some citizens in Arnstadt for their expelled preacher (see No. 3064).

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 276; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 575; by Walch, vol. XXI, 488; by De Wette, vol. V, p. 623 (who has compared *Cod. Goth.* 185. 4.) and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 81, everywhere as "to an unnamed person". Mörlin's life in the *Act. Boruss.*, II, 482, gives explanation of this letter (Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 633, note 5).

Grace and peace in the Lord. My dear friend! That such a writing of the four citizens of Arnstadt to the Count should be inflammatory fine, is impossible for me to understand, because it is a humble

1) Thus Seidemann in De Wette. Vol. VI, p.633; Luther calls him in No. 3093: "a citizen" (*civem*).

This is a pleading writing to no one else but to their proper superiors for a faithful, learned preacher, in which they should rather be praised than scolded, except that it should not be held against them if they had persuaded themselves in words. But if you will to the dog, he hath eaten the leather. It has pleased me beyond measure in the council of Arnstadt that they chase away such an excellent man and thereby reject Christ himself; and if it were up to me, they should not get a pastor forever; and whoever accepts it after this Dr. Mörlin, he shall not be in my community until they get along with Dr. Mörlin in a Christian way. Should not a parishioner suffer a little if he were punished for sin, just as if we did not deserve it much worse, and have allowed ourselves to be flayed under the papacy, and have learned vain lies and condemnation for it. To write to the Elector is (I fear) too long, perhaps also in vain, to that S. C. F. G. has sent himself to the Imperial Diet. But I hear that the Grase will write to us: if it happens, he shall find me at home, if God wills it, because I have Dr. Mörlin's trade with me. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. On the day of St. Paul's Conversion [25 Jan.] 1544.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3089.

(Wittenberg.) January 26, 1544.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther approves Amsdorf's intention to appoint Dr. Joachim Mörlin to Naumburg and announces his journey to Zeitz.

The original is in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 295 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 624. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1518.

To the in Christ venerable man, Mr. Nicolaus, the right and faithful bishop of the church at Naumburg, his highly venerable and exceedingly dear superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace. Venerable Bishop in the Lord! I do not dislike it when you send Doctor Mörlin to the church in Naumburg.

bürg. He is known to us, since he was an extremely faithful deacon here in the church for a long time, and then received his doctorate. Then you will have two very eloquent men in the church at Naumburg. You know Medler, but this one is equal if not superior to him. You can certainly call him, and he will be effective under our leadership. The people of Arnstadt (but only a few from the council) have treated him very unseemly; of this another time.

Now I am seriously thinking of traveling to you (my whole body is quite restored, only my head is not yet very firm, but I can preach and read, stand and walk), as soon as this very severe winter subsides. You will see me (God willing) in Zeitz. 1) Our most noble Prince has written that you have asked that you could come to me. You would be a very pleasant guest to me, but it is not necessary; rather, I will come (if I am healthy). Otherwise there would be a sitting-room and a bedchamber in my house, and everything ready, according to my small fortune, as thou knowest. Fare well in the Lord, and pray for me. In haste. On the Saturday after Paul's conversion [26 Jan.] 1544.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 3090.

(Wittenberg.) January 29, 1544.

To Johann Göritz, judge at Leipzig.

Luther warns him of an impostor who had once taken refuge in his house.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 1002; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 576; in Walch, vol. XXI, 489; in De Wette, vol. V, pp. 624 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 82.

Grace and peace. My dear judge and good friend! I am told how a guest is with you in Leipzig, who calls herself Rosina voll Truchses, such an impudent

1) Burkhardt, p. 442, remarks on this: "The instruction for Luther and Melanchthon on this in the Weim. Archive, *Reg. B, fol.* 194. 76. 4. They were to help set up the bishop and remain there until the Elector withdrew again (i.e. probably from the Diet of Speyer)."

Liar, whose like I also saw not. 2) For she also first came to me with such a name, as a poor nun, of such a noble lineage; but when I asked about it, it turned out that she had lied to me. Then I brought her before me and inquired who she was; so she confessed to me that she was the daughter of a burgher in Minderstadt in Franconia, who had been beheaded in the peasants' revolt, and that she had thus gone astray as a poor child; she asked me to forgive her for God's sake and to have mercy on her. Whereupon I commanded her that she should henceforth abstain from such lies with the name of Truce. But as I am sure, I know no other way, for she does 3) so; then she sets up all kinds of evil and whoredom behind me, also in my house; cheats all people with the name of Truces, so that after I have found out, since she came away, I cannot think otherwise than she is inflicted on me by the papists, as an arch-whore, desperate brat and liar, who has done me all kinds of harm in the cellar, kitchens, chambers, and yet no one could be guilty. Who knows what more she had in mind, for I had her in great trust with me in my chambers and with my children. At last she took some to herself, and became pregnant by the kill, and asked my maid to jump on her womb to kill the fruit. So by the mercy of my maid she escaped me, or else she would not have deceived me any more, for the Elbe would not have had water. Therefore my request to all of you is to have such a princess in your sight, and let her be commanded to you, and let her ask where she is from, finally, where it cannot be otherwise, do not let the cursed whore brat, lying, thieving wretch, in honor of the Gospel and also for my service, suffer with you, so that yours may also be safe from her devilish deception, thievery, and deceivers. I am almost afraid that if she were asked, she would have deserved more than one death, since so many witnesses will be found after her departure. This I will tell you in good faith, that it may not be on my conscience, where I would have held my peace, to tell you.

2) So put by us instead of: "who I [Walch: himself] also did not see at once".

3) In the editions: "that".

...to denounce and warn you of this damned lying, whoring, thieving brat. Do now what and how you know; I am excused. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Tuesday after Paul's Conversion [29 Jan] 1544.

No. 3091.

Rendsburg. 29 January 1544.

King Christian of Denmark to Luther.

(Regest.)

The king thanks Luther for his letter and asks for his intercession for himself and his kingdom. He regrets that a gift intended for him has not arrived, and promises to renew it.

Printed in Wegener, Aarsberetninger de kongelige Geheime archiv. Kjöbenhaven 1852-55, I, 232 f. and in Kolde, *Analecta* p. 395.

No. 3092.

(Wittenberg.) January 30, 1544.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

Luther reassures him about the delayed printing of his book (cf. No. 3065 and No. 3075). Of Luther's dispute with the jurists about the secret betrothals.

Handwritten in *Cod. chart. Goth*. 121; in *Cod. chart. Goth*. 451. col. 185. 4. and in *Cod. Jen. a, fol.* 359. printed by *Buddeus*, p. 283 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 626. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1328.

To the highly famous man, M. Georg Spalatin, superintendent of the churches in Meissen, pastor of the church in Altenburg, his brother who is extremely dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace! You write, as it seems to me, a little too excitedly about your little book, my dear Spalatin, as if it were hiding where you know nothing about it. And even I do not blame you for this affection for the child of your spirit, but rather praise it most highly, and have joked sweetly with me about your so sincere good will. But thou shalt know that thy work hides not, since I have given it to be printed. But all the presses 1) are so overwhelmed with books that it cannot be produced as quickly as you would like. Perhaps you do not believe that we are so busy here, because you, being an absentee, do not see our misery. I confess to thee that I have been so received in this new year, that in my life I have been

1) Instead of *prelo* we have assumed *prela.*

and have never been more troubled in the whole cause of the gospel. For I am getting into a very fierce bargain with the lawyers on account of the secret engagements, and those whom I had hoped would be reliable friends of the Gospel I am finding to be the fiercest enemies. Should not this torment me, I pray thee, my dear Spalatin? Have patience, therefore, with me, or with my negligence, if thou thinkest it so. For if I did not adore and love you with all my heart, I would not have written this letter to you either, with my plagues so great. Nevertheless, as much as is in me, thy little book shall be procured, because it pleases me well, as I wrote before. Fare well and pray for the church, that is, for us. Inward enemies do more harm than outward, as Judas among the apostles; but the crucified conquers, and the crucifier perishes, Amen. Give my love to your very dear wife.

Behold, there my Kate, if dll have her not before, sendeth a root against the stone, which, it seemeth to me, is effectual, for it hath benefited both me and many others; it may also be tried. Again, bear thyself well, my dear Spalatin, and be not moved by any suspicion, as if I despised thy works. You are an old tried and tested one among my best friends, whom I would least of all despise, especially as an old man who is already at the grave. Do thou again that thou mayest interpret my manners or my ways, or (if it please thee) my business and troubles, kindly and sincerely, and not doubt, even if some appearance should intervene, that thou art and wilt be exceedingly dear to me. Again, be at ease in the Lord. Wednesday after Paul's conversion [30 Jan] 1544.

Your M. Luther, D.

No. 3093.

(Wittenberg.) February 6, 1544.

To Dr. Joachim Mörlin, appointed pastor in Göttingen.

Luther wishes him luck on his appointment to Göttingen and exhorts him to prayer. News.

From the Börner Collection at Leipzig in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 296 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 627.

To the respectable Mr. Joachim Mörlin, Doctor of Theology, your faithful, right 1) and fair Bishop of the Church at Göttingen, his in Christ exceedingly dear brother.

We wish you happiness in your profession, my dear Doctor, and we invoke the rich blessing of the Holy Spirit for you and for the people of Göttingen, that you may produce much fruit for the glory of God. Go in peace, and the Lord be with you, Amen. If the council of Arnstadt should desire anyone from us, they will not find us as they would like, as I have written to a citizen there, Peter Walzdorf. For it angers me greatly their ingratitude and wickedness, God will repay them. By the way, may you be especially mindful in your church that you encourage the people to pray and supplicate for the Imperial Diet and for the churches, for each individual prince of our confession, and likewise for the Emperor, that he may be ruled by a good spirit, for Satan is raging terribly, as credible news of him is written to us. The Frenchman has attacked the emperor anew, having taken away a certain good city by fraud. The Pope has joined with him, the Venetians, the Turk, and they receive Barbarossa, the leader of the Turkish fleet; they pay [for the army] 2) 300,000 gold florins (*coronatorum*) every month. Then the Frenchman gave Barbarossa a certain port, and a Mahometan temple is built there, with the Pope's permission. Thus do the Head of the Church and the most Christian King of the Church work for the Church. This is how they use the money for the Church, which has been squeezed out of the indulgences, the annals and innumerable revenues of all the churches against the Turks in so many years. O over the ages! O over Satan! Come, O Lord JEsu, come! It is time for the Lord to intervene, amen. Fare well in the Lord with your own. On the day of Dorothea [6 Feb.] 1544.

Your Martin Luther.

1) Instead of "*servo* (?)" we have assumed *vero.* 2) Added from the postscript to the following letter.

No. 3094.

(Wittenberg.) February 9, 1544.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

Luther speaks out about the very evil times and reports news.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 421 and in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. Printed from the Ludwig Collection at Halle by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 297 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 628. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1519.

To the highly esteemed and worthy man, Mr. M. Anton Lauterbach, Bishop of the Church at Pirna, his exceedingly dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! He sitteth at the right hand of the Father, whom we preach, confess, and worship. He will see to it that the counsels and devices of his enemies are turned aside and brought to nought, as the second Psalm teaches; and we will do our part in teaching and praying. We will let them rage and rage against the Lord and his anointed. What "Grickel and Jeckel" 3) are boiling in the Mark, I do not know. May God heal them, amen. The shameful Jews rule in the Mark (*ea*) with the Margrave for the sake of money. They are also exempted at Prague by Ferdinand for the same cause. This is the fruit of the Centaurs, who, I believe, will be the last enemies of the Church, and at the same time the most pernicious, more avaricious than avarice itself, and more insatiable than hell itself. Christ shall satisfy them, who shall come in glory shortly, not with money, but with the fire and brimstone of hell, and the wrath of God.

I received the spotted fish, or the preserved trout. Thank Johann Schulteis in my name. How much bitterness Satan breathes in the poems you have sent! But he will accomplish nothing against the Lord, only that he testifies that he is tormented by one of his worthy hatreds against the Son of God. Fare well in the Lord, who guides and sustains you together with Daniel [Cresser] and the other fellow servants of God, amen. Greetings

3) Johann Agricola and Dr. Jakob Schenk. The latter was court preacher of the Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg since 1543 (see Seidemann, "Schenk", p. 60).

you my Käthe and all yours, and says that your care for the Borsdorf apples was not necessary.

There is no news, only that it is said that Latorf was elected bishop of Merseburg, although Julius Pflug (*Aratratus* == the plowed) had several votes. The bishop of Cologne still insists on the Gospel. Prayers must be made for him so that he may remain firm. The canons do not cease to rage against him. You know that one of us, who was not of us, M. Veit Amerbach, went to Ingolstadt to be Eck's successor in blaspheming our word, perhaps more than the latter did. For there is the dung puddle of all blasphemous men. The Lord is near; we shall not be anxious, amen. February 9, 1544.

M. Luther, D.

I will tell you a monstrosity of this new year (the witnesses are extremely reliable): the Frenchman, the Pope, the Venetians, the Turk have formed a conspiracy against the emperor and pay for the army every month three tons [of gold], 300,000 gold florins (*coronatorum*). The Frenchman has granted Barbarossa, who is the commander of the Turkish fleet, a certain seaport, and there he has built a temple of Mahomet. He has taken away a good little town from the emperor. These things you may sing to your followers of Pope. This 1) is the head of the most holy church, who wished to be worshipped, that is the most Christian king of France. "There now is indulgence money," annals, revenues, the infinite robbery of all the churches, the money gathered in so many years "invested. Praise now to the, Pope!"

The history of this letter includes the news that Lauterbach, after Luther's death, gave the original of the letter to his friend Cölestin, and wrote him the following:

Esteemed man and respectable Doctor, esteemed friend! This letter, which the holy man, Mr. Dr. M. Luther, wrote to me some years ago with a sincere heart, which contains his complaints against Eisleben, the great hypocrite and false man, the perverse antinomer,2) likewise complains that

1) De Wette has unnecessarily replaced the *hic* in the text by *hoc.* For *Papa* results from the preceding *Papistis*.

2) Here we have added *continentes.*

the people of our Mark adhere to the Jews, I send to you, who is surely genuine (*bona fide*), since you are eager to have your own manuscript (xxxxxxxxxx) of Luther, of blessed memory

...to have with thee what I would have thee honored with... But be careful, lest you prepare danger for yourself. For Luther's writings are abhorrent to the devil and his scales, especially to the *Agricolanis Eislebiis,* whose author, Joh. Agricola, has cunningly and deceitfully angered the Church of God with antinomian ravings and has greatly disturbed the Lutheran community. Would to God that he had seriously repented! Last September 1563.

No. 3095.

(Wittenberg.) February 10, 1544.

To Elisabeth, widowed Electress of Brandenburg.

Luther thanks her that she has given Joh. Faber to the city of Brettin as pastor.

Handwritten in *Cod. chart.* Goth. 451.1. printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 105, no. 197; in Walch, vol. XXI, 491; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 630 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 84.

The "most illustrious", highborn princess and wives, wives Elisabeth, born of royal stock in Denmark, Margravine of Brandenburg, Electress, widow, my most gracious wives and godmother.

Grace and peace. Most illustrious, highborn Princess, most gracious Lady and dear Godfather! I was very pleased to hear from E. C. F. G.'s writing that you have so willingly, indeed graciously, allowed and granted Mr. Johann Faber 3) of the city of Prettin to become a pastor. E. C. F. G. have done a good work in this; for since he was known there before, and also received thanks, I hope that he will bear fruit, and that God will give his blessing to it. E. C. F. G. to serve I am guilty and willing. The dear God and Father of our Lord and Savior JEsu Christ be with E. C. F. G. always, Amen. Sunday after Dorothea [10 Feb.] 1544.

Martinus Luther.

No. 3096.

(Wittenberg.) February 12, 1544.

To Spalatin at Altenburg.

Answer to Spalatin's question about corn usury.

3) Walch: "Hadern".

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a, fol.* 231 and 360, and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 432. Printed in *Buddeus*, p. 284 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 631. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1331.

To M. Georg Spalatin, man to be highly honored in the Lord, bishop and pastor of the churches of Altenburg and Meissen, his extremely dear brother.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I thought for certain, my dear Spalatin, that I had answered your questions about usury. For I am aware that I had thought of it and had intended to answer you. But so it happens to me daily in other matters, for I am busy with so many affairs and miseries. To the matter. Your questions about the usury of grain cannot be settled by any particular provision, given the great diversity of times, persons, places, events, or incidents. Therefore it must be left to the pleasure of every man to consider the natural law, and so to think, Wouldest thou that what thou doest to another should be done unto thee? for "this is the law and the prophets," says Christ, Matt. 7:12. At the same time a good conscience will take heed to what is written in Proverbs 11:26, "He that keepeth corn, men curse him; but blessing cometh upon him that selleth it;" and what Amos 8:5 says of the covetous, "That we may increase the sekel, and wrestle the ephah." But this does not touch your question, because you do not write of miserly people, but of pious ones. Therefore they may give themselves the answer in things so uncertain, which cannot be regulated by laws. Fare well in the Lord. Tuesday after Scholastic [12 Feb] 1544.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 3097. 18 February 1544.

Friedrich Myconius, pastor in Gotha, to Luther.

(Rules.)

Complaining about the sad conditions in the church and the false attempts to heal them, recalling the clumsy physician who tormented Luther in Schmalkalden. Of the quarrels of the Arnstadters with Mörlin, whom Georg Spenlein, expelled from Creuzburg, is to succeed in office. Complaint about his sickliness 2c.

Printed in Teutzel's *Hist. Goth. supplem. III, 137* and Lommatzsch, *Narratio de Friderico Myconio etc.. Annabergae* 1825, p. 85. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 397.

No. 3098.

Wittenberg.) 23 February 1544.

To Friedrich Myconius, pastor in Gotha.

Answer to the preceding letter. Luther testifies to his joy at Mörlin's reconciliation with the Arnstadters, and admonishes Myconius to spare his breast.

The original is in the library at Wolfenbüttel. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 300 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 632.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I write briefly, my dear Frederick, so you will forgive me; at another time, when I have leisure and time, more. Your letter was very pleasant to me, in which you indicate that you have administered your right episcopal office in the reconciliation of Arnstadt and Mörlin, and I give thanks to God. For it is true that I have been greatly disturbed by this discord, since at this time harmony, prayer, and even repentance are most necessary. Therefore, there is nothing you could ask of me or be concerned about me or my letter. Enough has been done for me through this harmony. Whosoever hath been forgiven full of you, the same is forgiven of me. I do not want anyone to be anxious about you, or about whom you give such a good testimony. I easily believe that some pastors are too violent, but again I know that in the cities the tyrants are not uncommon, and likewise many noblemen who have plagued their pastors beyond measure. I cannot count these among the half-dead 1). But of this at another time.

I would certainly like you to be stronger, but if you feel that you cannot speak, I beg you to take care of your health rather than cause yourself further inconvenience. It is better that thou live half dumb, than that thou die with a very strong voice. Thou canst profit the church by thy counsel and reputation, even as a half-dead man. And thou seest how

1) *semivivos*, an allusion to him who fell among the murderers (Luc. 10, 30.), on whom the Samaritan had mercy.

We are of great need as Christ's tried and tested warriors, so that through them the growing up and still tender childhood of those who will take our place may be strengthened. Although the Holy Spirit is able to do all things without us, yet he has not willed that we should be called to the preaching ministry in vain, that we might be his instruments. Another time more. Fare well in the Lord, and pray for me. On the Saturday after Peter's feast [23 Feb] 1544.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 3099.

(Wittenberg.) March 8, 1544.

To Nikolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

About the hitherto thwarted journey to Amsdorf. Congratulations that the tyrannical Creuz (cf. No. 2985. 3008 and 3036) has been deposed. News.

The original is in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. From the von Ludwig collection at Halle, in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 301 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 633. German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1521.

To the man venerable in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus, the right and exceedingly faithful bishop of the church at Naumburg, his [friend] highly honored in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! That you write, my bishop venerable in the Lord, that it pleased you that I did not set out for you in this hard winter, was very pleasant to me. And indeed, this winter seems to me to be the longest of all that I have experienced in my life. What God may be thinking of, I do not know. Whether perhaps nature and the unusual course of all creatures prophesy to us that the day of redemption is at the door? But I will hasten to you as soon as I can, God willing, keep time. For I can easily create leisure for myself, at least with such health. For I wish to see and speak with you myself before I fall asleep.

I rejoice that thou art delivered from the tyrant Creuz 1) (*Creytio*), and desire that he be better who succeeded him. I also see that the avarice of the nobility is immeasurable, who take it for granted that the princes will bed

1) Walch: "from the tyrant creuz".

But they themselves are princes. 2) But in all classes of men there is indomitable avarice, so that I firmly persuade myself that this is one of the signs of the last day, as if the world were racing in its old age and last death struggle and would soon perish, as it is wont to do with some dying people. But of this at another time.

I believe that you know all the news, how the pope has made an alliance with the Turk and the Frenchman and the Venetians, and will wage war against the emperor. The Frenchman has given a seaport to Barbarossa, the commander of the Turkish fleet, who is building a Mahometan temple there. O on the most Christian king! o on the most holy father! o on the most catholic Venetians! Where are now the innumerable funds that have been collected against the Turk from the pallia, annals, letters of confession, indulgences 2c.? Certainly, they serve for the Turk against the Christians. You see, therefore, that the world hastens its end, and, as philosophy says, natural motion is slower in the beginning, but very swift in the end. But this I write perhaps in vain, since you may have learned this from others. It is written to Speier that our prince was most graciously exempted by the emperor, in that Frederick of the Palatinate was sent to meet him with the great men of the imperial court, and he was escorted with splendid splendor and entered the city. God grant a still happier end, amen. Other things at another time, when I shall have learned more, or I can tell you myself orally. They say that the Turk has died, and that his sons will fight for the dominion. Would to God that this were true, for this too would be among the other signs that the world would soon come to an end. Fare well in the Lord, who may strengthen you and give you that this captivity of the flesh may seem to you to be the most beautiful paradise, because in this episcopal office you serve His pleasing will, Amen. March 8, 1544.

My lord,

your devoted Martin Luther.

2) Instead of: *Principis* will read *Principes.*

No. 3100.

(Wittenberg.) March 8, 1544.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 408.

No. 3101.

(Wittenberg.) March 12, 1544.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

Luther rejects Lauterbach's request to attend a synod; of economic matters.

The original is in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. From the von Ludwig collection in Halle at Schütze, Vol. I, p. 303, and at De Wette, Vol. V, p. 637. German at Walch, Vol. XXI, 1523.

To the highly honored man, Magister Anton Lauterbach, the extremely faithful bishop of the church at Pirna and the neighboring churches, his extremely dear brother.

Grace and peace! I would do what you desire, my dear Anton, namely, that I should be present at your synod, but it is not advisable for me, since I have not been invited. The Lord will be with you, I pray and wish, amen. My Kate thanks you for your kindness. But Alexius was mistaken when he wrote to you about stakes and Borsdorf seedlings; she did not desire stakes, but supports for the vines, in German: "Weinpfähle" ("vine stakes"), if you could send ten shocks of them, or about that much. For she has stakes already bought, and thou wouldst send them in vain. Then she desires not Borsdorf seedlings, but of the kind of red apples you sent with the Borsdorf apples. We all greet you and yours. Fare well in the Lord. On the day of St. Gregory [March 12] 1544. Your Martin Luther.

No. 3102.

Wittenberg. 14 March 1544.

To an unnamed person.

(No letter.)

Under this Ueberschtift Seidemann brings in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 359 ff. a passage from Luther's interpretation of Genesis, St. Louis edition, vol. II, 1003 ff. which *Joh. Manlius in Locorum communium collectanea, tom*. I, pag. 107 sqq., has provided with a letter-entrances and -conclusion.

No. 3103.

(Wittenberg.) 26 March 1) 1544.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for Johann Schreiner, pastor of Grimma.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Mm. fol. 80b, N.* 44. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 457 with the remark: "The enclosed letter of the pastor Johann Schreiner shows that Luther's letter must be from 1544."

Grace and peace in the Lord and my poor Paternoster. Most noble, highborn prince, most gracious lord! I humbly request, as I am obliged to do, for the good man Johann Schreiner, pastor of Grimma (Grym), that E. C. F. G. graciously grant a scholarship to his son, who has now grown and is well prepared for school. For he of the children much has, namely eight alive, not able to receive those in the studio. He himself is truly a fine man, who has kept quiet and well for so many years, and who has faithfully served the church in Grimma for 22 years. He has been my monastic companion or brother almost from his youth and has become a master here. It is not necessary to remind E. C. F. G. how one must always draw church servants; the old ones pass away, the young ones grow old, die as easily as the old ones, and there is still no remaining supply, for E. C. F. G. themselves know this best, and experience teaches it well. The C.F.G. will know how to show mercy, of that I have no doubt. The merciful God, who has burdened E. C. F. G. with a great burden in this unfaithful, cursed time, will (and will also) graciously hear our heart's pleas and sighs, as He has committed Himself to us, so only believe, and will help E. C. F. G. to govern and do good, although not all evil can be prevented. He remains the overlord, vowed forever, amen. Wednesday after the Conception of our Lord Christ [March 26].

E. ch. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther, D.

1) How Burkhardt arrived at the "Dec. 10" as the date, we do not know. *Conceptionis Christi* is March 25. Cf. Seidemann, "Lauterbach", Preface, p. XIV.

No. 3104.

(Wittenberg.) 30 March 1544.

To the Electress Sibyl.

Luther thanks her for inquiring about his condition and comforts her because of the absence of the Elector, who was at the Imperial Diet in Speier.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. N, pag. 109, No. 42. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 105, No. 198; in Walch, vol. XXI, 491; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 637 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 84.

To the most illustrious, highborn Princess and Lady, Lady Sibylla, née Duchess of Jülich, Eleve 2c., Duchess of Saxony, Electress, Countess of Thuringia, Margravine of Meissen and Countess of Magdeburg, my most gracious wives.

G. u. F. in the Lord. Most Serene, Highborn Princess, Most Gracious Lady! I have received E. C. F. G.'s letter, and thank E. C. F. G. most humbly for asking so carefully and diligently about my health, and for wishing me well with my wife and children. Praise God, we are well and better off than we deserve before God. But that I am sometimes unfit in my head is no wonder. Age is there, which in itself is old and cold and shapeless, sick and weak. The pitcher is so lukewarm to water, Till once it breaketh. I have lived long enough, God grant me a blessed hour, in which the lazy, useless maggot sack comes under the earth to its people, and the worms are granted. I have seen the best that I should have seen on earth. For it seems as if it would become evil. God help his own, amen. I can well believe that E. C. F. G. also reports how bored she is because our gracious Lord, E. C. F. G. husband, is absent; but because necessity demands it, and such absence happens for the benefit and good of Christendom and the German nation, we must bear it with patience according to the divine will. If the devil could keep peace, we would have more peace and less to do, especially to suffer so much discontent. But as for all this, we have the advantage that we have
We have the dear Word of God, which comforts and sustains us in this life, and promises and brings us that life of blessedness. So also we have prayer, which we know (as E. C. F. G. also wrote) that it is pleasing to God and will be heard in its time. Such two unspeakable jewels the devil, the Turk, the pope, and his own cannot have, and are in this much poorer and more wretched than any beggar on earth. Of this we may certainly boast and take comfort, for which we should also give thanks to God, the Father of all mercies, in Christ Jesus his dear Son our Lord, that he has given us such a precious, blessed treasure and called us unworthy ones to such a treasure through his abundant grace, that we, on the other hand, should not only see and tolerate temporal evil, but also have mercy on the blind, wretched world, especially on such high and great leaders in the world, that they are deprived of such graces and are not yet worthy to have them. May God enlighten them for once, so that they may also see, recognize, and desire it with us, amen. My Käthe offers her poor Father-Our to E. C. F. G. with all submissiveness, and thanks very much that E. C. F. G. so graciously remembers her. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. Judica [March 30] 1544.

E. C. F. G. undersigned Mart. Luther, D.

No. 3105.

(Wittenberg.) 1. April 1544.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

Recommendation of a former monk to the preaching ministry.

From the Gleichische Collection at Dresden in Schütze, vol. III, p. 216 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 639.

To the respectable man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, the extremely faithful bishop of Altenburg and the neighbouring churches, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace! This monk Simon, who has become a citizen (*civem*), I recommend to you, since no honorable position was available, otherwise I would have kept him. Guided by holy zeal for GOD, he desires to become a servant of the Word; help him if you can. And if

he must be delayed, and in the meantime nothing shall be free among you, we will call him back to uus. Fare thee well. Tuesday after Judica [1 April] 1544.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 3106.

(Wittenberg.) April 12, 1544.

To King Gustav in Sweden.

Luther asks the king to take care of the abandoned wife of a certain Peutinger, chancellor in Swedish service. - The king answered the 3rd of June.

Ex actis litterar. Sueciae 1724, p. 595, in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 106, No. 199; in Walch, vol. XXI, 493; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 640 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 86.

To the most noble and most illustrious Lord Gustav, King of the Goths and Wends in Sweden, my most gracious lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Most gracious, most gracious, most merciful Lord King! My poor Pater noster be humbly before E. K. Maj. E. K. M. I would like to know how one, named Conradus Peutinger, who boasts of being a doctor, which he has never been, has a wife here in these lands, named Katherin Unwerdin, of nobility, of good sex, also lived with her publicly for several years, but finally ran away from her, and left her sitting in misery and poverty for many years: then he took another, of the sex of a Köckeritz, has turned through the countries with all mischievousness, until he became Chancellor with E. K. M.. K. M. chancellor. Now letters have often been written to E. K. M., by myself as well; but it seems to us that he has embezzled the letters, and it is said that he keeps himself like a grass, when he is nothing more than a burgher, the son of a Kürschners (Korsners) at Frankfurt am Main, which is publicly the truth. So now the poor woman asks, and I also ask for God's sake, that E. K. M. will set the boy to rights, or help that the poor woman will get a fair amount of entertainment from his goods, as is fair: for he has brought her into such misery that she almost has to look for begging bread from her friends, also she is almost oppressed, [and almost] 1) from her friends.

1) Inserted by us in the gap.

The fact that she has come to her senses, from great misery and suffering, although there is evidence that she has been a fine, healthy, sensible matron. In this, His Royal Highness will do a royal, Christian work of mercy and justice, which God will reward abundantly, to which I hereby command His Royal Highness with right faithfulness 2) into His grace, Amen. On Easter Eve [12 April] 1544.

E. K. M.
willing

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3107.

(Wittenberg.) April 12, 1544.

To King Christian in Denmark.

Luther asks the king, he wants to promote his letters to the king of Sweden, because Peutinger misappropriates them.

The original is in the Imperial Archives at Stockholm. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 106, No. 200; in Walch, vol. XXI, 494 f.; in the Dän. Bibl., 4th St. 157; in Schumachers Gelehrter Männer Briefe an die Könige in Dänemark, 2nd Th., p. 263; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 641 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 87 f.

To the most noble and illustrious Prince and Lord, Lord Christian, King of Denmark, Norway, the Wends and the Goths, Duke of Schleswig, Holstein, Stormarn and Ditmarschen, Count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace and my poor *Pater noster*. Almighty, most illustrious, most highborn, most gracious Lord King! The poor abandoned Mrs. Katherin Peutinger has asked me for this intercession to J. K. M., and this is the matter. There is a loose boy with J. K. M. in Sweden, who has called himself Doctor Peutinger, and with lies and practices has come so far that he has become Chancellor in Sweden, and, as I hear, lets himself be considered a Count. This same boy is the son of a furrier (Kursner) in Frankfurt am Main, has never become a doctor, has been wandering through the countryside and has done all sorts of mischievous things, among which this is also one, that he has married this woman Katherin, who is of nobility and good friends,

2) So put by us instead of: "with right faithfully (?)".

He is said to boast that he was divorced from her by Dr. Luther and M. Philipps (this is not true) and then took another of the family Köckeritz with whom he was found in Sweden and became chancellor. Luther and M. Philipps divorced him from her (this is not true), and then took another, of the family Köckeritz, with whom he found himself in Sweden and became chancellor. Now often to J. K. M. in Sweden is written, I myself also once wrote; but the knave has the letters know to embezzle. Because there is now no hope nor way to J. K. M. in Sweden, for by E. K. M.: is our most submissive request, E. K. M. want to do a good work of mercy and graciously help advise that these letters may . We all have no doubt that if J. K. M. were to recognize the boy in Sweden, they would know how to do him justice. J.K.M. has graciously granted me this humble request. I could not refuse it; so the matter is certain and obvious to prove with country and people, and the poor woman must almost make do with begging bread from her friends. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. On Easter Eve (April 12, 1544. E. K. M.

willing servant Martinus Luther, D.

No. 310 8.

(Wittenberg.) April 17, 1544.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Luther laments the evil times. News.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 437 and in *Cod. chart. Goth*. 451, fol. 185.8. printed in Innocent News, 1704, p. 828; in *Tob. Eckhardi Mss. Quedlinburg*. p. 91; in *Strobel-Ranner,* p. 330; and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 642. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1332.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Justus Jonas, Doctor of Theology, Provost at Wittenberg, Envoy of the Lord to Halle in Saxony, his most reverend superior.

Grace and peace! I have nothing, my dear Jonas, to write, only that I pray and hope that the day of our redemption is at hand. For everywhere the whole world is so moved and shattered, the Word is so struggling with the gates of hell that it is necessary,

I am sure that this movement of bodies and minds must bring with it a very great change in things. For in this way, too, the world cannot exist or remain. According to this, those incredible monstrosities, namely, the alliances of the most Christian (rather, the most wicked) king and of the most holy (rather, the most terrifying 1)) Pope with the Turk, something the like of which has not been seen in many centuries. Who would have thought that we would come to these times and see such terrifying things? Of these eclipses and signs the mathematicians have foretold nothing, but he alone who says: And there shall be great signs. In truth, these are signs, they are truly great. Let us pray, and let us rise up with our heads held high; our salvation draweth nigh, amen.

In this city, too, those diseases 2) have prevailed. All my children have suffered them at the same time, and of them my Margarethlein has contracted a fever and still suffers great heat.

The Frenchman is said to have about thirty thousand Turks in France, not from Asia, but from Africa, and it is believed that he wants to invade Luxembourg or even Trier. God have mercy on us. Germany will be exhausted by heavy impositions. Summa, these are the beginnings of evils, God wanted, also the end of sins and this death, amen.

Give my love to your wife and all those who are yours and ours. Fare well in the Lord. Thursday, Easter week [17 April] 1544.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 3109.

Wittenberg. 21 April 1544.

To the clergy of Eperies and its environs.

Luther regrets the great sufferings they have to endure (in Hungary) from the Turks. He testifies that Matthias Devay (cf. No. 2975) did not catch the false doctrine of the Sacrament in Wittenberg, and indicates that he will soon write his last confession of the Lord's Supper.

1) It would seem to read *insanctissini* (of the most unholy), instead of: *insanissimi*.
2) Walch: "the smallpox".

In Innocent News 1727, p. 181, and 1718, p. 931; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 331, and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 643. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1333.

To the brethren to be highly esteemed in Christ, the ministers of the Word in Eperies and the neighboring places, the loud and exceedingly faithful [friends] very dear in the Lord.

Grace and peace. In the Lord, men to be revered! I have read your sad letters with great sorrow in my heart, because I see such great wrath of God, rather such great guilt of our sins, which have compelled God to send such a terrible raging of the Turks against us. May He grant that we may be restored, and after repentance make atonement for this wrath; or, if it is determined that it shall be so, may He grant that this shall be the last wrath, and one of the great signs before the day of His glory and our blessedness, as He has said: And there shall be great 1) signs. Let it be done, amen.

By the way, what you wrote about Matthias Devay surprised me very much, since he also has such a good name with us, so that it is difficult for me to believe what you write. But however it may be, he certainly did not get the doctrine of the Sacramentians from us. We are constantly fighting against it here, publicly and especially, and there is no suspicion or even the slightest trace of this abomination among us, unless the devil is murmuring in some hidden corner. Perhaps [you] are moved by the fact that we have given up the elevation of the host to please some neighbors, not out of necessity, because from the beginning we have wanted it to be considered free, and even now we refrain from it, not in order to deny our doctrine of the Sacrament, but rather, we do not burden others, even among our Church, with it, and we ourselves will re-establish it, if it should be necessary or useful, as the whole Church of Milan does not use the canon or the elevation, even to this day, although the whole Roman Church does otherwise; and yet there is no offence there. Therefore

1) Instead of *mea* we have assumed *magna.* Walch also read it that way. Cf. No. 3113.

stand firm and do not doubt that I will never (unless God allows me to become furious) stand with the opponents of the Sacrament, nor will I suffer this abomination in the church entrusted to me. Or if I (which God forbid) should do otherwise, say confidently that I am furious and damned. It is the devil, who, knowing that I am invincible in public, since so many of my books exist as witnesses, is intent on bringing me into ill gossip in the corners with his! serpentine and furtive hisses wherever he can, and to deface the word of truth under the pretense of my name. Therefore I am forced, after my so many confessions, to make one more, which I will do next, and that is the last one).

I have no suspicion at all of M. Philip, nor of any of us. For, as I have said, Satan does not even dare to make a noise in public. Let us pray that our Lord Jesus Christ may shortly put an end to this last and exceedingly wicked world, which has come to its highest point, so that it no longer seems able to suffer itself. Come, Lord Jesus, amen. In him you are well pleased. Given at Wittenberg, Monday after Quasimodogeniti [April 21] 1544.

No. 3110.

(Wittenberg.) April 28, 1544.

To the Electress Sibyl.

Luther reports that he has replied to her letter.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. N, p. 109.
Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 107, No. 202; in Walch, vol. XXI, 497; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 645, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 89.

To the most illustrious, highborn Princess and Lady, Lady Sibylla, née Duchess of Jülich 2c., Duchess of Saxony, Electress, Countess of Thuringia, Margravine of Meissen and Countess of Magdeburg, my most gracious wives.

G. u. F. and my poor *Pr. nr.* Most Serene, Highborn Princess, Most Gracious Lady!

2) "Luther's Short Confession of the Lord's Supper." St. L. Ausg., Vol. XX, 1764.

Dr. Augustin has approached me from E. C. F. G. about the writings I should do on E. C. F. G.'s letter. I hope, however, that such my answer is Dr. Augustin at E. C. F. G.; for I sent it to Captain Asmus Spiegel, because I neither knew nor had any other message. If this is not the case, that it should not be sent to E. C. F. G., I will gladly answer again. For I have thanked E. C. F. G. most sincerely, and still thank him for such a gracious writing and presentation.

We hope and pray that God will help us to return to our dear country father and most gracious Lord in the most joyful way, amen. There is not much that can be done with the papists, except that they consume us with food and empty our pockets, even though they act as if they wanted to, and yet they do not want to. Our Lord Jesus, who began it, and whose business it is, would himself do it, as he will do it, and has done it hitherto; otherwise it will remain undone, and nothing good will be done. To the same I command E. C. F. G. in his mercy together with the dear fees 2c., Amen. Monday Vitalis [28 April] 1544.

E. C. F. G. subservient

M. Luther, D.

No 3111.

(Wittenberg.) April 29, 1544.

To Duke Johann Ernst of Saxony.

Intercession for two students, former monks.

The original is in the *Cod. chart. Goth*. 380. fol. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 107, No. 201; in Walch, vol. XXI, 496; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 646 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 90.

To the illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord Johann Ernst, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen.

G. u. F. in the Lord and my poor *Pater noster*. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! E. F. G. have graciously received the two, Johannes Helnecker and Otto Bleydner, from the devil's bonds, from monasticism, out of princely charity, here in Wittenberg in the studio, one year, in which they have well judged and finely skillful.
to theology and other arts. But they are very neglected in their monastery. They ask and desire that E. F. G. maintain them for another year for God's sake, so that they can get fully on their feet and strengthen themselves in that which they have understood. For they now see how far they have come and where they have lacked. Therefore, it is my humble request to E. F. G., because such a thing is well planned, and they may become fine useful men, that E. F. G. may graciously maintain them for another year in praise and honor, and where it cannot be otherwise, take hold of the monastery estates. For to promote such work, chalices and monstrances should also be melted, much more or even so much more, as they would have to be melted for the tax on Turks. In this E. F. G. is doing a work that pleases God and is necessary and useful to the Church. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befohlen, beide zu Land und zu Haus, Amen. Tuesday after Vitalis [April 29] 1544.

E. F. G. submissive Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3112.

Holland (in Prussia). 8 May 1544.

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

This letter is the answer to a missing letter of Luther to the duke, dated April 9, 1544.
Printed in Faber's collection of Luther's letters to Duke Albrecht, p. 57 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 647.

Our greetings first. Venerable, respectable and highly learned, especially beloved! The respectable and well-learned M. Andreas Aurifaber has given us your letter, which went out on Wednesday 1) in Wittenberg. Now we would have liked to answer your person again with our own hand; however, the said M. Andreas will report with what manifold business we have been burdened now, by which we were prevented from doing the same, graciously requesting that you excuse us this time. And first of all the high thanksgiving for the Börnstein spoons 2) would have been unnecessary, for you certainly would have

1) This is the Wednesday before Easter; in 1544 this was April 9.
2) As we see from a letter of thanks from Melanchthon to the duke, dated April 8, 1544, the duke had also sent spoons made of amber to Melanchthon and Bugenhagen.

I respect this, in which we graciously know how to help you, that you shall at all times feel us as the gracious Lord. 1) In addition, we have heard with heartfelt pity that your person is so severely tormented by the calculus (the stone); on the other hand, we have noted with joy that the means necessary for this, especially the Agtstein, 2) are helpful to you. Accordingly, because we, as reported above, are completely gracious to your person, we did not want to refrain from sending you several grains of white friable stone, calling upon the most high dear God to give his grace, so that through this good stone the evil stone may be completely driven away, and you may therefore be so much calmer for the rest of your life. Where such a boulder is also driven away from you, you are to inform us in time and let us know, we want to provide you (so that you may not attack or split the paternoster which we sent you and which you have on the engraving according to your letter, but may keep this for a memorial, why we sent it to you) with more. We thank you graciously for the new papers sent to us, and graciously request that you should often have no difficulty in attributing to us what is going on with you. We have also at your request graciously shown ourselves to the said M. Andreas, and of our oversight in such a way that he may justly feel our mercy 2c. 3) Hereby we do to keep you fresh and healthy for a long time to the dear Lord Christ for the increase of his praise and his sole word, but we also command ourselves together with our beloved wife and daughter, also lands and people into your devout, intimate prayer. Date Holland, 8 May 1544.

No. 3113.

(Wittenberg.) May 11, 1544.

To Johann Honter, preacher at Kronstadt in Transylvania.

Luther thanks for a gift sent to him, expresses his joy at the state of the Church in Transylvania, and consoles for the adversities that are inevitable.

1) De Wette: "shall".

2) That is, amber.

3) *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. V, 355 contains this note by Faber: "M. Andr. Aurifaber went to Italy at that time, provided with a stipendio from the Duke, in order to practice anatomy and practice even more, in order to soon be employed as a princely personal physician."

Printed in Innocent News, 1715, p. 591; in *Gerdesii Scrin. antiqu., p. VII, p.* 360; in *StrobelRanner*, p. 334, and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 648. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1335.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Johann Honter, evangelist of the Lord at Kronstadt in Hungary, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Mercy and peace! You write, my dear Honter, that you have sent a letter to me, but you do not know whether it has been delivered in these perilous times. You shall know, however, that it was delivered, together with the gold coin inlaid with the image of Theodosius, which, as you wrote, was given to me by your captain or judge in memory of him; to whom, I pray you, you will give thanks in my name. By the way, because of the state of the church and religion among you, which is gradually increasing, I praise God, the Father of lights, from whom all good things come, and I pray that he may multiply and bless you with all spiritual blessings, amen. You will not lack the bite of the serpent, because it is so written, it has been so from the beginning, it will be so until the end, that we should hold fast all the enmity between the seed of the serpent and the seed of the woman. The true Church of God has it no other way, nor can it have it any other way. But this is our comfort, that the victory is always with him that treadeth down, against him that bites, as it is written, "He shall tread down thy head." Thou therefore doest right, and hast the right opinion, that ye must watch against outward enemies, and against the wolves in the neighbourhood, and at home; which are the teeth of the serpent, and that the molars, as the prophet saith Ps. 58:7. But I am very busy, already old and worn out, and though I desire rest, which I think is a deserved rest, yet my desire is little fulfilled. Therefore I wish you would pardon my writing very briefly, or not having answered before. The Lord be with you and with you all, Amen. On Sunday Cantate [11 May] 1544.

Mr. M. Philip is absent, in Thuringia.

No. 3114.

Wittenberg. 14 May 1544.

To the princes Barnim and Philipp of Pomerania, together with the other theologians.

This and the missive of May 30 refer to the dispute which arose between the two Pomeranian dukes Barnim IX of Stettin and his nephew Philip 1 of Wolgast over the reoccupation of the bishopric of Camin, which had been terminated by the death of Bishop Erasmus Manteufel, and have the purpose of preventing the election of the seventeen-year-old Count of Eberstein proposed by Duke Barnim on the recommendation of Duke Ernst of Lüneburg.

In *Diplomatariis et Scriptoribus Historiae Germ. med. aevi op. et stud. Christ. Schoettgen et Georg Christoph. Kreysig, tom. III. Altenb. 1760. fol. p. 293. (Pomerania diplomatica No. CCCXXII)*; m Mohnike's Kirchen- und literarhistorischen Studien und Mittheilungen, I, 1, 186; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 649; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 91, and (as by Melanchthon) in *Corp. Ref.* vol. V, 381.

To the most illustrious princes and lords, Mr. Barnim and Mr. Philipps, both dukes of Pomerania and our gracious lords and envoys.

God's grace through His only begotten Son Jesus Christ our Saviour beforehand. Illustrious, highborn, gracious princes and lords! First of all, we ask your grace to graciously hear our writing, which is meant with true Christian faithfulness and to no one's detriment or advantage, and not because we want to force ourselves on others, but because we know that both of you, your noble Christian lords and sovereigns, are in the best of health. F. G. as sovereign Christian princes do not seek or desire anything higher in their government and their lives than that through E. F. G.'s rule right knowledge of God and invocation be planted and preserved, and that their subjects be called to eternal blessedness and be properly instructed. And we have heard that the Duke of Camin is not in agreement about the election of a bishop, we, as we are also obliged to care for the Christian church, have considered with submissive goodwill before this time to write our simple Christian remembrance to both the Duke of Camin in this matter, which we have now caused to be promoted by your, Duke Philippsen F. G., envoy's report, envoy's report; and we beg in humility that Your Holiness will graciously listen to this reminder,

and move with diligence, and above all things promote God's glory, and the salvation and need of poor scattered Christendom; and this is our concern:

First of all, it is quite certain and without doubt that E. F. G., as Dukes of Pomerania and as God's ordained authorities, are obliged to decree with the utmost seriousness that the churches in the entire Duchy and its lands, also in the Diocese of Calvin, be properly and Christianly staffed and supplied with competent persons and proper maintenance of the same; for thus says the Psalm: Ye princes shall open the gates of the world, that the King of glory may enter in.

Now, both of these institutions, together with their laudable regions, have considered a Christian order, especially with which form and to which office a bishop of Camin is to be elected at all times, and how the cathedral chapter, for the preservation of Christian life and other useful studies, is to remain and be preserved in its essence, which order of both institutions we also consider to be good and useful, as far as we are informed, and so earnestly kept that the churches are not neglected. For this is true and public, that a bishop, as an overseer, is to spread the pure Christian truth of the Gospel, and to teach it himself, as all holy bishops have done of old, item, to visit the churches, to ordain competent persons, to take care of the study, to govern the marriage courts and other ecclesiastical courts, and to administer Christian discipline, for which first of all the dioceses are founded, is to be used with good reason, and with these services mentioned can work and exalt much good to God's praise; And especially in these last times, in which the world is becoming raw and wild, and the Turks are not far from us, it is highly necessary that there be diligent, serious, understanding overseers, who wisely build up the churches and keep them together, so that they may endure fervently.

Since E. F. G. now and after the death of Bishop Erasmi are to appoint another, whose age and ability to govern are to be respected, by virtue of the established inheritance contracts and orders, we ask in submission and for the sake of God that both E. F. G. will unanimously appoint such a person to the episcopal office, as is reported, which is to be the bishop.

He is half of age, capable of government, learned, understanding, and willing and inclined to exercise episcopal offices, to teach the gospel, visitation, government, ecclesiastical courts and discipline 2c. himself.

But that there has been disagreement in this matter, we are truly shocked, considering that this disagreement is not only harmful and annoying now, but also sets a bad example for the future; and if such disagreement has occurred now and as soon as in the first nomination after the establishment of the order, what is there to worry about for forty or more years?

And that in the one nomination the young Count of Eberstein, who is known to us, is appointed, although we do not know how to punish the said Count and Lord, as a young man of good manners for the sake of his youth, and we grant him all the best, yet his age and intellect are not yet fit for the episcopal office for many years, therefore it is reasonable to reject this nomination of the young Count for the following reasons:

First, if one wishes to elect church rulers, everyone is obliged to follow Paul's rule, which he wrote to Timotheo, *primae Timoth. tertio, and* Tito *ad Titum I*. and earnestly commanded to elect such a person as can discharge the office himself; and no man can without sin consent to appoint or elect such a person as he knows to be long unfit for the office, and not so earnestly studied as to be afterwards fit to preach, teach, shut up the adversaries of the gospel with the truth of the holy scriptures, and defend pure truth, nor to exercise other church offices 2c.

For this commandment in St. Paul's writings is not to be dismissed and disregarded as words that should be spoken only for appearances, but they are serious divine commands, the disregard of which is punished with eternal wrath, if one persists in sin, and with temporal punishments, as the examples are before us, where the great lords have given the bishoprics to children and other unlearned and despisers of Christian offices. There the right doctrine was destroyed, and idolatry and fornication grew up, which God punishes with wars and various disruptions.

On the other hand Paul speaks 1 Timothy. 5: Thou shalt not easily ordain any man to the church office, nor make thyself partaker of the sins of others. Whoever then appoints or elects a person who cannot hold the office, what that person fails to do and corrupts, he who has exalted him to it is guilty of.

Now we ask, E. F. G. want to hear and accept this warning, and not to put themselves in this way before God, so that they make themselves guilty of all negligence, which would follow from the knowing nomination of an unintelligent boy, and also do not want to make themselves guilty of annoyance. For with such an unjust nomination, the foregoing examples of despised election 1) would be approved, and the like would be further strengthened, as we know that in many other places in German lands, at this time, much unreasonable practices are being carried out with the episcopal election.

Thirdly, in the confession of the praiseworthy and Christian princes, which was made for the glory of God and the improvement of the churches, this abuse is especially punished, that the bishoprics are not supplied with persons capable of the office, from which error and great sins and punishments have resulted in Christendom. Now, we have no doubt that both E. F. G. are finally intent on keeping the articles of the confession, and not to act against them. But with this election of children a great rupture would happen in a noble article of the Confession, and not only would the previous abuses be strengthened, but the crude nature of this time would do greater harm. For although in former times the bishops and officials did not respect the doctrine, the same time the officials, because of their enjoyment of it, made a fuss about some ceremonies and gross offences. Now there are no officials, and all episcopal government, in large and small parts, lies in the mire; and if there is not a Christian ordination and visitation of the churches and schools, and an attention to the discipline and income of the churches, the maintenance and protection of the churches and schools, then there is no need for the bishops.

1) At De Wette and in the Erlanger: "Despiser's Choice".

If the churchmen and schools are to be established with great earnestness, it is to be feared that a miserable pagan darkness and desolation will follow. And truly all men, kings, princes, noble and base, learned and unlearned, each in his profession and according to his fine ability, are guilty before God to take precautions against this pagan darkness now and to care for the descendants.

Both of them, as noble Christian princes, want to consider this diligently, and not against God's command and against the Christian confession, to the detriment of the churches, to handle and strengthen the old abuse, especially because the damage is public.

Both of them know that many churches, especially in the bishop's territories, now stand desolate, without pastors, as if they were heathens, and that otherwise the visitation and church court are highly needed in the country. To rebuild so many fallen parishes, and to arrange the visitation and ecclesiastical court properly and usefully, truly requires a faithful, learned, understanding, experienced and practiced person. And are E. F. G. themselves owe this service to God, that they help in this Christian work with all seriousness.

Fourth, since this is the first example, according to the princely treaties of nomination, in which the F. F. G. are to present a laudable example to all other countries that they seek God's honor and keep their own promise without sophistry, it would be exceedingly annoying if the F. F. G., according to old abuse, wanted to nominate a person who, because of his youth and ignorance, is not yet capable. F. G. would want to nominate, according to old abuse, a person who, because of his youth and ignorance, is not yet competent, or if, despite divine command and their own well-considered and Christian contracts, they did not want to compare themselves in the right way.

E. F. G. want to consider God's wrath in this, who does not let such contempt go unpunished, if someone thinks that there is nothing great about the parishes, the visitation and other church matters, it is much more stately if a principality raises their counts and the nobility to great estates, for which the bishoprics and cathedral chapters are to serve.

But that God wants to show a serious wrath against this papal and pagan contempt, is proven very publicly by all the

great wars and plagues that are before the eyes. Woe to you, says Esaias on the 5th, who seek great goods, pleasures, splendor and dominions, and neglect the offices which God has commanded you.

And if one wants to argue against this, although E. F. G. were not compared to the nomination halfway through this time, then both E. F. G. had nevertheless already set it up for this purpose by means of established princely contracts according to which each part had nominated a person, that this error would be decided by lot. had already arranged, by virtue of princely treaties, according to which each part would have nominated a person, that this error would be decided by lot, therefore there is no need for another nomination, but one should leave it at that, and wait, to whom the lot will fall, that the same will be accepted and confirmed for a bishop, as given by God, because God would certainly send it so, that the most suitable and useful person would be chosen, because the Scripture Proverb. 16 says: "The lot is cast by the Lord" 2c.; on the other hand, the E. F. G. want to consider that in this whole matter not to play thus, and to tempt God, but that the said E. F. G. treaties are thus established and of the opinion that after a right Christian election and nomination of two persons, who are fit for the episcopal office by reason of age and skill, the lot should be cast, and in this the laudable example of the apostles' election Actor. 1, according to which, without doubt, these contracts are thus considered and ordered by E. F. G.. For there we see that the apostles first named and presented two such men from among many persons, whom they considered to be the most capable, and then cast the lot over them with an appeal to God, so that he would show which of these two he would prefer to such an office. God has been present, and still wants to be present, and to give his blessing to it, where it is possible: If one seeks otherwise, then one should seek the right one. But where one seeks otherwise, there will also be little blessing and good.

Therefore, only humbly and for the sake of God, we ask both E. F. G., as we are obligated to do so in our office, that they may use our indicated opinion and cause for the praise and own blessedness of God and for the benefit of the lands and people, which also may be

are the people and souls for whom Christ shed his blood and suffered death, and grant our request and admonition. We know well how far our office and ability stretches, and do not presume to be higher than we deserve; we both ask and admonish and remind E. F. G. of God's earnest command. If our petitioning, exhorting, and reminding does no good, we must command the matter to God. Nevertheless, we are urged by our office to complain about the princes' negligence and to punish with harsh writings those who mislead the princes in this matter to the detriment of Christianity through avarice. For we are certain that no one with God and a good conscience can advise or consent to such a choice of children. A properly ordered bishopric would be a useful jewel for the entire duchy and land of Pomerania and its neighborhood.

Therefore, we again ask and admonish E. F. G. in submission and for the sake of God, that they not nominate and elect a sham bishop or a monkey's work, but a true bishop who will take the office seriously. For in this nomination not only the preservation of the goods is to be considered, but first of all the office is to be considered, in which many great things are included, namely the office of teaching, which a bishop himself is obliged to do, the interrogation of priests, examination and ordination, supervision of the teaching and ceremonies, visitation of the churches and schools, preservation of Christian discipline, with punishment of blasphemies, adultery, and so on, Appointment of ecclesiastical courts in matrimonial matters, and in the event of disputes concerning the law, and in sum the preservation of Christian law and discipline, so that it may be inherited by the descendants and not become pagan desolations.

These things both want to consider E. F. G. to be of great importance, and to mean God's honor, their own bliss, and E. F. G.'s dukedom and lands' benefit and welfare. F. G. dukedom and lands benefit and welfare, and not throw away the bishopric as a party, regardless of the office. And finally we ask, as we do not doubt, that both F. F. G. will graciously hear this faithful and well-meant writing of ours, which is intended for no one's advantage or disadvantage, but only for God's glory. The
eternal God the Father of our Saviour JEsu Christ may E. F. G. always preserve and rule, Amen. Date Wittenberg, May 14 Anno 1544?)

Ew. fürstl. Your Grace Martinus Luther, Dr. Joh. Bugenhagen Pomer, Dr. Caspar Creuziger, D.
Philip Melanthon.

No. 3115.

(Wittenberg.) May 15, 1544.

To Dr. Johann Magenbuch.

Luther sends him his interpretations of the first book of Moses as a token of his gratitude, it seems, for medical services.

The original is in the Pauline Library at Münster and is pasted on the inside page of the book: *In primum librum Mose enarrationes Reverendi Patris Dr. Dr. Lutheri etc.. Dr. Lutheri etc*. On the title page below is written by Luther's hand: *Clarissimo Viro Dr. Johanni Magenbuch Medicinarum Doctori, Suo Amico Martinus Luther dd*. Printed by Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 68 f. (wrong: 86).

Grace and peace! I have never written to you, respectable doctor, although my conscience has often reproached me that I owe you no small debt of gratitude for your special and manifold benevolence and the kindness with which you have so generously and most willingly spent everything you could on me at all times. But since there was nothing that I could in any way have given in return, and it is not proper (as Aristotle says) for old people to set aside respect, therefore you will forgive my immanence or ingratitude, or whatever fault you may hold me guilty of. For I have always been exceedingly grateful to you from the bottom of my heart, God knows that. But so that I would not be completely nothing with you, since you do not need gold and I do not have it either, I am sending you this Moses of mine, that is, Genesis, which I have laid out publicly in our school, as much as God has given me grace, as a memorial to our friendship and my grateful remembrance of your good deeds.

1) The place and time are missing in Mohnike, in De Wette and in Erlanger.

Heartily. If you like this book, I will consider that I have given you at least a little thanks, and I would gladly do more if I could. Fare well in Christ. May 15, 1544. yours Martin Luther, D.

No. 3116.

(Wittenberg.) May 16, 1544.

To Nikolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther had been prevented by a head ailment from making the journey to Amsdorf, now he asks him to indicate the safest way.
The original is in *Cod. Seidel*, at Dresden. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 306 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 657. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1524.

To the man venerable in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus, the right bishop of the right church at Naumburg, his superior who is highly honoured in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I have heard the man, and talked with this man, your pastor at Zeitz, venerable man in Christ; he seemed to me to be very good. I have been greatly hindered, that I could not get to you; afterwards rumours have been spread that horsemen were prowling about. But I will take pains, if the Lord wills, to set out on my journey in another and more secret manner as soon as I can. I will wait for the arrival of the prince, so that I may learn what has been done. The diocese of Merseburg puts everyone in disquiet, which will bring this monstrosity with it) But verbally, as I hope, in a short time. I am reasonably well, read and preach, so that I attribute to Satan the suffering of the head, which I suffered on the journey to you, unless God so prevented it by His hidden counsel. Nevertheless, if and as soon as you have time, please let me know whether you think that the journey via Leipzig and through

1) Luther means the conferral of the episcopal dignity, which after the death of the previous bishop of Merseburg, Sigismund von Lindenau, was transferred to the eighteen-year-old Duke August, the brother of Duke Moritz of Saxony. See Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth*. *lib.* III, p.497.

the territory of the von Pflug 2) was safe for me. Otherwise I had decided to take the way through Grimma or to the oak. Fare well in the Lord. May 16, 1544.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 311 7.

(Wittenberg.) May 18, 1544.

From Martin Gilbert, pastor in Marienberg.

Luther rebukes Gilbert's clumsy language, which gave rise to the assumption that he teaches that the divine nature also suffered in Christ.
Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, fol. 426; in the *Cod. chart.* 451. i. 402. i. 185. 4th *Bibl. Goth.* and in the *Cod. chart. Goth*. A. 1048. printed in Schelhorn's Ergötzlichk., vol. I, p. 81; in *Strobel-Ranner, p.* 335; in Schütze, vol. I, p. 307 and in De Wette, vol. V, p.658.

Grace and peace! If you have said nothing else, my dear Martin, or in any other way than what you write, it is not much to blame, except that this word which you have used, that the whole (*integrum*) Christ suffered, consisting of two natures, may have given offence. Wherefore thou oughtest rather to have been careful that this should be said after the manner of the apostle. For although it is the same thing that the whole (*integrum*) Christ, consisting of two natures, suffered, and that that person of two natures suffered, and all this is right and true, yet you would like to understand something else by the word *integer,* namely, that the Godhead was separate and suffered in a separate way, since it was also in humanity; this would be of no value. Therefore thou mayest declare thyself to have meant nothing else than that the person who is Christ, consisting of the divine and human natures, had truly suffered, so that it might be said with truth: The Son of God, even the true God Himself suffered, because God is truly man, and man is truly God, in One Person, as Paul says in 1 Cor. 2, 4) 8.

2) That is, through the territory of the relatives of Julius von Pflug, who was elected bishop by the chapter of Naumburg. - Walch translates *Aratrorum terras* by: "thy land of the peasants".

3) Here, like all codices, we have *omitted si*.

4) In the editions: 1 Cor. 1.

said, "They had not crucified the Lord of glory." He does not say, they crucified a mere man, but, "the Lord of glory." At another time Other. I am very busy, and weary with old age and business. Be well in the Lord. On the day Vocem Jucunditatis [May 18^j 1544.

No. 3118.

(Wittenberg.) May 23, 1544.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther reports that again a small postponement of his journey to Amsdorf must take place.
The original is in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 308 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 659. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1536.

To the venerable father in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus, the right bishop of the church at Naumburg, his superior who is highly honored in the Lord.

Grace and peace! It is not necessary, my reverend father in the Lord, that horsemen be sent. I have decided to go through the territory of our Prince, namely via Grimma and Borna. Now, if from Borna (for my little estate "Zielsdorf" is very close to it) the journey should go as far as Zeitz through the [lands of the] von Pflug, I will notify you fully from that place. I wanted to travel to Exaudi last Monday, but the graduation of those to be doctored in the same week intervened. So I am obliged to change my intention; but I will travel at any rate, as secretly as it is possible, on Whit Wednesday, because my health, - at my age and at the present time, - gives me good prospects. Farewell and pray, I pray you, that this journey, so highly desired by me, may not be disturbed anew.

"Friday" after Ascension [May 23]. And I have told no one this intention of mine, neither will I tell it, neither will you tell it to any of yours. Again, prosper thyself in the Lord. 1544.

Your Honor

Martin Luther.

No. 3118a.

(Wittenberg.) May 28, 1544.

To Prince George of Anhalt.

Request for a scholarship for Johannes Zerbst.
From the original at Dessau in Lindner, vol. II, p. 87; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 242 and in De Wette- Seidemaun, vol. VI, p. 363.

To the illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Georgen, Prince of Anhalt, Provost of Magdeburg, Count of Ascanien and Lord of Bernburg, my gracious Lord.

S. and F. Serene, high-born Prince, gracious Sir! Magister Johannes Zerbst has asked me to write to E. F. G., after he has received a promise from E. F. G. on both sides for his *studio of* a *scholarship*, which E. F. G. wanted to advise and help to promote, so that he might receive it this year, and be informed with which part he should continue to seek the same scholarship and encourage it. Since he is now a fine, skilful person who will be of good use to the church and also otherwise, to the fact that he is E. F. G.'s country child: I ask most humbly that E. F. G. would have him in gracious command and graciously take care of him. God will certainly know how to amply reimburse such a stipend. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen. Midweek after Exaudi [May 28] 1544.

E. F. G.

willing

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3119.

Wittenberg. 30 May 1544.

To the Princely Pomeranian Councils, together with the other theologians.

Similar content as letter No. 3114.
Ans dein im Consistorialarchive zu Stettin befindlichen Original in Mohnike's Kirchen- und litterarhistor. Studien und Mittheilungen, I, 1, 197; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 660; in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 56, p. 99 and in *Corp. Ref.,* vol. V, 401 (as by Melanchthon).

To the well-born, noble, honorable, strict, counts and lords 2c., the enlightened, high-born princes and lords, Mr. Barnim and Mr. Philippsen, dukes of Pomerania 2c., together decreed councilors now and at Sweyna, our gracious and favorable lords.

God's grace through His only begotten Son Jesus Christ our Savior beforehand. Gracious, noble, honorable, strict, and favorable lords! Your. Gracious and honorable lords, we wish to inform you that we, of good, faithful opinion, sent to the highborn princes and lords, Mr. Barnim and Mr. Philippsen, both dukes of Pomerania, our gracious lords, a petition for the nomination of a Christian bishop some weeks ago, to which we were moved for Christian reasons and partly out of a sense of duty to your fatherland. For when we heard that both of your F. G. were not in agreement about the aforementioned nomination, we were truly very shocked by it, and both considered that due to the disagreement of both reigning princes, there would be much hindrance in the regiment and great misery, item, that an unjust appointment of the bishopric would cause eternal damage in the churches.

Although we are now lowly persons, our Lord and honorable friends know that it is God's command and order that we, as preachers and teachers, should admonish high and lowly classes for the preservation of divine knowledge and invocation.

Therefore, we have sent a letter with the same wording to the two Reigning Princes in submission, and after it was subsequently indicated to us that both your F. G. had decreed that some of your F. G.'s most distinguished councillors should meet to discuss this matter, and how both Reigning Princes could compare for the sake of the nomination, so that peace and unity would remain, and that the bishopric would be properly appointed, we have only considered writing to E. G. and honorary feasts as well.

And first of all, beseech our Saviour Jesus Christ that he also may be in your council, as he said, "Where two or three come together in my name, I will be with them. I will be with them." Now E. G. and E. are sent together in the name of GOD, that is, by commandment

for the sake of peace and to promote the glory of God, that we may pray that our Saviour Jesus Christ may rule your hearts with His Holy Spirit and incline you to good counsel.

And although we do not doubt that E. G. and E. are themselves inclined, with great earnestness and diligence, to maintain the unity of both Princes and peace, and to promote the right divine services, we have not wished to restrain E. G. and E. from what we have written to both Princes, and hereby send E. G. and E. the copy of the aforementioned document, with a request that they read and listen to it.

And further ask, E. G. and E. want to work on the said Christian way on both parts, that both princes unanimously agree to nominate such a bishop, who for age and intellect is fit for the episcopal office, as such is often commanded in God's word.

Your. Your Grace and Honorable Feasts know themselves, as the wise and God-fearing, that first of all the foundation of the bishoprics, chapters and monasteries are not meant for splendor or idleness, but that they should be a special adornment and consolation of the lands, and should serve for the existing, eternal preservation of Christian doctrine, religion, discipline and good arts, namely, that for and for there were many learned, understanding, practiced men, from whom the lordship, knighthood, and cities might find good counsel in Christian and many other matters, item, that reported bishops and chapters would have a care for the doctrine and ceremonies in the churches of the whole country, hold the marriage courts, and practice good discipline and good manners.

If the bishopric of Camin were now in such good reformation and order, then it is public that this bishopric would be a beautiful jewel of all the lands around, and would be comforting and a joy to the noble princes and the knighthood, so that God would be pleased with such order and would give his grace and rich reward, as he says: "Whoever honors me, I will also bring him to honor; and whoever despises me, I will also make him despised.

Now, however, E. G. and E. see how the diocese, unfortunately, now much year like a devastated

Garden. The bishop left his own churches without pastors, much less visited them in the country; he did not hold a consistory of marriage courts, and, in sum, did nothing that belonged to the episcopal office.

Because this neglect, which has happened until now, has brought much harm, and if a sensible, diligent, serious bishop were not elected, the sins, God's contempt and punishments would become greater: so every sensible person can remember for himself what he is obliged to advise in this case. Because God has graciously arranged things in such a way that the bishopric can be brought into correction, to the benefit of all princes in Pomerania, and on both sides the harm and the benefit, God's prohibition and commandment are so publicly before our eyes that we do not respect that there is anyone in your council who wants to advise against our concerns, or thinks of doing so, or practices against them.

For this reason we have written more briefly, only to remind you of Paul's speech, which spoke especially of the election of bishops and ecclesiastics: "Let no man be guilty of other men's sins. Whoever prevents the good appointment of the bishopric is guilty of all the neglect and devastation that will follow from an evil appointment; and if there were strife between the dukes, which God would graciously prevent, these would be the first and foremost beginners and causes of misery, who now give or strengthen this counsel that no bishop should be nominated whose age and mind are fit for the office. Consider the descendants. Although the noble princes themselves now take care of the doctrine, and receive the visitation and many church matters from their chamber, it is to be feared that the descendants will not be so burdened. If, in the meantime, the diocese had become desolate, and no consistory and other necessities had been established in it, a miserable barbarism would follow.

And though we respect E. G. and E. all of virtue in not coveting church property, yet we cannot refrain from reminding E. G. and E. that they wish to consider that it is not right to use such property, which is to be

The church is a place of worship, and it is the duty of the bishop, of the magistrates, of the courts, etc., to bring them to himself, and to forget the necessities of the church; and in this the perpetrators, and those who help them by counsel or deed, sin; for it is unlawful, as men know, to covet and to deprive the community or private persons of other people's goods.

Thus, the G. and E. know that in the government there are all kinds of things for which goods are needed, for which reason God has decreed among His people that every person over twenty years must give as much every year for the preservation of the Tabernacle or Temple as a place of Rhenish Florence, which amounted annually to several tons of gold. And the prophet Haggaeus saith, Therefore come theurung, that they give not to the temple that they owe unto it. Therefore, the Lord and the Lord will faithfully advise that the church property be used for the glory of God, the preservation of right religion, the marriage courts, and good discipline and studies, and that it not be spent and scattered in vain.

This Christian reminder of ours, which is meant faithfully and to no one's detriment or burden, E. G. and E. will graciously and kindly accept from us, as we do not doubt, E. G. and E., as lovers of virtue, will not let this writing of ours displease them, and will themselves faithfully direct this matter in Christian ways, which God will reward. And E. G. and E.' we are willing to serve. Date Wittenberg, on the 30th day of May, 1544.

Your. Your Grace and Honourable

Martinus Luther, D.

Joh. Bugenhagen Pomer, Dr. Caspar Creuziger, Dr. Philippus Melanthon.

No. 3120.

(Wittenberg.) 3. June 1544.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther reports that his journey to Amsdorf has again to suffer a postponement.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 428, printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 308 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 664.

Grace and peace. Venerable Father! Dr. Brück has returned and tells me from the Prince that it will happen that the Prince will come to Zeitz in a fortnight, and at the same time he has summoned both of us to be with you. Therefore, I beg you not to take offense at this slight delay, for the Prince's sake. For then we shall surely come. For he says that those of Plough are moved against the prince by a new bitterness; they may prepare reenactments for me to the prince's dishonor. Therefore we shall be there shortly, both Brück and I. In the meantime, be at ease in the Lord. On the Tuesday of Pentecost [June 3], Anno 1544.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 31.21

Stockholm. 3 June 1544. 1)

King Gustav of Sweden to Luther.

Answer to a (Verlorne's) letter by Luther, which contained an intercession for a Swedish student in Wittenberg, and to the letter concerning Peutinger (No. 3106). Of the Swedish-Danish relations in which the king has been maligned.

From a copy in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H*. 389. 147, in Burkhardt, p. 443.

Our greeting and most gracious will before. Respectable, worthy, highly esteemed, dear special ! Shortly after each other we have received two letters from your A. W. to us, the first of which was a petition on behalf of a young journeyman that we would like to do him gracious help and tax, the other, concerning a Doctor Conrad, also how it should have happened to you how we should have undertaken feud and war against some of our neighbors by instigating and moving the Burgundians, with further contents, 2) both of their property graciously exempted and understood, whereupon we do not want to hold your A. W. again in your gracious good opinion that your letter is to be sent to us. W.'s gracious benevolence, that your letter is to our special gracious pleasure. And so much

1) The copy of this letter in the Weimar Archives has in any case incorrectly: 1541; for Luther's complaint about Conrad Peutinger (No. 3106), the correct dating of which has been certified to me by the Imperial Archivist Nordstrom in Stockholm, is dated April 12, 1544; consequently, this letter also belongs to the year 1544 (Burkhardt).

2) Anyway, the letter had a postscript that was lost (Burkhardt).

Concerning the intercession (vorbiet) of the young journeyman, we are at all times obliged on account of your request, also that we can otherwise consider it necessary for the good of our realms, because we have to remember by divine grace, also know that for this reason God Almighty has chosen (provided for) us for royal government of these our realms and has mentioned that we shall maintain there the holy Christian religion, also praiseworthy police, of which none may exist long without the help and assistance of learned 3) people, shall be maintained, protected, administered and continued, for which reason we are quite unburdened, indeed most graciously inclined, 4) so that we may now, also hereafter, have ours, 5) people in our realms, to do gracious help and taxation to the pious, hard-working fellows, who honestly hold themselves of our 6) nation there with you at Wittenberg, have also recommended it to our councilors without delay. But what concerns the Doctvrem Conrad, whom we use as our Counsel of War and Cancellarium, who has served us from the time of his service as an honorable and Christ-loving man quite faithfully, of which we may ever graciously bear witness in truth; But as far as his supposed former wife is concerned, we are not aware of anything else, except that on several occasions, not without justifiable and legitimate complaints, he has excused himself by telling us that, because of her lewd and unseemly life (as is unfortunately said by many), he had meant her very badly and unfaithfully, and where it would have been possible for him to live with her without disgrace, he would have been very unwilling to part with her; However, dear Doctor, since we, and every true Christian lover, should regard every man's rightful excuse as just, and should not condemn or judge anyone in his just cause. Accordingly, we hereby graciously request you not to be induced to write before you hear this Christian apology of our Council and Chancellor 7). But what Ew. A. W., recently (most recently) writing to our servant Balthasarn Funcken, report, as that we are to be somewhat described and stated there in the German nation, as [as] if we had taken up feud by a Burgundian head against the

3) Burkhardt: "zuthue gelarte".

4) Here Burkhardt incorrectly has a semicolon, it seems, because he did not understand the following.

5) "sothaner" (== such) put by us instead of: "gedaner"; soon following: "mögen" instead of: "may".

6) "set themselves ours" by us instead of: "they ours".

7) Burkhardt: "vornehmen".

K. It is far too inhospitable, indeed, violent and unjust, for our detractors, who otherwise, without cause, solely out of an envious mind and heart, seek and practice our undeserving with unsaved effort, to introduce and move our dignity to trademarks. For although we may demand that which is owed and obligated to us and our rich for good (vor gut) in addition to all equity (gepilligkeit), and cannot at any time yield to the unpleasant (vnliderliche) disadvantage to us and ours, we want to consider [that] one can justifiably neither proclamate (nor) Burgundian nor French against us, cry out or appeal, because of this, that by reason of our royal office it is due to us 1) to postulate what our kingdoms 2) are entitled to postulate, and not 3) to yield to any one (idern) all the way (as has ever happened, about which our kingdoms 2) have been oppressed not a little, less than rightly) 4) that we may well promote the same with good Christian equity. However, we are sufficiently aware of where these and similar prescriptions 5) come from among the foreigners. Accordingly, we want to testify (can also call upon God, and many honest, pious, impartial people, who know about the subservience trade,] 6) as we highly thought of, our friendly dear Lord neighbors at all times meant), that such things (soans) are imposed upon us and measured out to us much too unkindly, for we may well say and write (although unpromoted) with steadfast truth that we S. L. in this her highest, extreme and heaviest need and challenge, since it does not concern a little, but crown, kingdom, country and people, with sisterly, brotherly, neighbourly tax and help on water and land, unsaved of our body, goods and blood, whence we still have to bear noticeable damage, disfavor and disadvantage, and have nothing to spare, that we should and want to refer to no one 7) rather than to the same of their L. ourselves. But what (Wes) now

1) Added by us from the following "will gebühren".
2) "Reiche" put by us instead of: "rethe". The same reading error is also found in No. 2793.
3) "not" put by us instead of: "with", which will be read from "nit".
4) Here Burkhardt mistakenly has a comma.
5) "Prescribed" == adverse speech, as in "promise" - to speak disparagingly of something.
6) Added by us. The round brackets are set by nns. The text lies here at all in the trouble.
7) Burkhardt: "nobody's".

against which we again, with subordination and exclusion of our crowns and kingdoms, with special demands (? furdregen) quite burdening us, with elevation and continuation of our renegade, runaway, repugnant hirelings, have had detentions (?) and promises by which we together with the 8) 9) at great futile expense, of which we might have been more cheaply seen to have been overridden, is known to men, even in part to our detractors. How kindly, then, dear doctor, it happens to us that, when we complain about such things in a friendly way, or have them done to us, we are now Burgundian, now imperial, as it was done by one, called Petrus Palladius, who was, after all, a doctor of the saints, who, as he wants to be a Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, should spare ours with mischief, has cultivated this enough with you there with untruth, in a foreign nation, where we can hardly ride to further responsibility, we want to E. ...A. W.., as the highly competent, and otherwise to every impartial to judge and consider with himself, the whole confidence, it will be the K. W. at Dennemarken in which the length even of the fee will know how to compare with us therefore friendly negotiation, so that errors (irunger), feud or war agitation, for which we have never given any cause all our life, will also unwillingly remain uncaused without necessity, well may our hope of unnecessary remain; so we have also at the time of our regiment (regementen) neither known nor sought anything dearer than to maintain peace and unity with each of our neighbors, also still (God knows it) seek nothing else than in goodness out of decency, 10) to protect ours with right knowledge of God and good politics of common benefit improvement. In opposition to this, as if we should be bound together by a Burgundian head 11) (which we do not know) to that mischief, by which the Papists might have something to enjoy, also 12) to recover, no honorable and Christ-loving man should (God willing) be able to impose or attribute anything with reason of truth to E. A. W.. But what those who thus call us, seek and mean, than by this other lords and potentates, after from East and West, from all eternities, with us (praise to GOD) as in a pleasing, open, free kingdom with due

8) Burkhardt: "the".
9) Burkhardt: "erhebt sehen, mucht".
10) Burkhardt: *in gueten raus am anstandt*.
11) Cf. no. 2793.
12) "also" put by us instead of: "still".

It is easy to judge that we have to inform E. A. W. on the same favorable letter of gracious reply again, on account of our true rightful excuse, the gracious confidence that E. A. W. will herewith inform us to herself, also otherwise to everybody in common, if sth. of your knowledge, saved truth, without our fault. A. W. will know us hereby favorably excused by her herself, also otherwise to everybody in common, so 1) that something of your knowledge, saved truth, would be imposed on us without our fault, to whom we are quite inclined to show at any time but gracious will. Date at our royal castle Stockholm, on the 3rd day of June in the 41st year [1544]. 2) *Gustavus rex sspt.*

No. 3122.

(Wittenberg.) 4. June 1544.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

About Luther's forthcoming journey to Amsdorf.

The original is in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. Printed by Schütze, vol. I, p. 309 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 663 f. German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1535.

To the ill the Lord venerable man, Mr. Nikolaus, the right bishop of the right church at Naumburg, his superior to be highly honoured in Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! It was my certain condition that I would be in Leipzig today, from where I wanted to write to you, dear and venerable father, for riders. Since I had expected nothing less than that you would send riders to meet me as far as Düben, I secretly wanted to reach Leipzig in one day. If now my letter has not yet come to you, which Brück gave to the Prince's messenger, that he should also go to you on the way, then you should know that the Prince himself will be present in Zeitz at least a fortnight later, where Dr. Brück and I will be with you at the same time. Brück and I will be with you. This is how Dr. Brück reports to me about the Prince; in this, the Prince must be granted, so that it does not seem as if he is despised. I

1) "so" put by us instead of: "to".
2) The year 1544 is undoubtedly determined by Luther's letter to the King of Denmark of April 12, 1544 (No. 3106), the original of which is in Stockholm.

will take pains that my arrival at your place will not be delayed but hastened. Therefore, you will have patience, Dr. Brück thinks it is not safe because of those of Pflug, who are believed to do something out of revenge or to disgrace the prince, embittered by a certain new clash with him. Therefore God must not be tempted, but Christ grant prosperity to our meeting. In him prosper thee well. On Wednesday in Pentecost [4 June], evening and late, after I have received your letter. 1544.

Devoted to Your Honor

Martin Luther, D.

No. 3123.

(Wittenberg.) ' 17 June 1544.

To M. Georg Spenlein, pastor in Arnstadt.

About the settlement of a dispute between the Diaconus Spenleins and a certain Simon.

Handwritten in *Cod. chart. Goth.* 399. printed in the Innocent News 1708, p. 657; in *Strobel- Ranner*, p. 336 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 665 f.

To the most reverend Father in Christ, Magister Georg Spenlein, the extremely faithful pastor in the church at Arnstadt, his very dear brother.

Grace and peace in Christ! I was pleased to hear the other day, my dear Georg Spenlein, pastor and brother, that the abominable discord in your parish had been settled. And although the matter would not have been worthy of Satan's stirring up so great an agitation of hearts for its sake, I nevertheless approved of Doctor Mörlin's opinion that he commanded his cause to God for the sake of the good of peace, which is higher than all our but stained and sullied righteousnesses before God. But behold! Satan is yet hid in his nest: since he cannot suffer this peace, he blows up a new spark, upon the true and the false reconciliation. Therefore I beseech thee, that after thy pastoral office thou call to thee that one, whoever he may be, Simon, and thy deacon, and tell them in gentle words, and beseech them for Christ's sake, that they may endeavour to make the peace which is brought about by the

Mr. Friedrich 1) to maintain the peace that has been established. And because I see that the one wants to evade this, that he asks the other for forgiveness with words that are put into a certain form, then you, as pastor, may take the affairs of both to yourself in your name, or also in my name, and command them that Simon should refrain from bringing up new complaints, but that the deacon should refrain from pressing for the [form of] reconciliation. For if he thus continues to enforce justice in the very severest manner (*ad vivam cutem*), there will never be peace. "He that would be a Christian must in such a case also pardon his fair justice, for the sake of peace, And let God also somewhat be commanded to judge," and give place not only to grace, but also to wrath. "For without our righteousness we can be saved, but without peace we cannot be Christians," because Christ is peace. Therefore, having received the handshake of both, you will proclaim: I, your pastor, curb and extinguish all your adversities between you, after you have also given the same into my hand, and may you be at peace in the name of the Lord, Amen.

Now if one or the other should afterwards boast in a childish or feminine way, "Yes, I am right all the same, he had to beg it off of me, the priest must take it to himself," you must remember him diligently; this one is certainly one of the seeds of discord, an untamed boaster of his righteousness. Therefore let his righteousness be condemned with him, since he does not value the common peace a hair's breadth above the glorious victory of his righteousness. For because of this his righteousness is sevenfold iniquity, and his victory accursed for ever, who tramples under foot Christ our peace. "But let them say, Yea, dear reverend, if I be right or wrong, I will let it fall to the service of dear peace. If it is right, let it be ordered by God; if it is wrong, I am sorry, for I would rather not be a child of peace, nor of my own righteousness; for let it be done, because it is

but not the doctrine 2c. For that which cannot be settled without disturbing the peace, let it be twisted into a ball 2) until God Himself once unwinds it." For Satan entangles us. "If all this does not help in the devil's mind, then one must resort to divorce. But this is not to be advised to those at Arnstadt, for they would do too much if the preachers, whose doctrine and life are blameless, were to sit in such danger that they would leap up and jump for the sake of every word; and if there should not be so much love for peace with them that they could not hear a word from their pastors, these will only be bad Christians, and just those who, for the sake of their honor (filth, I say), afflict and mislead the whole church, which they can never bring back: For their glory is turned to everlasting shame in hell. It is as if some of them were headlong enough."

But exhort them, as I have said, that after they have laid down their grievances and their righteousnesses, in such danger for peace, they keep the peace that is made. Otherwise there will be no end of strife, and Satan will triumph against Christ. Woe to him through whom this trouble comes. For as it is true, A weary head is a ready bath for the devil; so also, The love of one's own righteousness is a perfect kingdom for the devil. The Lord Jesus help thee with his Holy Spirit, that thou mayest cast out this obstinate and heady Satan, Amen. Fare well in the Lord. Tuesday after Viti [17 June] 1544.

No. 3124.

(Wittenberg.) June 20, 1544.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

Luther refuses to write about church discipline. How to deal fei with those who postpone the sacrament to the last end.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, Vol. III, p. 440. From the Kraft Collection at Husum in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 310 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 667 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1526.

1) Myconius, as visitator.

2) "ball" put by us instead of: "gag".

Grace and peace! Carlowitz does nothing new, as you write, my dear Anton, but the obdurate man does what he deserves and is worthy of. Let it go as it goes. The Lord keep the mind of Duke Moritz for the salvation of many people, amen. Since you desire that I should write about church discipline, I think that the Lord will perhaps arrange this through someone else. I am utterly and completely exhausted, and others will do better. Yes, I hope that the Prince of Anhalt, the bishop) will give us an example. We have also been working on this matter for a long time, that the bishop of Naumburg should publish a scripture, where the devil of the court has also resisted up to now, just as the prince of the Persians resisted the angel in Daniel [Cap. 10, 13]. May the Lord multiply his Spirit in us, amen.

What else should you do to those who postpone the reception of the Sacrament until their last breath, but publicly admonish them to be careful and fearful of such a danger? then, that you threaten that if anyone continues to postpone it until his senses and reason are gone, the Sacrament cannot be administered to him, certainly no more than to a sow or a dog. For such men cannot be dealt with by the bosom, nor can it be inquired into what they believe, or what they deal with; therefore they cannot be capable of the Sacrament, and it is offered to them in vain. Let their blood be upon their heads, who throughout their lives, while they are healthy, despise the Word and Sacrament, whereby they become more and more unskilful of the same day by day, so that they are deservedly deprived of the Sacraments by their own fault at the end of life. Therefore may they be careful, while they live, while they are well, while they can hear and respond, and confess sins and faith loudly and clearly, that they become accustomed to the use of the Word and Sacrament. But if not, let them also in the end, when reason and

1) George, Prince of Anhalt, was attached to the young Duke August of Saxony as administrator of the diocese of Merseburg, therefore Luther calls him "bishop".

We are commanded not to give the sanctuary to dogs, nor pearls to swine. We are commanded that we should not give the sanctuary to dogs, nor pearls to sows. Thus have we warned our own, and thus have we done. Be well in the Lord, and pray for me. On Friday after Viti [June 20] 1544. M. L., D.

My Käthe sends the measure for the daughter's fur skirt, so that you may see to it that it is made as suitable as possible. But I do not know by what right we have taken you into service, that we should use your labor in all things, and in so many, without remuneration. May the Lord reward you.

No. 3125.

(Wittenberg.) June 21, 1544.

To Chancellor Brück.

On Caspar Beyer's marriage case; on tyranny of forestry officials.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 1002; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 577; in Walch, vol. XXI, 498; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 669, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 103 f.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I thank E. A., my dear lord and godfather, of your kind offer to promote the cause of Caspar Beyer; I will leave myself, it will soon be done, amen. Or else I would have spoken, not minding that you would have thought the lawyer a private absolution, and that he never should have had no wife. But I consider myself no private person, and would stand on it that God would make my sentence go more strongly with many people than our Consistorii. *Quia verbum Domini regnat etc*.

Since you are also traveling to my most gracious lord, I ask that you see this writing on the way or 2) otherwise, that you appeal to my lord. H. that H. C. F. G. would have a gracious understanding. The clamor is truly too strong about the huntsmen and some officials, that also the people do not use their own wood.

2) "or" put by us instead of: "without" in the issues.

shall need. The common prayer will one day force a curse upon them, that cannot fail; so some say, and some believe, that my G. H. the game will be very less; I do not know whether it is true. Hiemit GOtt commanded, Amen. Saturday after Viti [June 21].

E. A.
willing

Martin. Luther, D.

No. 3126.

(Wittenberg.) (21 June s?^) 1544.)

To Chancellor Brück.

Intercession for the son-in-law of his uncle Veit Luther, the miner Andreas Gutjahr from Ziegelroda near Querfurt, who was under investigation as a counterfeiter.

The original is in the archives at Weimar, *Reg. U,* p. 196. VI. no. 25. 5. Printed by Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 74.

My dear Doctor! One more thing, for good friend's sake. There sits one, by name Andres Gutjahr, at Eisleben, as if he should have spoken falsely of my most gracious lord's stroke 2c. Now my friends are running at me, for he has a wife who is sibling-child with me, namely her father, Veit Luder, and my father, Hans Luder, have been right brothers.

Now I will ask no more, for so far as the gentle law can help his cause, that one may lend him a good word. Otherwise, if the matter is so evil that Epiikia cannot help him, I do not want to have the name that my most gracious lord should, for the sake of my request, leave unpunished what the law punishes, since we preach and cry out daily that there is neither rule nor punishment. And everyone does what he wants, as there are many examples here in Wittenberg. I would that princes and lords, too, could be punished where they strike false coin. Otherwise, stealing is so intemperate that I cannot understand how it will be possible in a short time for a poor householder to acquire bread.

1) This document is an inserted note to a letter of Luther to Brück, without date (perhaps to the previous letter); the year results from the fact that Gutjahr was brought from Ziegelroda to Eisleben in 1544 and was interrogated there.

It steals servant, maid, neighbor, craft, officials, usurers, merchants: still all gallows are free and celebrate that I do not want to forbid myself in such a case of coin theft (although with the merchants now a right) also. These things I write, that I may report to my friends that I have written. Also I write to you, for where it comes to the office, there it comes as it is ordered. I hope you can tell it with a word to my lord most gracious. uts.

Send you the confession of Andres Gutjahr.

No. 3127.

(Wittenberg.) June 23, 1544.

To Nikolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

About the Cologne draft of the Reformation; about the meeting of the confederates in Arnstadt because of the surrender of the Duchy of Brunswick to the Emperor; thanks for gifts.

The original is in *Cod. Seidiel.* at Dresden. Printed by Schütze, vol. I, p. 312 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 669 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1533.

To the venerable father in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus, the right bishop of the right church at Naumburg, his superior who is highly honoured in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I have neither seen nor read, my bishop venerable in Christ, the Cologne Reformation, although I hear that it is praised. I have asked M. Philip, who says that it is such, that the right understanding and use of the Word and the Sacraments are taught in all churches, with the removal of all superstition. But the monasteries and convents are to remain undisturbed as they are now. If this were so, it would be tolerable until God gave something else. For this robbery, or rather the rapacity of the princes, the nobles, and the authorities, is hateful and detestable, and by their example will bring about great destruction, or even the desolation of the parishes and schools. "They will have it all, and that too, which princes have." And there comes the end 2c. Orally, and in a little more. For the prince writes that he

will be there in a short time. There is a meeting of our alliance in Arnstadt 1) because of the transfer of the Duchy [Brunswick] (this I want to have said secretly) into the hands of the Emperor; I wish this to happen, because it is difficult for our Prince to bear such great expenses 2c. This meeting will be finished in about three days. In the meantime, farewell in Christ.

We have received the gifts you sent me and the children, but I beg you, if you have anything left, to give it to your sisters' children (*nepotibus*) and to their mother, the very good woman, whom I cannot remember without sighing, because of her husband's misfortune. But as often as I see her children, I remember 2c. You would do well to give her everything you can, and at the same time you owe it to her. Yes, you are a poor bishop, while you were a rich priest. I often think of the saying of Pope Alexander the Fifth, who said: "I was a rich bishop, then a poor cardinal, now a begging pope. You seem to me to be such a one. But this is the will of him who became poor for us, and even died for us; and I must serve him in poverty, even in all my life and in death, according to his good, pleasing, and perfect will. To him be glory from everlasting to everlasting, amen. On the day before St. John's Day [23 Juil] 1544. Yours, M. Luther, D.

No. 3128.

(Wittenberg.) July 7, 1544.

To the City Council of Kiel.

About the use of monastery goods.

The original is at the Hamburg City Library. Printed in E. 4. v. *Westphalen monum. ined.*., Vol. I V, 3338; in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 403; in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 671 and in the Erlanger Ausg., Vol. 56, p. 104. Everywhere as "An einen Stadtrath".

G. and Fr. in the Lord. Honourable, prudent, dear lords and friends! For the sake of your *casum of* the 2 monasteries 2) I have received through your messenger

1) Walch: "In Arnstadt, so mit uns in Freundschaft stehet, wird ein Landtag gehalten" 2c.
2) The two monasteries are St. Spiritus and St. George.

received and heard. Whereupon ye desire to give a short written account according to the holy scriptures. Scripture. Now it is true that we theologians have hitherto taught, and still teach, that such disposed of monastic goods are to be set apart for the use of the churches and poor people, first and foremost and above all things; for this is just, even divine, as you yourselves also confess in your *case*. But to which persons this is due or should be due, we theologians have nothing to do with, because we are not commanded to do it, nor can we know the occasion, but this must be judged by the lawyers, since part is interrogated against part. What the lawyers will say here, or have said, we will leave alone; for this is a worldly matter, which the lawyers are commanded to do, and our theology teaches us to uphold worldly law, to protect the pious, and to punish the wicked. For this reason, E. W. may ask the jurists about such things. For we theologians cannot come to this, as they cannot interrogate part against part, and on one part's speech or cause nothing can be said. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befohlen, Amen. Monday after *Visitationis Mariae* [July 7] 1544. *Martin Luther, D.*

No. 3129.

(Wittenberg.) July 8, 1544.

To Hieronymus Baumgärtner's wife.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1926. - It should be noted that the second consolation letter to the same, dated July 9, 1544, ibid. Col. 1928, is not by Luther, but by Melanchthon. Also in the Erl. Ausg. (after Walch), vol. 64, p. 312.

No. 3130.

(Wittenberg.) ' 13 July 1544.

To Mrs Dorothea Jörger.

Luther tells her that her children and nephews are well provided for in Wittenberg, where they are to study.
Printed in Raupach, Ev. Oesterreich, 1st cont., p. 87; in Moseder, Glaubensbekenntniß, p. 80; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 674 and in the Erlanger Ausg., vol. 56, p. 107.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Honourable, virtuous woman! We have your dear niftel and

I have accepted children here, and hope that they will be well and honestly cared for by a pious Magister Georg Dreyer (Major). God grant them grace that they may well study and become pious, as I am completely committed to them. For in these evil times it is necessary that there be many pious people who help us with good life and prayer to atone for our former sins and the daily increase of the same 1) before God, and to turn away the rod that is bound upon our heads at the door. For the former idolatry in the papacy (which they still do not want to leave) and our ingratitude press us hard. May the merciful God follow up with His Holy Spirit and graciously accomplish His good work, begun by His holy Word in Iins, Amen, in whose grace I command you, and pray for a blessed hour for me, for now the time shall come for my return home and rest. Date of *Margaret* (13 July) 1544.

Dr. Martinus Luther.

No. 3131.

(Wittenberg.) July 21, 1544.

To Nikolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Of a matrimonial matter; on Luther's journey to Amsdorf, still delayed by the court.

The original is at Dresden in *Cod.* A copy (not the original, as De Wette assumed) is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, pag.* 511. H.26.Printed in the Innocent News, 1761, p. 385; in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 316; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 339; in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 674 f. and (after the original) in Seidemann's "Lutherbriefe," p. 70. German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1528.

To the venerable father in Christ, Lord. Nicolaus, the right bishop of the church at Naumburg, his superior who is highly honored in your Lord.

Grace and peace. Venerable Father in Christ! I believe that the marriage of the priest, who married the stepmother of his deceased wife, is incestuous.

1) "of the same" put by us instead of: "of the same".

2) According to the registry, his name was Franciscus Hoch.

and that for this reason he is either to be divorced or expelled from your parish, then for the sake of the annoyance that the priest of the church, who has been warned so many times before, has submitted to such a thing (unless she was a stepmother in such a way that the father of the deceased was also a stepfather, not a natural father). 3) That you were forced to eat the crabs alone, I envy you very much in that, and I am displeased that I was delayed so long by the court. "There is nothing the matter with the court. Your regiment is like a crab or a snail. It cannot leave its places, or always wants to go back." Christ hath counseled the church very well, in that he hath not given the court the government of the churches Hai. "The devil would have nothing else to do, but to devour vain Christian souls." They say the Prince will come here to-day. Then I will inquire if he will keep that which he promised of my coming to thee. If he now again postpone it, I will report it to thee, that thou mayest receive me once more with thy horsemen sent to meet me. In the meantime be at ease in the Lord. I will repair the damage by devouring all the remaining crabs with you. And would to God that I could devour all the crabs and turtles of our court. Monday Praxedis (July 21) 1544. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 3131a

(Wittenberg.) July or August 4) 1544.

To Chancellor Brück.

Luther's judgment on the Cologne Formula of Reformation, which Bucer and Melanchthon had written (cf. Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth., lib.* III, p. 413 sqq.). He is especially dissatisfied with the article on the Lord's Supper, in

3) The words we put in brackets Luther wrote here in the margin. De Wette has them (according to the manuscript) after the words: "blutschänderisch sei". In Walch this piece is missing.

4) This letter, which De Wette has set "Without date 1544," seems to belong to July or August. *Corp. ref.*, V, 448 sq;. 459,461 so. 473 sqq;. 488,495 sqq ;. Neudecker, Merkwürdige Aktenstücke, p. 350 (Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 483, note Dr. Burkhardt agrees.

which one speaks much of the benefit of the same, but nothing of the substance. - Melanchthon took Luther's dissatisfaction so highly that he wanted to leave Wittenberg (see Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth., lib.* III, p. 448).

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H,* fol. 609. 195. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 103, No. 195; in Walch, vol. XXI, 486 (as from the year 1543); in De Wette, vol. V, p. 708 and in the Erlangen Edition, vol. 56, p. 121.

Respectable, highly learned sir, dear father! I like the bishop's articles, especially the one on the Lord's Supper, for there lies power, and I send them again herewith. I am well pleased in the book that they do not use my name, as the Bishop of Zeitz 1) would like in good opinion; for he frightens the people at the beginning, and is best that [it] goes out without any name in the name of the Bishop of Cologne. But I, moved by the articles, quickly fell into the book, and from the Sacrament, because there the shoe presses me hard, and find that [it] pleases me nothing everywhere. For a long time there has been much talk about the use, fruit, and honor of the sacrament, but of the substance it mumbles, so that one should not hear what he thinks of it, in all measure, as the devotees do, and as the bishop indicates, does not say a word against the devotees, in which it is nevertheless necessary to act; the other would be found with less effort and speech. But nowhere does it appear whether the true body and blood were received orally, nor does it report anything about it, since it tells of the Anabaptists' error, even though the Anabaptists have as many evil articles as the Anabaptists. All in all, the book is not only helpful to the enthusiasts, but also comforting, much more for their doctrine than for ours. Therefore I am sick of it, and exceedingly displeased with it. If I am to read it in its entirety, M. G. Herr must give me room to do so, until my unwillingness subsides; otherwise I cannot look at it well. And even without that, as the bishop shows, all and everything is too laughed at and great washing, that I feel the rattling mouth, the Bncer, well here. Another time, when I come to you, further. An. 1544.

willing Mart. Luther.

1) Nicolaus von Amsdorf.

No. 3132.

Wittenberg. August 2, 1544.

To the council of Mühlhausen, together with Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

Notice that they have informed Sebastian Boetius of the council's appointment as superintendent in Mühlhausen, and that he will come until Michaelmas.

Printed from the original in Innocent News 1712, p. 223; in Mühlhäuser Wochenblatt 1827, No. 43 ; in *Corp. Reg.* vol. V, 450 and in De Wette-Seidemaun, vol.VI, p. 364.

To the honorable, wise and noble, mayors and council of the city of Mulhouse, our favorable lords and friends.

God's grace through His only begotten Son Jesus Christ our Savior beforehand. Honorable, wise, noble, favorable lords and friends! We have received your letter, in which you are applying with great diligence for a capable man to govern the church in your city, and can well remember that the worthy and well-learned Mr. Justus Menius conversed with us here the other day, when we also considered all kinds of dangers of your churches, especially in this divided princely government, and also that nowadays people all over the world, high and low, are inclined to be wild and quite inactive.

Therefore we first ask God, the eternal Father of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to govern and preserve your church and city, to give you good counsel and peace, and to provide the churches with Christian, moral, peaceful teachers, and to avert all troubles; we also ask you, as the wise, to watch over yourselves, and if anyone should dare to sow an evil seed among you, do not let it arise, and if God gives you a Christian, learned, moral pastor in Mr. Menii's place, it is useful for peace and Christian government that the same always remain for and for superattendents, and that no obnoxious superattendents be placed in your church.

Now Sebastian Boetius, of whom you wrote, has been known to us for many years. Therefore, because we believe that he is God-fearing, well-learned, and understands the pure Christian doctrine, and that he is a good man, he is a good man.

confesses, is moral and peace-loving, have only put up with your concern and this profession, and have held up your Scriptures to him and admonished him to follow this profession in God's name, for which he offered to appear before Michaelmas.

This, then, at your request, we have kindly signified unto you, with the offering of our services, beseeching our Saviour Jesus Christ, the good and faithful shepherd of his church, that he himself may be and remain shepherd with us and with you, and build up and maintain his church for him, as he said, "Without me ye can do nothing." Neither should ye forget his speech, when he saith, "By this my Father which is in heaven is glorified, if ye become my disciples, and bring forth much fruit." This is the service which God requires of all rulers, that they may praise Him with the preservation of right doctrine. Therefore, let this service be commanded to you at all times. Date Wittenberg, August 2, 1544.

Martinas Luther, D.
Johannes Bugenhagen, Power., Dr. Philippus Melanthon.

No. 3133.

(Wittenberg.) 4. August 1544.

To Johann Lang in Erfurt.

Luther writes his judgment on secret betrothals.
Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 422. Printed from the Börnersche Sammlung at Leipzig in Schütze, vol. I, p. 317 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 675.

To the in Christ highly venerable brother, Mr. Johann Lang, Doctor of Theology, the faithful and exceedingly loud bishop and pastor of the church at Erfurt.

Mercy and peace! As to the case which you have brought to my attention, my dear Long, we judge here thus: although the girl would have vowed simply and absolutely without the condition of her father's consent, yet her vow would be invalid and nothing. Thus I have the son of Magister Philippus, who had been seduced into binding himself to a girl by a frightful oath

We have absolved Duke Ernst of Bramkschweig, 1) who, in addition to oaths, had written the betrothal with his own blood, from our court, because we consider it a kind of kidnapping and theft from God that sons and daughters are turned away from their families by these artifices, are secretly torn from their parents and their power; yes, as much as our jurists are stubborn in the matter of Caspar Beyer 2), the Prince has nevertheless confirmed my judgment by public recognition. Therefore they grumble and rage against me so that they almost burst. In general, we must resist this evil because of the reverence to be observed against the commandments of God, and not admit that the papists can be judges in a matter, whether spiritual or eavesdropping, because they have deposed themselves from the office of governing the church, since they profess and show themselves to be enemies of the Word and of the church. And Antichrist has not had power to give this law 27, 9, 2: *Sufficiat de clandestinis, etc.* Since it is a law proceeding from Satan himself, with similar laws, against the fourth commandment, against civil rights and those of nature, and against the examples of the law of Moses. Therefore there is no right, nor law, nor judgment, nor reputation, nor judge in this matter with the lawyers, and with your authorities only the will is required, and with you pastors the rejection against the ravings of Antichrist and his. Nor can you bless such betrothals, if you do not wish to make yourselves accessories to other men's sins, and confirm the abominations of the pope. So we do, and the prince approves. I wish to finish my book 3) for printing (*editum*) as soon as possible, which I have under my hands. Fare well in the Lord. On Monday after Peter's chain celebration [Aug. 4] 1544.

Dr. Martin Luther.

1) Cf. no. 2781. 2788. 2801. 2814.
2) Cf. No. 3085 and 3086.
3) Luther intended to publish a book against the jurists because of the secret engagements, but gave it up when both the jurists of the consistory and the court court fell in with his opinion. See the letter of Jan. 18, 1545.

No. 3134.

(Wittenberg.) August 7, 1544.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther announces his journey to Zeitz as certain.

The original is in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. Printed by Schütze, vol. I, p. 319 and by De Wette, vol.V, p. 677. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1529.

To the in Christ venerable father, Mr. Nicolaus von Amsdorf, the right bishop of the Church of God at Naumburg, his in the Lord highly venerable superior.

Grace and peace! I have firmly decided, venerable Father in the Lord, to travel to you, as I recently wrote after scouting out the crabs of our court. May God prosper the journey in Christ. Therefore, God willing, I will set foot from Wittenberg early next Wednesday to Laurentii [Aug. 13], 1) so that in the evening of that day I can be at Eilenburg and dine there; the next day I will come to Borna via *Quercetum*, "zur Eiche" (if that can be the way), or, if it cannot be, via Grimma, as the captains of those places will advise me. Therefore you may, if you wish (for it is not necessary), send one or the other rider to meet me, who can be guide and overseer on the way. For I do not want the horsemen of our court, although the prince offers them to me. There art thou what I would ask. Be well in the Lord. On the day of St. Donati, or the seventh day after the feast of St. Peter's chains [Aug. 7] 1544. Martin Luther, D.

No. 3135.

Wittenberg. 11 Aug. 1544.

Testimony for a travelling Hungarian, together with Melanchthon.

From the original in Schütze, vol. I, p. 319; comparing an old copy in De Wette, vol. V, pp. 677 f., and in Corp. Ref. V, 463. Bretschneider has the copies in *Cod. Ref. V*. II, 844 and in the Cod. Monac. 88, no. 4, p. 345, and attributes this writing to Melanchthon.

1) On August 11, Luther had already left. Cf. *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. V, 464 f.

Martin Luther and Phil. Melanthon wish those who read this,

Grace and peace! There has come to our Academy this Hungarian guest, Bartholomew Georgiewitz, a foreigner from Jerusalem, who tells us that he was taken prisoner by the Turks in the battle in which King Louis perished, and that afterwards he was in Constantinople for seven years and then in Asia for six years in slavery. He reports in such a knowledgeable manner the names of the places and the nature of the regions, and the customs of the Turkish people as well as of the Armenians and Greeks, and tells such true things in credible stories, that we believe him to be an honorable man and to stay in foreign countries for honest reasons. It was very pleasant to us that he said that in Armenia the Church of Christ and the study of Christian doctrine are still flourishing. Therefore we entrust this guest to the protection of good people everywhere, who know that services to guests are both pleasing to God and especially fitting for the nature of men, and that they should also remind us ourselves of our misery (*exilio*). For we come into this world as guests, and are received by many a tribulation. But we seek our fatherland and a quiet abode, and the company of Christ. God, however, exceedingly graciously mitigates the many miseries of our sojourning, if we are moved by mercy toward the sojourners. Given at Wittenberg, the 11th day of August, Anno 1544.

No. 3136.

Zeitz. 21 August 1544.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1728.

No. 3137.

Zeitz. 23 August 1544.

To Prince George of Anhalt.

Luther asks him to take care of the pastor Woye in his distress and to improve his situation during the visitation.

From the original in the Dessau Archives at Lindner, Mittheilungen, vol. II, p. 88, no. 61 and at De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 365.

To the most reverend Father in Christ and Lord, Lord George, right Bishop of Merseburg, Provost of the Church of Magdeburg, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien and Lord of Bernburg, his most gracious Lord.

Grace and Peace in Christ Reverend Father in Christ, Sublime Prince! I humbly and urgently recommend this Moritz Woye from your Bernburg to E. F. G., and ask that E. F. G. graciously look upon him and show him favor. He seems to be very poorly provided for in his parish, so that he will not be able to stay there unless he receives support and is advised to do so. He thinks that (as they say) he has gone from horse to donkey, so he is now in want with his wife and seven children. E. F. G. will (as I do not doubt) deal with him according to the good spirit of God, when the work of the visitation has begun. For he tells me how several other parishes have been devastated and abandoned, so that a speedy restoration is very necessary. For this work I ask E. F. G. for many and great graces and gifts of the Holy Spirit, so that this visitation may be fruitful for the glory of God and the salvation of many souls, amen. E. F. G. be well in Christ. At Zeitz, on the day before Bartholomew [23 Aug.] 1544.

E. F. G. devoted

Martin Luther, D.

No. 3138.

(Wittenberg.) August 27, 1544.

To Prince Johann von Anhalt.

Luther reports that he cannot come to him because of great exhaustion from the journey. Wishes that Prince George of Anhalt may administer the diocese of Merseburg well.

From the original in the Dessau Archives in Lindner, Mittheilungen, vol. II, p. 89, no. 62; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 243 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 366.

To the illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascania, Lord of Bernburg, my gracious lord.

G. u. F. im HErrn. Most illustrious and highborn prince... ...my lord. With all my heart I'll come to you... ...to your lordship's desire. I

But now I am coming home from Zeitz, so tired of driving that I cannot walk nor stand, almost tired of sitting, because I feel my age and my body sinking and sinking down below the earth, God help me soon, with grace. Therefore I must be quiet and rest, until it becomes different with me, whether to live or to die, as God wills. May our dear Lord Jesus Christ grant that our Lord Prince George may have a rich spirit to govern his diocese. For there is much to be done, and the foundation has been badly cared for by the previous bishops. Well, he that hath begun shall finish it, amen.

Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. Midweek after Bartholomew [27 Aug.] 1544. E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3139.

(Wittenberg.) August 27, 1544.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther, returned from Zeitz, thanks for the travel expenses borne and the gifts given to him.

The original is in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 324 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 682. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1530.

To the venerable father in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus von Amsdorf, the theologian and truly upright bishop of the church at Naumburg, his superior who is highly honoured in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! First, venerable father in the Lord, I apologize to your captain that I wished him to return immediately from Borna, especially from Eilenburg, because I was already at home and at the door, but with complete obstinacy he escorted me to Wittenberg. At the same time, I also accuse you with him that you ordered to set forth the costs of the whole journey, so that I did not spend a penny at all. For this is why you did not come to the bishop's riches, that it was your right and that it was fitting for you to be a spendthrift. And as if this were not enough, you have loaded me with a silver jug and a spoon, without my knowledge, just as

the one who is said to have been the host of St. Jacob, and against my will you have almost made me a thief of your things. But you will perhaps refer to the example of Joseph, who ordered that his brother Benjamin's cup be secretly put into his sack, but you yourself know how unseemly it is that I, a poor theologian, of low birth and in a low estate, should drink from silver and gold. Therefore I shall give and be an offence to the enemies and adversaries of the word, even to many of our own. Therefore I throw all blame on your untimely and intemperate extravagance, and will testify (*protestatus*) (if this will help me a little) that it is through your love, not through my will, that I have become so hopeful and ambitious. For this I give thee the greatest thanks, and if my prayer, who am so cold a sinner, is of any avail with God, I will work that I may not be found unremembered by thee and thy government. But this I owe without gift and in vain, because of the command of God and the need of us all. In Him be well, and may He, the Lord, guide your steps and the work of your hands to many and abundant blessings, amen. On the fourth day (Wednesday) after Bartholomew [27 Aug.] 1544. Yours Martin Luther, D.

No. 3140.

Wittenberg. September 1, 1544.

To an unnamed parish priest (Cordatus).

Consolation due to decrease in strength and fretfulness.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 175; in the Jena edition (1562), vol. VIII, p. 193; in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 366; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 541; in Walch, vol. X, 2102; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 683; in the Erlanger, vol. 56, p. 108; and in the St. Louiser, vol. X, 1792. In all these editions without mention of the name in a prolix translation (in Latin One page, in German two full pages). In Latin the same letter (what already De Wette, ' Vol. V, p. 702, but too late, has recognized, and Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 487, note 5) is dated Dec. 3, 1544. Which of these two dates is the more probable one is nowhere noted, and also we are not able to decide this. However, we give a new translation according to the Latin in De Wette, vol. V, p. 701 f. See No. 3163.

No. 3141.

(Wittenberg.) September 5, 1544.

To Mrs. Dorothea Jörger at Kappach.

Consolation because of disagreement of her sons.

The original is in the Dresden library. Printed in Raupach's Evang. Oesterreich, I. continuation, p. 88 ; in Mosder's Glaubensbekenntniß, p. 94; in Canzler's and Meißner's Quartalschrift für ältere Litteratur 2c., III. 2. p. 33; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 685 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 110 f.

Of the honourable and virtuous woman, Dorothea Jörgerin, widow at Kappach, my "favourable" wife and friend.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Honourable, virtuous, dear lady! For the sake of your niftel, I presume your preceptor, M. Georg Major, will have written to you on all occasions. But that you are grieved at your sons' disagreement, I will well believe, I am truly sorry for both their disagreement and your affliction. Well, what shall we do? There must be calamity and the cross in this life, that God may drive us to his word and prayer, that he may hear us and comfort us. Therefore, you should not cease to exhort them to brotherly love with God's word, and at the same time earnestly ask that God will give His prosperity and grace to such exhortation, as He has commanded us to ask and to trust: "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." I would like to write to them this time, too, but because it has a suspicion as if I were reported by you, I will save it until I can say that I have learned it from others, and then exemplify such evil examples as sharply as I can, since God gives His grace, amen. My daughter and children also thank you very kindly for your greetings and good will. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. *September* 5, 1544. Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3142.

Strasbourg. 9 September 1544.

Martin Bucer to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2172.

No. 3143.

Wittenberg. 19 September 1544.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with the other theologians.

Request for support of the physician Dr. Peter Schör. - Burkhardt notes: Schör was a school friend of the old Dr. Brück, who also, as in 1541, supported Luther. The princely family had already done a lot for Schör. Johann Friedrich had a daughter educated by Dr. P. Alwersleben in Magdeburg, and he also gave her a marriage estate, but Dr. Alwersleben deprived her of it.

The original, from Kanzleihand only with personal signatures, is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Mm, fol.* 79 d. 36. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 448.

God's grace through His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Saviour. Most Sublime, Highborn, Most Gracious Prince and Lord! E. C. F. G., we ask in good faith that you will graciously accept this writing of ours, which we have given out of Christian compassion to the old man, Doctor Peter Schör, living in Halberstadt, who has five daughters and a little son with his virtuous housewife. Now he indicates to us that, although he had previously received a salary from the chapter, two years ago, after the Holy Gospel had been preached in Halberstadt by the grace of God, the same was revoked from him solely out of hatred of the Holy Gospel, because of which he subsequently forced himself to sell his jewels, rings and women's jewels and skirts out of poverty, and has nothing from the practice, for new physicians are arriving daily, who are needed more because of the news, and his income is all 32 fl., which his housewife has to raise from the council at Hall for the rest of her life. On top of this he has been granted by E. ch. F. G. has now graciously granted him 30 fl. annually for three years, and the prescription is for 40 fl. annually, for six years. Since the old man has no more, and suffers poverty with his wife and children, we ask in submission that the Holy Father graciously continue the said 40 fl. for the rest of his life, and yet for the sake of God graciously take care of his poor children, and the poor boy, Petrus Schör, who is in his tenth year, with a trial in Zeitz or Naumburg or elsewhere.

1) that the poor mother and sisters may have a little house or nest after his death. For he is now six and sixty years old, and they have no hereditary home of their own. Let E. C. F. G. show himself merciful in this, for we truly hear that the poor woman shows great virtue. Thus the children are poor orphans who have no refuge on earth. May the eternal God, Father of our Saviour JEsu Christ, preserve E. churf. G. at all times. Date Wittenberg, Friday after *Exaltationis Crucis* [Sept. 19] Anno 1544.

E. C. F. G.

servants of Martin Luther, Dr. Johannes Bugenhagen, Pom. Caspar Creutziger, Dr. Hieronymus Schurff. Philippus Melanthon.

No. 3144.

(Wittenberg.) September 19, 1544.

To Simon Wolferinus, preacher in Eisleben.

Of a matrimonial matter and of the improper conduct of Count Albrecht of Mansfeld against the priest Libius, who had used his penal office against him.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. 185. 4. Printed from the collection of Caspar Sagittarius in Schütze, vol. I, p. 325, and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 686. Incomplete in all German editions, viz. in Walch, vol. XXII, 1763, and vol. X, 188; in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 61, p. 251, and vol. 64, p. 293; in the Leipziger Ausgabe, Supplement, p. 109; in all editions of the Tischreden (except the St. Louis, where we have referred to this passage), Cap. 43, § 119, and in the St. Louiser ed. vol. X, 1614 (without date).

To Simon Wolferinus, preacher of the church at Eisleben.

Mercy and peace! In the case of marriage, my dear Simon, which you have reported to me, the messenger has our advice and opinion, but whether your Senate will accept it, I do not know. We do so in our duchy to resist adultery, that we expel the guilty party from the country, and allow the innocent to remarry.

1) Here something seems to have fallen out because the speech of the son passes over abruptly to the father.

Of Libius I believe that he has taught right. I am very sorry that Count Albrecht is not only burdensome to others, but also highly unjust to himself. In vain he hopes to purify himself when he has shut the mouth of one or two preachers. But there are too many tongues that speak evil of him, that is, he suffers from a worse reputation than I like to see; if he does not change his ways, he will not be helped. Next, it is wrong, and a very great wrong, that he should accuse Libius of sedition. It is not sedition for the pastor of a church to punish the customs of the superiors, though he should err in punishing them. It is a different thing to err or be absent than to be seditious. Therefore, Count Albrecht is not to be permitted to declare as sedition, according to his desires and in his wrathfulness, anything that he wishes. Therefore, by this offense the count has sinned more against Libius than Libius has sinned against the count, and the count is bound to recant and to ask Libius for forgiveness if he wishes to be a Christian. Now if he surrenders himself to the tempter, so that he does not hear, he must be let go. For I see that he is disturbed by his evil conscience. God have mercy on him and convert him, amen. Written on Friday after the Exaltation of the Cross [19 Sept.] 1544.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 3145.

Wittenberg. 24 September 1544.

Ordination for Johann Reibitz. [1)]

Printed in the Fortgesetzten Sammlung 1729, p. 533 and in Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 71 f.

We, pastor and preacher of the church at Wittenberg, confess, after the witness of this writing, Johannes Reibitz, has brought testimony, that he is appointed pastor (Parumer) at Kohlenberg, and is of honest, Christian morals, and we requested to interrogate him and publicly

1) The name of the ordinand is written in various ways in this testimony: "Reybetz, Reybytz, Reywytz and Reywitz. The place to which he is called is called "Kohlenberg" in the text, and "Collenberg" in the inscription in the continued collection. But because there is not supposed to be such a place near Halle, Seidemann assumes: "Kollenbei".

We have diligently interrogated him and found him to be of sound mind in the pure Christian doctrine of the gospel. He has also agreed to carry out his ministry diligently and to remain steadfast in the Christian doctrine of the gospel, as it is known and taught in our church by God's grace in harmony with the true Catholic church of Christ. For this reason, the named John Reibitz is here publicly ordained in the church according to the command of divine Scripture, and we order him to preach the holy gospel and to administer the holy sacraments, as he is called, and we ask from the bottom of our hearts that the eternal God, Father of our Saviour JEsu Christ, will give his church capable teachers, as he has ordered us to ask and has graciously promised to give. And so may this John Reibitz also be granted his grace and Holy Spirit, that he may serve the Saviour Christ and the church to glory and honor. We also admonish John Reibitz and his church to faithfully plant the purity of Christian doctrine, to preserve it for all time, and to inherit it and pass it on to their descendants. For this service the eternal God requires of all men in the first place, as Christ says John 15:8: "That my Father may be honored, if ye bear much fruit, and become my disciples." And where one receives this light, there remains the church; with this church God is and wants to give eternal life and to help and save those who call upon Him in all kinds of sorrow and anguish of this transient life. For there he will be and hear where the right teaching of the Gospel is, as Christ also says John 15:7: "If ye abide in me, and if my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done unto you." Date Wittenberg, the 24th of September, 1544.

Pastor ecclesiae Wytembergensis et ceteri Ministri Euangelii in eadem ecclesia

Martinus Luter doctor. Johannes Bngenhagen.

1 Timoth. 4, 13—16.

"Continue in reading, in exhortation, in teaching; do not neglect the gift given you through prophecy with the laying on of hands.

The elders' legnings. Wait for these things, and deal with them, that thy increase may be manifest unto all. Take heed to thyself and to the doctrine; persevere in these things. For where thou doest these things, thou shalt make thyself and thy hearers blessed."

We also ask the worthy Magistrum Benedictum 1) of Halle to instruct this Johannes: Reibitz and take care of him, because this John Reibitz has promised to ask him. Therefore he wanted to give him instruction, as it is written [Luc. 22, 32.]: *Si tu conversus, confirma, frutres tuos*.

No. 3146.

Wittenberg. 27 September 1544.

Ordination certificate for Christoph Longolius.

From the collection of Joh. Gottfried Olearius at Arnstadt in Schütze, vol. I, p. 326 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 687.

Christopher Longolius has brought letters to us, which testify that he has honorable and godly manners and is called to lead the church in Lobechin. Since we have been asked, however, that we, after having investigated his learning, might also ordain him publicly, we have carefully interrogated him, and perceived that he correctly holds the summa of Christian godliness and accepts the pure last of the gospel, which our church confesses in one spirit and with one voice with the general church of Christ, and that he has an abhorrence of fanatical opinions, which are condemned by the judgment of the general church. This Christoph also promises constancy in doctrine and faithfulness and diligence in office. Therefore, according to apostolic doctrine, he is commanded by public ordination to teach the gospel and to administer the sacraments instituted by Christ according to his profession. And since it is written of the Son of God, "He ascended on high, and gave gifts to men," he was ordained as a minister.

Benedict Schumann, preacher at St. Andrew's in Halle, was ordained by Luther himself on April 18, 1540, and took office at Christmas in Halle in 1541. He faithfully assisted Dr. Jonas, and died in 1552. Cf. Tischreden, Cap. 22, 8 36, St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 646 f.

2) Instead of *satanicis*, read *fanaticis.*

prophets, apostles, shepherds and teachers," we ask with fervent prayer that he may give his church skillful and salutary rulers, and that he may cause the ministry of this now ordained man to be effective and salvific. We also exhort this Christoph and his church to see to it that the Gospel of God is preserved and propagated in a pure and faithful manner. For God requires that He be honored primarily through this ministry, as Christ says [John 15:8], "In this My Father is honored, that you bear much fruit, and become My disciples." And if this light be kept, the Church abideth, and GOD shall be in it, shall give eternal life to them that call upon Him, and shall help in the tribulations of men. For there is and there God hears, where His Gospel resounds aright, as it is written Jn. 15:7: "If ye abide in Me, and My words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done unto you." Given in the year 1544 at Wittenberg, the 27th of September. On this day Noah's ark began to settle 3844 years ago. 3)

The pastors of the church at Wittenberg and the other ministers of the gospel in the same church:

Martin Luther, D.

Joh. Bugenhagen, Pomeranus, Dr. Caspar Cruciger, D.

Justus Jonas, D., Sup. of the church at Halle.

1 Tim. 4:13: "Continue in reading, in exhortation, in teaching; not forsaking the gift that is given unto thee in the prophecy with the laying on of the hands of the assembly of the elders."

No. 3147.

(Wittenberg.) 2. October 1544.

To Joachim Mörlin, pastor in Göttingen.

Luther consoles him over the limited success of his ministry. '

From Lesser's collection at Nordhausen in Schütze, vol. III, p. 218 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 688.

3) This sentence leads us to assume that Melanchthon is the author of this testimony, even though he did not co-sign it. Cf. *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. V, 482, 483 and 484.

To the respectable man, Mr. Joachim Mörlin, Doctor of Theology, the faithful Bishop of the Church at Göttingen, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I wonder how you can need this counsel, my dear doctor, as if it were unknown to you what you should preach. Have you not the law and the gospel? According to these the word of God must be rightly divided, that thou mayest smite and heal, kill and make alive. Perhaps you hope in vain that all will hear and love the word, or you urge the law without the gospel, so that they think they hear you, not God, or that they are forced by you. It is enough for thee if the fourth part of the land receive the seed, unless thou wilt be better than Christ, or Elias, who was content with seven thousand. For the sake of the meek be gentle; let the hard ones, when thou speakest the law, quarrel with God, and remember that thou hast administered thy office; let them themselves read the Scripture, if they believe thee not. The time grows worse daily, and they will turn from the truth. I have nothing else to write; you yourself know the Scriptures. Be well in the Lord and pray for us. October 2, Anno 1544.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 3148.

Wittenberg. 4 October 1544.

To the city council of Amberg, together with Melanchthon.

When after the accession of Ludwig V, Elector of the Palatinate, in 1544 the Reformation got the upper hand, and the Protestant service was even moved to the main church of St. Martin in Amberg, the city council of this city sent a letter through an envoy to Luther and asked him for a preacher. He promised them the previous, popular Andreas Hügel (cf. No. 2472 and 2482) and another, also a school teacher.

From Schenkl's Chronicle of Amberg, p. 217, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 689, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 111. Also in *Corp. Reg.* vol. V, 493, as by Melanchthon.

To the honorable, wise and fair Herreu, mayors and council of the city of Amberg, our favorable lords and friends.

God's grace through His only begotten Son Jesus Christ our Savior beforehand. Honorable, wise, noble, favorable lords and friends! We have received your wisdom, Christian writing, and are pleased that God has given you this grace, that you yourselves desire to praise Him with right knowledge of His Gospel, right invocation, and obedience commanded by Him, and that your praiseworthy rule is not unfit for such improvement of the Church, we also ask from the bottom of our hearts that our Savior Jesus Christ may enlighten your hearts with His Holy Spirit, govern them, and strengthen them for the improvement of the Churches to God's praise and your blessedness. And after we have spoken to Magistro Andrea Hügel and Magistro Johanne of Munich 1) in response to your writing, they have willingly and Christianly offered to serve your church according to the vocation; and Magister Andreas would not have been unwilling to go to you now and as soon as possible, but he has this opportunity, that in the cold time it is not possible for him to make such a long journey with the young children, but he asks to come to you at Easter, or in case of need still this winter, although his wife and children would have to remain here until after winter, as your envoy will further report. Although we would like your church to be well provided for, we hope that, since we have only heard that a Christian preacher is now with you, E. W. will be patient because of this delay, as we hereby ask; and what Magister Johannes has thought of the degree 2) and of his future, E. W. will hear from his letter. We have also spoken with a virtuous, sedate, well-respected man, Magistro Matthäo Michaele of Torgatt, for the sake of the school, who has offered to travel to you without danger in four weeks. And where, for your church's good...

1) Johann Fabricius was from Munich. The editions offer: "Manchen" instead of: "Munich". See Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 451, note 6.

2) He received his doctorate on 18 December 1544.

we are willing to do so. And since the Almighty God has awakened in you the will to do good, you should be confident and trust that He will also work the accomplishment, and be with you, as St. Paul comforts us all: God, who gives the will to do good, also works the accomplishment; may He preserve your churches and your city always. Dat. Wittenberg, the 4th day of Octobris Anno 1544. *Martin Luther D.*

Philip Melanchthon.

No. 3149.

(Wittenberg.) 8 October 1544.

To Georg Schulzen's widow.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2034.

No. 3150.

(Wittenberg.) October 23-24, 1544,

Concerns about the transfer of the Diet from Worms to Augsburg.

The rumor had spread that the Emperor would move the Imperial Diet, which had been announced for Worms, to Augsburg. The council of Augsburg feared that the Imperial Diet would diminish religious freedom and therefore turned to the Elector of Saxony with the request that he might prevent the Imperial Diet from being moved there. The Elector did not agree, but on October 28 sent this concern with a letter to the Augsburg Council.

From the Weimar Archives, Reg. H 571-574, No. 186, printed by Burkhardt, p. 450. It is by Bugenhagen's hand, but without signature.

The Psalm says: "Command GOtte thy way, and he shall perform it." We see that we cannot lead this great cause, the preservation of right pure doctrine, by human prudence alone. Therefore do as much as can be done at any time by right divine means, and do not think that it is possible to prevent all future dangers.-And although we also ask and call upon our Saviour Jesus Christ for peace, it is nevertheless to be feared that our opposition will now persist so vehemently with His Majesty that much swifter attempts will be made to destroy or weaken or break up our churches. - Nevertheless, we do not want to advise that one

I do not believe that I will use improper means of my own accord to prevent the Diet than with armaments, war, or indignation, but [it is] better that we wait as God Himself will send and guide us in time. Whoever wants to stay, let him stay; whoever does not want to stay, we cannot keep. - And first of all, it is true that if the city of M. [Augsburg] could, with due cause, occur that the Diet would not be held there, that would be very good. Therefore, this is to be attempted first, and the Emperor is to be reminded of the theuration and such inconvenience, and may also be indicated at the same time that His Majesty knows how it has a form there for the sake of religion, and if a change were to be made therein, all sorts of things would have to be taken care of. - If this does not help, however, and the King persists in his opinion that the Diet should be held in N., then this may be allowed to happen, and the gates cannot be closed to him as the Lord. - From this it will nevertheless follow that he wants to have a church there, will perhaps also bring the canons there again and order them to hold their usual ceremonies, and insofar it would also be necessary to have patience if the king were to take a church and hold his ceremonies with his people in it, as he did in Nuremberg at the castle. For we cannot and should not force him to hold our ceremonies. - But if he should command us to keep still with the present right doctrine and preaching and Christian ceremonies, then the city of Nuremberg, together with the other estates that will be there, shall petition Imperial Majesty for this, and shall make themselves clearly understood. Maj. and let it be clearly heard that they will keep their present church order and not let it fall, and even though the Imperial Diet will be divided because of this, there is nothing else to be advised in this case. - If, however, Imperial Maj. Maj. alone takes the cathedral chapter and reinstates it, and wants to reinstate the Canonicos, the Council shall, on the other hand, petition Imperial Maj. Maj. for this, with notice of ecclesiastical and secular complaints, so that they [the canons] have caused the city manifold trouble before this time, and that they do not know and do not want to protect them in the future. - If the King is not satisfied with this, the Council may be patient in this matter and await the end of the Diet, which is to be held in the next session.

will also give his measure in this case. For we have heard that His Holiness will present an order in doctrine and ceremonies in the guise of a settlement, and will command all states to accept it *via edicti.* Whether all will accept the same settlement on both sides, that remains to be seen. But it is not probable, and we fear that the parting will not be peaceful, and so the Canonici will not remain in N. for long. - If, however, a gracious and peaceful farewell is granted, we may thank God, but we cannot consider that Gropperus and Gerardus, who are primarily the settlers, are primarily seeking the truth, but their opinion is directed to adorning and preserving the masses and the priesthood with a semblance, which, they consider, serves peace and good government. That this is basically their opinion is public. - Nevertheless, the Diet should not be hindered by unseemly means, by war or outrage, but he who is God-fearing should show himself Christian, faithful, and constant in the Diet. May God grant grace for this.

No. 3151.

(Wittenberg.) October 25, 1544.

To unnamed parents.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2048.

No. 3152.

(Wittenberg.) October 26, 1544.

To Marcus Crodel, schoolteacher in Torgau.

About a garden to be used for the churchyard.

The original is at Dresden in *Cod. Seidell*. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 107, no. 203; in Walch, vol. XXI, 500; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 692 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 115.

Erudito et optimo Viro, Dr. Marco Crodel, Torgensis juventutis Institutori fidelissimo, suo in Domino fratri charissimo.

Gratiam et pacem in Domino. My Marce! As you have asked me for my sentence on account of the garden that lies next to the hospital, especially because you show that the owner of the same has taken the matter upon my judgment.

I hereupon give my judgment: Because an honorable council is willing to use the same garden for no other work than for the dormitory and rest of the dear and holy Christians who lie and will lie there in hope of the resurrection to life, and for houses in which the sick, especially the pestilence and other addictive annual plagues, are housed and cared for, My opinion is that the owner should take the value of the garden from the council and use it for such good, Christian, and at this time almost necessary work, because it is a small piece and well situated to the churchyard. Thus the first opinion is rendered, since the same garden has otherwise been predestined for such work and has been acted upon to a certain extent; so I also hope, because the owner has submitted the matter to my judgment, that he has not been unwilling and not yet, that he will let such garden, for its value, go to such work, also to preserve his good reputation and all the better favor with the Christian church and community. Hereby commanded by God, Amen! Dominica 26 Oct. 1544.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3153.

Wittenberg. 30 October 1544.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with the other theologians.

Intercession for the Reverend Georg Jericho)

The Canzleischreiben with original signatures is in the Weimar Archives, O, pag. 397. lit. H. X. 3. printed by Burkhardt, p. 452.

God's grace and peace before. Most Serene, Highborn Prince! E. ch. G. our submissive, obedient and entirely willing services are ready beforehand in constant diligence. Most gracious lord! E. ch. G. find it gracious to hear from the present document,

1) Burkhardt notes: Georg Jerich appealed to the Consistory on the day of Galli (Oct. 16) for support, because 33 years ago he had been burned down in the feud against the Schenken of Teupitz, who had reduced the village to ashes, but in addition had had to take over the Gelet office at Hohenbuckau by force of the Elector's command, as a result of which he was impoverished, as by hail and locusts (1542).- On Friday after Nicolai (Dec. 12) the Consistory was ordered to send the. Original petition of the pastor to be sent in. Further is not known.

what a poor priest, the pastor of Hohenbuckau, has come to the deputies of the Consistory for his entertainment. Since we know of the poor man's age, incapacity, and infirmities, and also that last summer, because of his infirmity, we allowed him to consecrate the chalice of the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, so that it could be given to the people by the sexton, our humble request is addressed to E. C. G. that E. C. G. may give the chalice to the people. G. our humble request, that E. C. G. will show mercy to the said priest, so that something may be given to him for his abstinence for the rest of his life, and that he may not suffer need and poverty in his old age in view of his protracted church service. So there are more of these old priests in E. C. F. G. lands who, because of age and infirmity, can no longer perform their duties. For this reason, we especially ask that the C.F.G. be graciously mindful of how these poor people and ministers of the divine word may be advised and helped in their old age and due need. E. C. F. G. want to show themselves with grace in this; we are willing to earn this for the sake of E. C. F. G. humbly. Date Wittenberg, Thursday after Simonis and Judä [Oct. 30] Anno 1544.

E. C. F. G. subject Martinus Luther. Johannes Bugenhagen Pom., Dr. Philippus Melanthon.
Caspar Creutziger.

No. 3154.

(Wittenberg.) 1. November 1544.

To the margravial chancellor Christoph Straße.

Intercession for the wives of two priests who had formerly been nuns.

From the original in the Ansbach Archives in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 108, No. 204; in Walch, vol. XXI, 501; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 693 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 116.

To the honorable, prudent Herr Christoffel Strasse, Margravial Chancellor on the mountains, my favorable good friend.

Grace and peace. Honourable, prudent, dear lord and friend! Me have the from
I have asked this letter to you, for the sake of their wives, who were nuns at Himmelskron, that you would be good, favorable sponsors with the gracious Margrave Albrecht 2c., so that they might receive a gracious settlement 1). Therefore, because I did not know how to refuse their honest request, and yet unknown to you, I let myself be moved most of all, that they put such good trust in you, as if my intercession should nevertheless count for something: my request to you is quite amicable, friendly, want to be the best friend, and appear to the good lords conducive to such their cheap request; for such faithful servants (says St. Paul) are worth twofold honors. In this you are doing a good work, which will be pleasing to God and will give you a good conscience. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen, *Prima Novembr. (omnium sanctorum), MDXLIV.*

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3155.

(Wittenberg.) November 8, 1544.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther asks the Elector to leave Dr. Jonas longer in Halle.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N, fol.* 108. 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 108, no. 205; in Walch, vol. XXI, 502; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 694 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 117.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg. R. Reichs Erzmarschall und Churfürst, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

G. u. F. in the Lord and my poor *Pater noster*. Most noble, most reverend Prince, most gracious Lord! My dear lord and friend Dr. Jonas is here, and has told me of his cause, whereupon I have given him this writing and my humble concern. First of all, that the lectionary at Wittenberg must, as decided, be established according to the foundation or funeral.

1) That is, a share in the monastery estates.

dation, it has nowhere no disputation, as E. C. F. G. do. But now Dr. Jonas cannot leave Halle without risk and damage to the churches, it is not advisable for him to leave Halle, because the evil worm in Maenz is still alive, who must nevertheless be in trouble as long as Dr. Jonas is in Halle, who has taken away his followers and is doing more than the evil worm has to suffer. But there it is, because E. C. F. G. has graciously allowed himself to be heard, and has permitted him that [he] may remain in Halle if it is his opportunity, and E. C. F. G. has allowed him to remain in Halle. C. F. G. wants to give him 140 fl. annually for eight or nine years, or as my dear Mr. Dr. Brück writes to E. C. F. G., also Dr. Jonas at present. Is thereupon such a request that he wants to leave the probation or lecture, with this decision, where E. C. F. G. graciously (as he desires) wants to let such a hundred, and as said number of fl. last the eight, nine years. He also wants (which I gladly heard) to be called and needed as a person of the faculty in theology, to serve not only E. C. F. G., but also the university, as often as it is needed; for he does not want to consider himself separate from the university, which I will gladly grant to eight of those at Hall (as I have noticed). Accordingly, my humble request is that E. C. F. G. be graciously found in this, for he is now also one of the old servants, both in churches and schools, and is worthy of such and more; who knows where God will bring it in again. The children grow to him therefore, and is all sorts of things to mean. E. C. F. G. will know how to show themselves graciously and Christianly. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. Saturday after All Saints Day [Nov. 8] 1544.

E. C. F. G. subservient Martinus Luther.

No. 3156.

Wittenberg. 12 November 1544.

To Balthasar Alterius and comrades in Italy.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2174.

No. 3157.

(Wittenberg.) 13. November 1544.

To Christoph Piscator in Jüterbock.

Answering some church questions.

Handwritten in *Cod. chart. Goth*. 451. p. and in *Bibl. Wolf*. III, 171, a manuscript of the Hamburg library. Printed in *Epistolis ad Conr. Schlusselburg*, x. 1, from the autograph; in *Strobel-Ranner*; p. 342 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 699. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1338.

To Mr. Christoph Piscator, Magister, the exceedingly faithful servant of the word at Jüterbock.

Grace and peace! I have received your questions, my dear Christoph, and although I have neither sufficient leisure nor health to answer everyone's letters, I will answer you very briefly.

To the first. You may proclaim from the pulpit to the obstinate and to the despisers of the sacrament that they are not to be considered Christians and are to be buried outside the churchyard, especially those who, out of defiance, turn to the monks and allow themselves to be communicated. But see from where you may get the power to carry this out, whether the authorities with the congregation will assist you.

And the second thing. If you can prevent alms from being given to hostile monks and to those who disturb the church and the ministry, you will do well.

To the third. It is more than too much for the bishops to have suffered hitherto, that women and virgins should have gone to church as preened and garlanded as if they went to a theatre. It is a very manifest abuse against Paul and Peter. But the habit is very hard (*violenta*). Therefore, if they partake of the Sacrament, they must be absolutely forbidden to abuse it, so that they may not be unequal to our and other churches. For it is a sign of frivolity, and of those who hold the sacrament in no higher esteem than the bread on the common table.

To the fourth. As much as possible one must resist the postponement of baptism.

lest by this custom an example should break in at last to abstain from the same for ever.

Thus, in Italy, in many cities, a large part of the people remain unbaptized throughout life, since they are not baptized in childhood; when they grow up, they despise everything and die as people who do not believe in God. Thus Clement the pope died without baptism; this looks like re-baptism. 1) Fare well in the Lord. Thursday after Martinmas [Nov. 13] 1544.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 3158.

Torgau. 22 November 1544.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

Communication about the state of the engagement affair of Caspar Beyer. Cf. No. 3085. 3086 and No. 3133 - For the understanding of this letter Burkhardt notes: "that Caspar Beyer had engaged himself to Sybilla Beyer who, however, had withdrawn as she made the assertion that Beyer had already been engaged to Margarethä Moschwitz. Beyer claimed that his betrothal to Sybilla had occurred with the foreknowledge of her father." This legal transaction was pending, as we see from No. 3085, since Whitsun 1543 and was only ended towards the end of January 1545 by Beyer being absolved from Moschwitz (see Luther's letter to Casp. Beyer of 27 Jan. 1546).

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Oo, pag.* 461. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 453.

Our greetings beforehand. Venerable and Reverend ! After you have recently petitioned us and had us petition that we want to order our deputies in church matters to the Consistory at Wittenberg or otherwise, the marriage matter between the student Caspar Beyren, so called before with a maiden, Margaretha Moschwitz, for the sake of such matters at the reported Consistorio, and the virgin Sybilla Beyrin, and to recognize therein, then we know to remember that we, for your gracious will, have the highly esteemed 2c. Casparn Creutzinger, the holy. Scripture, and Lorenz Zoch, the Right Doctorn, besides the touched deputies of the Consistorii, outside Doctor Benedicten Pauli, because he is the aforementioned young man.

1) Here in the *Bibl. Wolf.* still follow the words: *ut tantum sine sacramento et fide simul sine suspicione amovent, quasi spirent anabaptismum;* incomprehensible to us.

wife shall be guardian, therefore commanded. 2) Since we then would like to have the same matter promoted, as much as is in accordance with the rights and fairness, we write to the aforementioned commanders here to give us a helpful report of what has been done, also to bring both parts before them, also to send the acts, they want to overlook them, also to have them moved with diligence. But if the final decision or verdict would be delayed by a few days, then you do not want to bear any burden in this on account of the aforementioned beyer, because since we have given you the order mentioned above, we are graciously confident that you will consider it convenient yourselves, that what is rightly recognized and pronounced on the acts passed by us or by our order, there shall be no lack of it, also, by means of divine grant, at first, as it is possible, and out of special gracious concern have not wanted to let this go unreported to you, and are also inclined to you with all graces. Date Torgau, 22 Nov. 1544.

No. 3159.

Torgau. 23 November 1544.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther and the other Wittenberg theologians.

The Elector asks them to give their opinion on how map should behave at the future Imperial Diet with regard to the Reformation and the Act of Settlement. As a result, they wrote "the Wittenberg Reformation" (St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVII, 1733, No. 14t 9), which was sent to the Elector on 27 Jan. 1545 with a covering letter.

From the Acts in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, fol.* 304, in *Corp. Ref.* vol. V, 532 f.

To Doct. Martin Luther, Doctor Pomeranus, Creutziger, Philippus and Magister Georg Major.

Johann Friedrich, Churfürst 2c.

Venerable and reverend, dear devotees and faithful! Now that the appointed Imperial Diet is approaching, and the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, has graciously described to us the next farewell to the Empire. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, has graciously described to us the next farewell to the Empire by Speier, and has demanded that we, by virtue of this farewell in our own person, should dispose of it in Worms, as their

2) "ordered" == command given.

3) to Worms.

As Your Majesty has already sent the same commissioners there, and also arrived there, with gracious promise and request to certainly appear there on the second of January, we have had our gracious request announced to you some weeks ago by the highly esteemed councilor and dear faithful, Gregory Brück, the Doctor of Law, according to the next Speier's imperial treaty, because at the present Diet a Christian settlement and reformation of religion is to be negotiated and concluded, that you, as we have therefore 1) settled this matter in particular with our religious relatives, would like to offer advice as to how and in what manner you think that, for the sake of such settlement and reformation, we should, from one disputed article to the next, act for the preservation of our Augsburg Confession, and also on what we should finally insist.

Now that you have compared and compiled the following reminder of this counsel in response to Doctor Brück's comments, as well as those of our esteemed councilor and dear friend, Magister Frantzen, 2) we graciously request that you send it to us, as soon as possible, for our own hands. If, however, the same has not yet been drawn up, or has not been completely finished, although the other members of our religion and unity will be ready with your council, then do not complain, but for the sake of the Almighty and for the benefit of common Christianity, burden yourselves now without further delay with the trouble, and draw up and prepare such council that it may be finished as long as possible between here and *Luciae* [Dec. 13] and come to our hands. We will graciously provide this for all of you. In this you show us special gracious favor to recognize you again in graciousness and goodness. Date Torgau, 23 November 1544.

No. 3160.

(Wittenberg.) 1. December 1544.

To Friedrich Myconius, pastor in Gotha.

About suicides.

The original is in *Cod. chärt.* 379, *Bibl. goth, f.*. 15. incomplete in Schütze, vol. III, p. 249. according to the original in De Wette, vol. V, p. 699.
1) "us for" put by us instead of: "from which".
2) Burkhard.

To the highly venerable man, Mr. Friedrich Mecum, the faithful and fair bishop of the church at Gotha and the neighbouring churches, his brother who is exceedingly dear to your Lord.

Grace and peace! I write little, my dear Frederick, so [bad] is my condition. It pleases me that this matter does not trouble the priest to whom you have advised, and he can rest easy in his conscience that he has buried the woman who vowed herself, when otherwise she has killed herself. I know of many similar examples, but in these I am accustomed to judge that such people have been killed directly by the devil himself, just as a wanderer is killed by a robber. Since it is known, and since there are certain signs, that it is not possible in a natural way that such men could kill themselves [in such a way], since a rope, or a belt, or (as your example here teaches) a garment (*peplum)* without a knot, which hangs down and is limp, could not kill a fly: so I hold that it must be believed that such men are mocked by the devil himself, so that they seem to undertake something quite different for themselves, namely, to pray or the like. And yet the devil kills in this way. But the authorities do right, in order to frighten, to punish even these with their usual severity, so that Satan (especially when it has become known) may not creep in under such a comfort. And the world deserves it, and it is time that it should be admonished, since it is epicuric (*epicurissat*), nnd thinks that the devil is nothing. I would like to write to you in more detail about these judgments and examples of God even to His own. I remember reading in secular books that in a certain city the virgins, as if they had conspired, killed each other one by one with a rope. Since the authorities were frightened because they could find no remedy, one of them finally advised that the next one who had hanged herself should be dragged naked through the streets (with her shame exposed) with one foot tied to a horse. Since all were deterred by this spectacle, this monstrosity of Satan ceased. But what is

this for you who know better? Farewell and pray for me, an old and indolent man. On the first of December 1544.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 3161

(Wittenberg.) 2. December 1544.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

Ueber Lauterbachs Anfechtungen und die von ihm verlangte Schrift von der Kirchenzucht; von Luthers schriftstellerischen Arbeiten.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, pp. 436 and 442; from the Kraft Collection at Husum in Schütze, vol. I, p. 328 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 700; German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1531.

Grace and peace in the Lord, who strengthens and sustains you by the spirit of his strength. My dear Anton. I gladly believe that Satan is burdensome to you, since you bless and worship the seed of the woman, whom he, the serpent with his seed, hates and curses. Therefore it is not thou whom the seed of the serpent pursues, the bishops and the courtiers of Dresden, but he pursues the seed of the woman, whose heel 1) thou art with the church. Hence it is that thou must of necessity feel the bite of the serpent and his enmity, as we all and the whole church. But we have hope, that as long as we remain the heel of Christ, the head also of the same shall be trodden down of us with his teeth, as he hath been trodden down daily from the foundation of the world, and ever shall be trodden down, and shall be trodden down to the end, amen.

More often you urge the book of ecclesiastical discipline, but you do not write from where leisure and health should come to me, since I am old, exhausted and sluggish. For I am overwhelmed with the writing of letters without end. I have promised the younger princes a sermon on drunkenness, to others, including myself, a book on secret betrothals, to others against the sacramentaries; others desire that I should leave everything pending, and write a summarinm and a continuous explanation (*glossam*) of all the

1) Instead of *calcaneus* should be read *calcnneum.*

Bible. So one thing hinders the other, so that I cannot finish anything. And yet I thought that I, as a retired man, should be given leisure so that I could live and sleep in peace and quiet, but I am forced to live very restlessly. But I will do what I can; what I cannot do, I will leave undone. I thank thee for thy goodwill toward me. Be well in the Lord, and pray for us, as we do for you. I am sorry to hear that Daniel [Cresser] is thinking of leaving the church in Dresden. May the Lord do what is good in his eyes. Give my best regards to your relatives. December 2, 1544.

Your Mart. Luther.

No. 3162.

Torgau. 3 December 1544.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

In order to avoid inequality of judgment in matrimonial matters, Luther should introduce a proviso in which it is expressly stated that an engagement entered into without the knowledge and will of the parents is null and void, and that this is not altered by silence or subsequent consent. The same applies to marriages with relatives in the fourth degree. - Luther's answer came on January 18, 1545.

From *Reg. D, fol.* 49. 42^3 , in the Weimar Archives, printed by Burkhardt, p. 454.

After we have ordered you in various times to proceed in the matter against the highborn prince, Mr. Ernsten, duke of Brunswick, our friendly dear grandfathers, on the one hand, and Ernsten von Starschedel (Dorstedel) on the other hand, on account of his fine daughter, as if his love should have promised her a marriage, to proceed legally on both parties' submissions, but that finally not recognized therein, the verdict would be sent to us beforehand, and our doubts also heard therein, so the notel has been presented to us, as you would finally be thought to recognize in the matter 2). And even though we are burdened with such a verdict, and that it is recognized in this way, we nevertheless take care, because the matter has already been touched.

2) This matter had been rightfully pending since April 1541 (cf. No. 2781), but will probably have come to a conclusion only in January 1545, after the jurists of the Consistory and the Court Court had submitted to Luther's will (cf. the letter of January 18, 1545).

If the marriage should have taken place some time before the contradiction of our dear uncle, Duke Philipsen of Brunswick, as the Lord's father, then the party shall not refrain from continuing on your instruction, 1) and nevertheless, as before, want to insist on his love to open their conscience, as if S. L. should have had knowledge of it and kept silent and thus silently consented to it, as perhaps such 2) silence of the parents for a grant and consent of such cases. L. should have known about it beforehand and kept silent, and silently consented to it, as perhaps the imperial laws may consider such 2) silence on the part of the parents to be a consent and approval in such cases. Because we have then learned from your, Dr. Martinus, which you addressed to us in Caspar Beyer's matter in the winter of next year, and also from other letters of yours, we do not note anything else than that such marriage vows, which are initially made without the knowledge and will of the parents, are to be unbinding 3) and invalid, even after no further contradiction has been made on them, We would rather see you agree that such secret engagements of children, as they were void at first, should remain void, so that the reason and cause of this judgment should be placed on them, and not merely on the contradiction, as for the main subject. For we are of the opinion that, at times, repugnant judgments have been passed on this subject, which we would like to see brought into a final settlement. Therefore, with special graces, we also earnestly request that you call in the other theologians, as well as the jurists of our Court and our Consistor's Deputies, upon our enclosed order, and unanimously compare with each other whether such secret marriages, which are initiated without the knowledge and will of the parents, have been concluded, which happened without the knowledge and will of the parents at the beginning, shall be and remain unbinding and invalid, or may be ratified by the parents' subsequent silence, as we then note the imperial rights, which subsequently allow tacit or express consent to be valid. For we would like to do an explicit transfiguration and transfer by our letter, so that only men in our principality would know and have to judge. And that in such matters very unequal concerns, also judgments, are to occur, we have noted partly from the marriage matter of Caspar Beyer, partly also from this, namely that in a marriage matter in our Consistory, since a young

1) "rant" - to make further. Our template offers: "rage".

2) In Burkhardt: "solchs wie dau villeicht die keyserrecht der eitern stillschweigen" 2c.

3) Incorrectly interpung in Burkhardt: "beschehen sollen, vnbündig" 2c.

4) From our Consistory, which has been touched upon before, instruction shall be given to him that the mother should indicate reasons why she does not want to consent to the son's betrothal, since we thought that this alone should be a sufficient cause in this case, that the son betrothed himself without the mother's knowledge and will and made a secret betrothal. Therefore, let this be compared to the useless gossip of the people, and to the annoyance that is to be caused by it. We do not want to save you from this, and do us a gracious favor. Date Torgau, Wednesday after Andreä [3 Dec.] 1544.

Note. Since there are also all kinds of irregularities in matrimonial matters concerning the relationship below the fourth degree *inclusive, and in the* same way also of the affinity, let us also speak of this among ourselves, for you have noted above that we, both in friendship and affinity, are not at ease to marry in our princedoms and lands below the fourth degree *inclusive, for* which we also have honorable and well-founded reasons. And although we do not intend to break up such marriages, since they do not take place above the degrees forbidden by God, we do not want to know or suffer those who marry closer in our lands, for the preservation of some good morals, but we want to forbid them our lands as a punishment and others as a disgust, as some half have done up to now, to attend each other in other places, since they want to suffer. But since we find that our ordinance is being violated, and that now and then the preachers and superintendents have taken the liberty of dispensing with people in violation of our ordinance, because the degrees are not forbidden by God's law to such an extent, we graciously request that you inform us of your concerns as to what the preachers and superintendents should be ordered to do about it. For although they are authorized, 5) after the matter has been decided, to comfort the consciences of the people, that it be done in such a way that no action be taken therefrom contrary to our order, but that the people be instructed to obey us nevertheless in the visitation order, and to turn away from our lands, for which also their dispensation would not protect nor excuse them: we have no

4) In Burkhardt wrongly interpungirt: "shall contradict, from" 2c.

5) So put by us instead of, "whether they will be competent."

Doubt that every one will henceforth abide by our land rules, since 1) such people often subject themselves to such marriages more out of frivolity, also for temporal benefit, than for the sake of honest concerns. We did not want to let this go unreported to you in your gracious opinion, and do us no less a gracious and good favor in this. Date *ut in literis*.

No. 3163.

Wittenberg. 3 December 1544.

To Conrad Cordatus in Stendal.

Luther consoles him because of the tribulations he has to suffer in his ministry and because of the decrease of his strength,

Handwritten by Aurifaber, Vol. III, p. 437. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 329 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 701 f. For an old German translation see No. 3140.

Grace and peace in the Lord! What I should write to you, my best Cordatus, I do not quite know. For I would write good and happy things to you with the greatest pleasure, since you are not the last among my best friends, because I have experienced and know for certain that you have been, always are, and will be an exceedingly faithful lover of our doctrine, that is, of the Word, who is the Son of God and of the Virgin, since you have always faithfully and loudly known and taught this with us, not without the greatest evil reproach, which is our reward in this world, and hatred, as He says [Luc. 21:17.], "Ye shall be hated of every man for my sake," but [Matt. 5:12.] "Be glad and be of good cheer." The same, the Father's word, also says [Luc. 6:23.], "Your reward is great in heaven." This fruit, this reward, this glory, is enough; yea, the recompense for our short-lived labor, which we do for him, is all-sufficient. What is the world? what is its raging? yea, what is its prince? It is a smoke and a bubble of water compared to the Lord who is with us, whom we serve, that is, who works in us. But this thou canst say better thyself. By the way, I am sorry that you are weak in strength. I pray the Lord that he may sustain and strengthen thee. I believe easily that the marrow hath tried thy patience in

1) "itself" put by us instead of: "it".

If thou wishest that it may be well with thee, let it be well with thy life and health. But let us rejoice in tribulations, and, let it go as it may. Our glory, even yours, lies in this, that we let the sun of our doctrine rise without cloud to the ungodly and ungrateful world, according to the example of our Father, who lets this sun of his rise over good and evil. And since the sun also of our doctrine is his, what is it to be wondered at if they hate the domestics? [Matt. 10:25.] "Alas we live in the devil's kingdom," outwardly, "therefore we shall not see nor hear any good thing," outwardly, but we live in the kingdom of Christ, inwardly, where we see the riches of the glory and grace of God. "And is called", "Reign in the midst of your enemies." It is a kingdom, therefore glory is there; it is among enemies, therefore shame is there. But let us pass through honor and dishonor, through good tidings and evil rumors, through hatred and love, through friends and enemies, until we get where friends alone are, and we are in the Father's kingdom, amen. Fare well in the Lord. December 3rd, Anno 1544. Yours, Mart. Luther, D.

No. 3164.

(Wittenberg.) 5 December 1544.

To Jakob Probst, pastor in Bremen.

Luther is old and tired of life and longs for his departure. From an illness of his daughter Margarethe.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 439. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 331 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 703.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I write very briefly, my dear Jacob, lest I write nothing at all, as if I had either forgotten you or neglected you. I am indeed idle, weary, cold, that is, an old man and useless. I have finished my course, and it remaineth unto me that the Lord should gather me unto my fathers, and give me over to corruption, and to the worms their part. I have lived enough, if it can be called a life. Pray for me, that the hour of my going may come.

...and be salutary to me. For the emperor and the whole empire I care not, save that I commend them to God in prayer. It seems to me that the world has also come to the hour of its going, and is altogether obsolete as a garment (as the Psalm [102:27.] says), and that it must soon be changed, amen. There is nothing left among princes full of heroic virtue, but incurable hatred and discord, avarice and their own lusts. Thus the commonwealth has no men, and the third chapter of Isaiah hastens on at full speed. Therefore nothing good can be hoped for, except that the day of the glory of the great God and our redemption will be revealed.

My daughter Margaretha thanks you for your gift. She has suffered a little illness together with her brothers, but while those have long since been restored, she has been seized with a very persistent and terrible fever, which has lasted almost ten weeks, and she is still doubtfully struggling with life and health. And I will not be angry with the Lord if he should take her away from this satanic time and world, from which I too, with all my own, wish to be quickly torn away, because I long for that day and the end of the raging Satan and his. Fare well in the Lord Jesus Christ. Greet your relatives, and I greet you myself in the rain of my Käthe and all of us. Pray for us. On the fifth day of December 1544.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 3165.

Jessen. About 12 December 1544 .[1)]

Bernhard Zeltler to Luther and Bugenhagen.

He asks Luthern to intercede with the Elector for his future maintenance.
The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, p.* 125.
Printed by Burkhardt, p. 458.

God's grace through His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Saviour, beforehand. Venerable, highly learned, favorable dear fathers, predecessors

1) This approximate timing is derived from Luther's letter to the Elector of Dec. 16, 1544.

ceptores and gentlemen! It is with great sadness that I inform your honor that the help that our most gracious lord, out of special mercy, has arranged for me at your intercession, from which I have now supported myself and my family for three years, has been denied to me and refused by the administrator of the monastery at Altenburg, who states that he has the order to do so and may not give anything away, unless new permission is obtained from our most gracious lord. Now your Honor knows that I am a poor man, overloaded with four children, afflicted with infirmity of body, as with a stupid face and a weak head, who has nothing or can gain nothing, for what is given to me by God's grace through our gracious Lord and pious people is put before me daily. Lord and pious people is offered and given to me daily. Your Honor can well appreciate that I myself have hardly been able to manage with the 40 fl. that I have had up to now. Should I now also benefit from this help and elem. I would not know how to help myself any further, and would have to worry that I would have to see my children starve and suffer hardship, and might fall into the previous weakness and temptation, since God, the eternal Father of all grace and comfort, would graciously protect me from this, since I would rather be dead ten times than try the previous hardship again. God is my witness that I do not flee from my work, and there is no greater joy and comfort or pleasure for me than to be able to thank God and the Christian community for what I have heard from your honorable father and others of my preceptors. and others of my preceptors, and earn and eat my bread by the sweat of my brow, as I did before with all my will and joy when I served the youth for sixteen years, and it grieves me greatly that I must thus lie idle (as some think) and be a burden to other people, yet I am truly not idle, for I, without any glory to speak of, do not let any time pass when I do not hear sermons or lectiones, teach my children, and let them in turn read useful Christian books for me, or else with them for the need of all Christendom, for our Lord, for E. E., for our Lord, for our Lord, for our Lord, for our Lord, for our Lord, for our Lord, for our Lord, for our Lord, for our Lord, for our Lord, for our Lord, for our Lord, for our Lord, for our Lord, for our Lord, for our Lord, for our Lord, for our Lord. E. E., my preceptors, and for this school, diligently and earnestly. If poor foreign men are commanded to me by E. E., who desire ordination from the church here, and yet are unskilled in teaching, I use my best diligence to instruct them Christianly and thoroughly, as I hope that the gentlemen examiners have felt my diligence in this so far, and in such my little service,

2) "strangers" put by us instead of: "friends".

which I alone, and no one else, can show to the church according to my present opportunity, have quite enough 1). Since, without this, one would have to be kept here to instruct the foreign ordinands, and I have always found myself willing and able to do so, I ask, for God's sake, that Your Eminence will commit me to Our Lord. Lord, and ask that his Lordship grant me, a poor man who has a weak and pregnant wife and four small children, and who cannot be outside this church and school, nor acquire anything, my stipend, if it can be, with a small allowance, and let it follow me for the rest of my life.

For this I will, as long as I have half my health, serve the church here with the intended instruction of the foreign ordinands willingly, diligently and faithfully, and besides this I will earnestly ask God the Lord for the welfare and salvation of this church, country and sovereignty with my own, and also constantly instill this in my children, in addition to Christian teaching, so that they will show their gratitude for such elemosyne with all they are able, towards the laudable (praiseworthy) House of Saxony throughout their lives. I hope that E. E. will heed such a request and necessary concern of mine, and will also be helpful and supportive to me this time, as they have done to me so far in a fatherly and faithful manner. God, the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has promised to reward all good deeds done to the least of His own, pay and reward Your Honor for such good and support with all kinds of spiritual gifts, and for the edification and preservation of His Church and of the pure Word of God, keep you for a long time with yours in health, peace and joy, Amen.

Bernhardus Zettlerius, about schoolmaster to Gessen.

No. 3166.

(Wittenberg.) 13 December 1544.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, together with Bugenhagen, Cruciger, Camerarius and Melanchthon.

' (Regest.)

Intercession for the imprisoned Hieronymus Baumgärtner.

Mitgetheilt von Bindseil, Supplement, p. 208. After the original by M. Lenz in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengeschichte, IV, 150. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 404.

1) Burkhardt: "enough".

No. 3167.

Wittenberg. 13 December 1544.

To Georg Hosel, mine scribe at Marienberg.

Luther shows him the death of his scorn and comforts him. - The son was immatriculirt in September 1544; in the *album* his name is written "Hösel".

See St. Louis edition, Vol, X, 2048.

No. 3168.

Wittenberg. 16 December 1544.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Bugenhagen.

Intercession for Bernhard Zettler. - He received 40 fl. support annually for the duration of his service.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, pag.* 125. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 460.

God's grace through His only begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour, beforehand. Most Sublime, Highborn, Most Gracious Prince and Lord! E. C. F. G. know that there is a poor man here, Bernhard Zettler, who was schoolmaster at Jesse, to whom E. ch. F. G. a long time a gracious Elemosyna [ge]geben. Now his face is so corrupted that he cannot be used in service, even though he likes to work and is well taught and able to speak. Because God has given him through E. ch. F. G. has maintained him here for so long, we ask in submission and for the sake of God that E. ch. F. G. will graciously grant him a stipend as an elemosyna for the time being, in return for which he will be able to do useful work, which he has done diligently until now, namely, to instruct the ordinands who come here, for which we often use him and others. For we find in the work that this work is necessary and useful. So the ordination should not only be a ceremony, but it should also be a serious investigation of doctrine and instruction, as many confess to us that they are usefully reminded by such instruction. To this good work may this E. ch. F. G.'s work, God will undoubtedly reward it abundantly; may He always be gracious to E. ch. F. G. always graciously preserve it. Date, Wittenberg, on the 16th day of Decembris Anno 1544.

E. ch. F. G. unterthänige * Johannes Bugenhagen, Pomer., Dr. Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3169.

(Wittenberg.) 22 December 1544.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercede for the Kemberger for the granting of a scholarship.
The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Mm, fol. 47 d. N. 26*. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 461.

G. u. F. in the Lord. Most noble, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! The people of Kemberg have asked me to send this letter to E. C. F. G.. After E. C. F. G. has graciously written to almost all cities to name a citizen son to the scholarship of their Studia, they shall be stuck to wavy transitions, which they would have to consider as a special, yet unconscionable, or ever unconscious disgrace. Because Kemberg (Kemrig) is situated so close to Wittenberg, and is not one of the least spots in the Electorate, the good people ask E. C. F. G. to graciously remember them among other small towns, and to also grant a 1) boy of their burgher sons power to the scholarship.

Because I do not know zero E. C. F. G. in this all occasion, I nevertheless ask, E. C. F. G. want to show themselves mercifully against them. Who knows what it may serve in these strange, strange times? Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. 1544, Monday after St. Thomas' Day [22 Dec.].

E. C. F. G. subservient Martinus Luther.

No. 3170.

Sibiu. (Szeben.) 24. December 1544.

Matthias Ramassy and the other clergymen of the Sibiu district in Transylvania to Luther, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

The dean Matthias Ramassy and the other clergymen of the Sibiu district report that they have arranged their churches according to the model of the Wittenberg churches. Now, however, troublemakers appear who vehemently reproach that the images in the churches have not been removed, that the

1) Burkhardt: "one".

Elevation and private absolution were not abolished. Images and elevation are indifferent things, but the former admit them as historical memories, and do not abolish them, lest they appear as iconoclasts. They retain elevation because of the sacramentarians, who deny the bodily presence of Christ; but private absolution because of the command of Christ, who commanded to absolve both in general and in particular. The adversaries have aroused the whole city of Sibiu, and also the council, which takes their side, so that a riot is almost to be feared. Therefore, they ask that the Wittenbergers send a letter to them, to the clergy, and also to the council about the three articles mentioned; they hope that this will restore peace. - The letters of reply from the Wittenbergers have not yet been found.

The original is in *Cod. Goth*, 123, 6p. 65. Printed in *Corp. ref,* vol. V, 552.

No. 3171.

Torgau. 29 December 1544.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

Response to No. 3169 regarding the scholarship for Kemberg.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Mm, fol. 47 d. N*. 26. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 462.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have read your letter concerning the scholarship of Kemberg, and in your gracious opinion, we do not know how to behave, that we do not remember any reasons for some disfavor given to us by Kemberg, nor have we forgotten them with the distribution of the scholarships made, but have provided them, like other similar towns of ours, with a scholarship. Since, however, the income of the three monasteries of Altenburg, Gotha and Eisenach has not yet been transferred, due to the fact that many persons have pledged their fiefs and prebends for life or for a considerable period of time, we have not yet come to the execution of our entire order, which extends to 150 students, but to begin with, and so that they would not all have to wait for the discharge in question, we have now had to direct the division to 70 persons, according to the occasion of the discharged income, and to allocate them (as much as has been ordered for the citizens' children) to the most distinguished cities. However, as soon as the income of the aforementioned monasteries continues to be distributed, those of Kemberg (Kemrick) shall also receive theirs, and ultimately all other of our towns, as many of which must now wait for the indicated distribution, shall also be provided for according to our gracious decree, which you may give to those of Kemberg (Kemrick).

Kemberg (Kembrik) on our account and report it. We will not hold you back in our gracious opinion, and are graciously inclined towards you. Date Torgau, Monday after the holy Christian day [Dec. 29] Anno 1544.

No. 3172.

End of December 1544.1)

Bugenhagen to Luther and Melanchthon.

Bugenhagen proposes the bishopric of Camim, which was offered to him, with detailed reasons, and asks to answer the Elector in this sense.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H*, f. 570, No. 185. Printed in Schumacher, Gelehrter Männer Briefe an die Könige in Dänemark (Copenhagen und Leipzig 1758), vol. I, p.46 and in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 404.

To the venerable Doctorem Martinum and Magistrum Philippum.

Pomeranus.

Venerable and favorable gentlemen! I ask you to answer our most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony and Burgrave of Magdeburg (Meidburg), according to these articles, and to add what you will further consider good, better than I, that I be done with this detention and plagues.

First of all, that I, as an old and worn-out man, should be spared. In one year, which I might not want to live out, I cannot set up again everything that has fallen into the bishop's territory and land at sixteen years of age, and thus has lain and been torn apart without regiment. And perhaps in one year the kitchen and housekeeping might not be set up again and the buildings in the necessary rooms might be improved again. I do not want to be their kitchen master, and if I could not do such things, they would then charge me that my neglect would be the cause of much damage.

Since Actor. 6 [v. 2.] is written, that it is not fitting that we should drop the office of preaching, and load ourselves with the other care of serving the table, why then should I load myself with cares of such a great government of a dominion, which would soon withdraw me altogether from the studio and office of preaching, and kill me, contrary to God's word, which saith, "The kings of the world reign; but ye shall not reign" M[atth. 6, 25. f.].

1) Since, according to Voigt, "Bugenhagen," p. 409, this letter was given to the envoys, Jan. 1, 1545, it must be placed somewhat earlier.

In addition to this, there is also a lack of the costs necessary for spiritual and secular government, for the highest prelatures, which previously served at their own expense in courts, visitation, dispatch and many other things, are now in the hands of such persons, who do not want to bear any expenses for the sake of the church, and the one who is called bishop would have to bear all expenses and work alone and order them into the bishop's land and outside of it, through such great principalities of both dukes of Pomerania, with visitations, sendings, courts 2c.

And because the episcopal income could not bear such a thing, I could also not move to the churches in need 2c.

Furthermore, it would not be possible for me to bring back to the churches the church properties that have been torn away, from which parishes and schools must be appointed and maintained, from those who hold them and do not want to give them back, especially because some boast that the sovereigns have given them the same properties, just as they are not urged by the princes to give the properties back. This tearing up of the estates would prevent me from helping the churches and schools, and thus the pious pastors who now desire me and have great hope would have hoped in vain, and I would have to leave the study and preaching ministry, which should be the most noble works of a bishop, and in which I now serve God, standing, which would be a heartache and cause of death to me. Why did they want to put me, an innocent man, to death? And if the improvement in the country would not follow, they would want to blame me, and if the reproach would finally come to the gospel: this would be the beautiful evangelical government!

Lastly, I do not want to incur this offense, so that the enemies of the gospel would say that we had removed the bishops from the chair and sat on them, and had sought their goods and not God's honor in punishing the episcopal government.

For this reason, in honor of the Gospel, I do not want to have the worldly honors, goods, and splendor of the bishops, as I have twice before refused such bishoprics and have not wanted to accept them.

I thank, however, in subservience to the highborn princes and lords, the Dukes of Pomerania, my gracious lords, and the venerable chapter of Camin, that they have done me this honor, and have graciously and kindly offered the bishopric without my knowledge or consent, by writing and stately message, and have invited me to it.

But the envoys know how great and just cause I have told them, why I do not intend to accept the bishopric, and for this reason there have been several days of talk and counter-talk between us, until the most noble and high-born Prince and Lord, the Elector of Saxony and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord, came here, on which negotiation, since they pressed on me with these words: if I did not accept it, there would be war and bloodshed between cousins, and such would be my fault, I agreed to accept the bishopric for a time, but with a condition and measure.

The Pomeranian embassy was pleased with my 1) moderate permission, and thus returned home. But afterwards I became very sad and sorrowful that I had put myself in so much danger and evil burden with the same grant, for which I was moved out of fear, with these words: to worry about war if I did not accept it, and yet I had hung a measure and condition on it. Afterwards, however, God opened my eyes, so that I considered that I should not be afraid with this fear; God would thus graciously govern and preserve my gracious princes and lords, the dukes of Pomerania, so that they would not fall into one another; and if unrest should occur that God would prevent, why should I answer for it in God's judgment? For though I do not accept the bishopric, yet they are guilty of seeking another capable one, and have many more capable persons. O God! I have done a foolish thing; help me out of this matter for the sake of Your name, through Your Son, our Savior Jesus Christ. Save me from this accident, into which I have fallen ignorantly, because of my sin; help me out of it by thy mercy, as thou hast said, O Israel, destruction cometh from thyself, but salvation cometh from me; cast me not away from thy presence 2c. So I have prayed this time for and for, as in a high temptation, of which God is my witness, who has now heard my prayer. To Him be praise and thanksgiving. For I have heard before this time, and have now heard more clearly from Duke Philip's writings, sent to my most gracious lord, the Elector 2c., that the princes have many causes, for which the reported condition and measure, only suggested to them, are burdensome and not acceptable 2c.

It follows, therefore, that I am again free and clear of my moderate grant and pledge of

1) Kolde: "mean".

am. This is very dear to me, and my heart is restored to peace and joy, thanks be to God, who has helped me out through His dear Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour, amen.

Now it is asked again whether I do not want to keep the bishopric for long, so I should nevertheless accept it with other conditions and measures for a time. To this I answer clearly and finally: that I have decided with myself not to accept the bishopric of Camin, regardless of all promises, conditions, measures, or threats, as if I should be guilty of it, so that unrest or war would 2c., which threats now, praise God, do not move or frighten my mind. For such disagreement of the dukes, if I left again after a year or two, would again be new, and to be worried about, more violent than now, and then the blame would be driven much more on me, would say: If you leave, you give cause for new disagreement, you will have to answer for it before God, this war we have from Doctor Johann Bugenhagen Pomeranum.

Therefore I finally ask that my life, as an old, weak, worn-out man, and who is now a true bishop of our Lord Christ, and now shall have relief from his work, and hereafter eternal rest and joy, be spared.

The noble, highborn prince, Duke Philipps, writes that I am required to the episcopal office. In response, I say that the Pomeranian princedoms, by the grace of God, have many humble and God-fearing men in many cities, who rightly lead and do the episcopal office. Thus, I myself have been in the episcopal office for a long time and am still in it; I was also required by the noble, highborn princes and lords, the Dukes of Pomerania, my gracious lords, in the Pomeranian principalities some years ago for the true episcopal office and work of establishing right doctrine and church order, and I have accomplished this, as much as God has given me, through Christ, even though I have accomplished less in it than in other places.

About this I have offered myself, and willingly, if my gracious princes and lords, the dukes of Pomerania, and the venerable chapter have elected a bishop, and want to require and use me for spiritual matters, as for the visitation and improvement of the churches, that I, regardless of my age and weakness, want to travel there and advise and help for church order, and may not be accused of doing wrong, that I do not want to accept true episcopal work.

No. 3173.

(Wittenberg.) No date 1544.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Bugenhagen.

Concerns that in the Rochlitz district, where elevation had been abolished for years, it should not be reintroduced.

Seckendorf (*Hist. Luth. lib.* III, p. 498) found the original in Luther's hand in the archives at Weimar, Registrande N LL No. 199 at fol. 405. Now either the original or a deceptively similar replica of the same is said to be in private possession. Printed by Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 75.

With the elevation in the Rochlitz circle we respect, so to proceed (furen) should be. Because such a ceremony is freely recognized, and the Christian faith (where otherwise no evil addition occurs) is no driving in this: so let lie what has fallen. If the other thing falls afterwards, let it also lie. But it is not to be removed, unless there is a great need for it, which is not easy to suppose, since there is nothing in it.

God's commandment is to be kept, for there is power in it. Martin Luther, D.

Johannes Bugenhagen, Pomer., D.

No. 3174.

Wittenberg. Without date 1544.

To Antonius Corvinus in Münden.

The widowed Duchess Elisabeth of Brunswick had invited Luther to the table, and her son, Erich the Younger, prayed in German and Latin before and after the meal. Luther was pleased with this, but he feared that the prince might be led away from the fear of God by the worldly life.

From a copy in Joh. Letzner's Dasselischer und Einbeckscher *Chronica*, p. 122; from the original (?) at Münden in the Theol. Nachrichten 1814, p. 379; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 707 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 120.

To the venerable and learned M. Antonio Corvino, our dear confrere in Christ, at Handelt in Münden.

Dear Corvine, we have all heard here with heartfelt joy your young well-bred prince's Christian confession, which we
uils be thoroughly pleased. May God, the Father of all graces, enlighten and preserve the young rulers in all the principalities of our beloved fatherland in such Christian education. But the devil is cunning and exceedingly crafty; so our spiritual bishops, prelates, and all godless princes of the true Christian religion and our enemies, by whose authority many Christian hearts are turned away and seduced. Therefore, with prayer and exhortation, always persevere for and against; for Ulan must fear, where the young prince would have much fellowship with our adversaries, by (their) great reputation he might easily be provoked and driven to apostasy. This I have not wished to do to you this time. Pray, pray without ceasing, for the church is in great danger; let Christ, the head, look up and put a stop to the lenient and the evil ones, amen. To the same we command you. Date Wittenberg, Anno 1544.

Martinus Lutherus.

No. 3175.

(Wittenberg.) No date 1544.

Bible inscription for Nikolaus Omeler.

Printed in the Hallische Theil, p. 475; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 581; in Walch, vol. XXI, 503 f.; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 709, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 122.

To my good old friend, Nicolao Omeler, who carried me pusillen and child on his arms in and out of school more than once, since we all did not know that one brother-in-law carried the other. Anno 1544.

Martinus Luther.

No 3176.

(Wittenberg.) 1. January 1545.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther uses himself for Dr. George Major.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, pag. 146. EEE. 18*. printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 109, No. 208; in Walch, vol. XXI, 504; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 710, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 122.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, Burgrave of Magdeburg. Roman Empire Archmarshall and Elector, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord and my poor *Pater noster*. Most illustrious, high-born Prince, G. H.! What the new Doctor George Major writes to E. C. F. G., E. C. F. G. will know by the enclosed of his writing 1) graciously to hear. So that I do not write much for the sake of other things, the sermon at the castle is such that the people like to hear it very much; for he teaches very well, of which the city and the university (as much as they go in) give him excellent testimony, without my otherwise knowing that he is skilful and takes care of things with diligence. Even after he became a doctor, people began to complain that he would be torn away from preaching by the lecture; for I myself would rather keep a good preacher than a good reader. I am reporting this to E. C. F. G. because it is not his place, Dr. Georgen Major, to boast of himself before E. C. F. G., that E. C. F. G. should consider how this is to be provided, especially because he does not desire any longer than until the provostry is completely vacant, and nevertheless it will be difficult to do four lessons and two sermons every week. But I place all this in the hands of E. C. F. G., and humbly request that E. C. F. G. may be heard with a gracious answer. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. On the New Year's Day 1545.

E. C. F. G.
subservient
Mart. Luther.

1) Burkhardt, p. 463, notes for explanation: Major asked, in view of the fact that he had nine children, had built a house in Wittenberg, and had fallen into debt through his doctorate, to give him, in addition to the 150 fl. which he received for the lection in Jonas' place, the preaching chair in the castle church with the income until the salary for the lection amounted to 200 fl. In addition, he asked for a continuation of the scholarship for his two adult sons. The Elector rejected Luther's request (January 4), because the position of castle preacher had been otherwise disposed of, and the granting of the stipend was against the established stipend order.

No. 3177.

(Wittenberg.) 4. January 1545.

To Conrad Cordatus in Stendal.

Luther testifies to him his sympathy because of the vexations caused to him especially by a certain Joachim Müller.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 446. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 335 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 711.

Grace and peace in Christ! I am very sorry, my dear Cordatus, and I sympathize with you from the bottom of my heart that Satan in the Mark (*Marchicus* == the Markish one) is again causing you trouble. I would advise you if I could, but nevertheless I am present with you with my prayers, and at the same time I ask you to keep your soul in patience, as the Lord teaches. God will also put an end to these things. I would have written at the same time to that Joachim Müller, if I had known what kind of man he was, whether a Papist, or somewhat ours, or neither; but I understand that he is an adversary. If he were one of ours, or pretended to be, I would tell him that because of these words, Christ is the ass, he should not make this travesty, and I would take the sin upon me. If he were a stranger, it would be quite evident that he would be the most vile slanderer, knowing that we do not want what he devises. Be patient, therefore, and answer not his invectives. Let him enjoy his nonsense for a while, until I learn whether he is black or white, or which of the two he wishes to be. It is Satan that tempteth us, but he leadeth it not out. He has killed Christ, but he must suffer the risen Christ, the great Lord and God, to eternal shame. Only long-suffering is necessary for us; with short-suffering (*brevianimitate*) we do not do anything. In a short time a more, when I will have recognized the matter more completely. For what I have preached about the ten commandments, he will perhaps evade with ease, because he understands God by Christ. Therefore examine carefully what he will confess, the pope or the gospel. Fare well in the Lord. January 4, 1545. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 3178.

Ripen. 5 January 1545.

King Christian of Denmark to Luther.

(Regest.)

Since the "kitchen food" intended for him had been "improperly handled" against his order and will, he had the prescription changed to money in his office. - Kolde notes: Already on June 25, 1544, the king wrote to Bugenhagen in the same matter: "Send you our prescription instead of the others, annually for one and a half hundred florins of coin, of which Doctor Martinus and Philippus and you shall each have fifty florins, and such money according to the prescription shall be demanded and received every year by your own messenger, but on our reward, with us on St. Jacob's Day, so that there will be no lack of it.

Printed in Wegener, Aarsberetninger 2c., Vol. I, p. 239 and in Kolde, p. 409.

No. 3179.

January 8, 1545.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther and Comrades.

(Regest.)

Answer to No. 3166: The Landgrave promises to use himself for Baumgärtner.

Communicated by M. Lenz in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, IV, 151. Cf. to this the explanations of the same there p. 153 ff. The above regest in Kolde, p. 410.

No. 3180.

(Wittenberg.) January 9, 1545.

To Nikolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

About a visitation to be made in the monastery of Naumburg; about the letter of the pope to the emperor, against whom Luther wants to write.

The original is at Dresden in *Cod. Seidel*. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 337 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 712. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1537.

To the venerable father and lord in Christ, Nicolaus, the right and fair bishop of the church at Naumburg, his superior to be highly honoured in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! May the Lord of Zion bless you and give you what your heart desires, venerable father in Christ; continue in the name of the Lord, establish your ministry, do the work of a bishop, to which you will be called. You are called, and visit the churches, at least in your parish, where you have full rights to the parish. The Lord will be with thee. Now if these or those centaurs should resist that thou canst not visit, thou art excused. Let them see for themselves, and shake off the dust of thy feet against them, as the gospel teacheth.

With me there will be no delay in changing the preface to the Book of Visitation. But it cannot be finished in so short a time. Soon, as they have returned from Mass, I will deal with Joh. Luft and the bookkeepers so that they take up the matter. Then perhaps this will also happen during the visitation, that certain things are to be arranged or omitted in a different way for this parish of Naumburg, because of the inequality of circumstances and persons. For thus our visitation books were not issued until after the visitation. And it will not be at all disadvantageous for the pastors if they are not given copies as soon as possible; the matter itself will teach everything.

I have seen the bull or breve of the pope 1) but I thought it was a pasqnill. Now I think differently, after it is circulated in all courts. I hold entirely, if this breve be genuine (*verum*), that the Papists are dealing with a great and excellent monstrosity, that is, the pope will rather worship the Turk and even Satan openly (as I have said some times from Virgil [*Aen. lib. VII, v.* 312]: If I cannot bend the gods, I shall raise hell), than that he should be brought to order or reformed by the word of GODr. And for this the reasons of proof are not hidden. But the Lord Jesus, who kills his adversary with the spirit of his mouth, will destroy him by the appearance of his future, amen. But I will not be inactive, and paint that Bull with its right colours, 2) if my

1) Meant is the letter of the Pope to the Emperor, St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 998, No. 1416, and Col. 1012, No. 1417.

2) This Luther did by the writing "Das Papacy zu Rom vom Teufel gestiftet", St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVII, 1019, No. 1418, which came out already in March.

Health and time permitting. In Christ, be at ease, and let Him rule your actions, Amen. On Friday after Epiphany [9 January] 1545.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 3181.

Wittenberg. 14 January 1545.

Concerns: "Wittenberg Reformation," posed by the Wittenberg Theologians.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1133, no. 1419.

No. 3182.

Wittenberg. 14 January 1545.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with the other theologians.

Letter accompanying the previous document and the concern in the next number.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1160, no. 1420.

N o. 3183.

(Wittenberg.) January 14, 1545.

Concerns, jointly with Bugenhagen, Cruciger, and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

Bucer had written a council, the so-called "Strasbourg Reformation," in which he raised the question: whether a complaint against the pope should not be filed at the upcoming Diet of Worms? Bucer's paper had been sent by the Landgrave of Hesse to the Elector of Saxony, and it had reached the Wittenberg theologians on January 3. In their concern about the above question, they judged that it would not be useful to bring such a suit at the Diet.

From the *Cod. Galli* I, p. 75, printed in *Corp. Ref.* vol. V, 643. Melanchthon seems to be the author.

No. 3184.

(Wittenberg.) January 17, 1545.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Ueber Link's Notes on Genesis and Luther's Preface to it. From Luther's Lectures on Genesis, and News.

From the Kraft Collection at Husum in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 250 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 713.

To the respectable man, Mr. Wenceslaus Link, the exceedingly skillful theologian of the church at Nuremberg, the Doctor, his 1) quite sincere brother and superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace! You complain, my dear Wenceslaus, that I neither write nor answer your writings; then you add that you have not sent copies of your notes on Moses (although my wife has received one), because you fear to send them to us learned people, since we are accustomed to despise these unlearned things. But be mindful that these things should be reproached to the people with greater moderation. First of all, I presume that you know very well that I do not enjoy so much leisure as you do, and I am troubled with writing letters, being at the same time old and indolent and cold; I wish my last day to come, that I may rest from my labours. I see no other end of writing and of living in restlessness. Then you cannot think us so worthy of hope that we should despise yours, since I have adorned your notes with a very long and well-wrought preface. But that I have not thanked you is due solely to my sluggishness and weariness to write, which I consider worthy of forgiveness, especially in the case of a tired, exhausted and yet too busy old man.

I am again sending you my lectures on Genesis, 41 chapters, through M. Georg Rörer, who is also very busy and a servant of servants in printed matter (*typographia*). Therefore you may also forgive him if they do not please you better than they please me. You can either send them back or give them to someone else. For I dislike them very much, since there are so many useless words and the things could have been given greater emphasis. I am near the end of Genesis, namely at the 45th chapter. May the Lord grant me with the completion of Genesis 2) also the end of this mortal and sinful life, or even, if it pleases him, before; this you will ask for me.

1) Instead of *seu* we have assumed *suo.*

2) This took place on 17 Nov. 1545.

I have seen the letter of the Pope to the Emperor 1) but also the bull about the Tridentine Concilium, 2) which is to begin on Sunday Lätare [March 15]. May the Lord Christ at last make a mockery of his so shameful mockers, Amen. I like Osiander's defense against the Zwinglian boy 3) very much. Spalatin has not yet died, 4) but he remains constantly in excessive weakness, at times, as it were, in absent-mindedness, and stubbornly rejects all food until he regains consciousness. The Lord keep thu; he is a very good man, as we all know. My lord Käthe says thanks for the quince juice, and I for the poetical things sent, 5) especially for the goodwill with which you put yourself at my service. This thou wilt show me most abundantly, if thou ask for my happy departure and for a good hour. I am weary, and worth nothing more. Fare well in Christ with all your relatives, amen. On Saturday St. Antonii [17 Jan.] 1545. 6) M. L.

No. 3185.

(Wittenberg.) January 18, 1545.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Answer to No. 3162. Luther reports that according to the Elector's order he had agreed with the Consistory and the Court about some points of the marriage law, but especially about the secret betrothals.

From the *Cod. Palat. No.* 689, p. 135, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 715 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 123.

1) St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 998, no. 1416 and Col. 1012, no. 1417.

2) This bull was dated Nov. 19, 1544.

3) In 1544 had appeared: *Speculum An- dreae Osiandri praedicatoribus Norimbergensibus. Anno 1543. sic oculos, sic genas, sic ora ferebat. s. 1. 4. 1* sheet. A formal diatribe of a Zwinglian. Against it appeared: *Apologiae Andreae Osiandri Ecclesiastae Norimbergensis contra libellum famosum scelerati cujusdam et Zwingliani nebulonis, elegiaco carmine descriptum, typis excusum et occulte sparsum. Ps. V. Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium, s. 1. e. a. 4.* Another edition with the date 1545. 3 sheets.

4) Spalatin died on Jan. 16, which Luther did not yet know.

5) Instead of poetria (poetess), *poetica* will be read.

6) The year 1543, which is found in Schütze, is wrong, as De Wette has already noted.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Herr Johanns Friederich, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord, and my poor Pater noster. Most illustrious, highborn prince, most gracious lord! On E. C. F. G.'s letter and order that the jurists of the Consistory and Court Court should compare notes with us theologians about the secret marriage, strange thoughts came to my mind, as if such an order would be impossible and in vain. For I knew very well until then that those in the court of justice speak according to the pope's law in a different way than we do in the parish; and I still remember that some jurists, even the great ones, had let themselves be heard to say that they could not speak according to our Catœniches (that is what they call our books). Some also threatened that our wives and children could not inherit our goods after our death, but wanted to award them to our friendship 2c.; unless E. C. F. G. would let a new land law go out about it. This speech I therefore let pass and let them do what they did, as they were not commanded to me. Nevertheless, we continued to stand for a while and did not want to speak in our parish church according to their papal scartecks, but according to our cathedrals; which, however few and insignificant they are, have nevertheless done more good in the church than all popes and jurists have done with all scartecks, let alone what damage they have done. So we swept our churches and parishes clean of secret vows, and what more of the lousy scartecks of the lawyers we did not like. Thus it was quiet, and we had a good rest from the secret vows. This went on and on until the Consistory was established; then the rumbling began again, especially about Caspar Beyer. For it seems to me that the lawyers thought they had now found a hole to rumble in my church with their vexatious, damned trial, which I still want damned and cursed from my church today and forever.

have. For I have heard boast, and must hear especially from the young spoon lawyers, that they wanted to eat Easter eggs three times over this or that matter. And some great ones are said to have said that they wanted to bring up Caspar Beyer's matters for another ten years, as I myself saw the *acta* directed to such a path. These would be happy guests for me in my church, which I should answer for before God, that such changers and pigeon dealers should make such a murderous pit out of my church. I would and must do otherwise; she has confessed me too much and too great.

Such thoughts were still fresh in my heart against the lawyers, since E. C. F. G.'s writing came, and I was not inclined to deal with them. But at E. C. F. G.'s command I summoned them to me, not at all in good hope, and only reproached them with how I did not intend to enter into disputation with them; I had divine command to preach the fourth commandment in this matter; I wanted to keep to it; whoever did not want to do so would remain behind.

Also that in E. C. F. G. letters of Duke Philipps *consensu tacito* or *ratificante* from the old rights undrawn, I would well know (if I were commanded) to answer, and to defend that Duke Philipps would not have kept silent nor given silent consent, as she herself, if she aired it, could do by her *regulas juris*.

And even if it were so (as it is not) that Duke Philip, according to the old laws (as they want to interpret them), should have given a silent consent, I would not have submitted to the secular law in all things, but would have accepted the piece in the *institutis,* since the Emperor *Justinianus* introduces the natural law, and agrees with the fourth commandment of God. Otherwise, because the emperor now kisses the pope's feet with book, sword and crowns, I would also have to leave the gospel, and crawl into the caps in the devil's name, out of power and might, spiritual and secular law. For this I would have to have E. C. F. G. cut off my head along with all those who have married nuns, as the emperor *Jovianus* said more than a thousand years ago.

When I have told all this, it is against my hope, that they all, both of them of the
Consistorii and Court Jurists, agree to leave the secret engagement completely and reject it. Which I truly heard happily and gladly, and hereby humbly and humbly show to E. C. F. G. that we have indeed settled in this matter. 1)

The Other.

The woman, whose son is said to have married against her will, is said to be one of them (as they report me), who before granted (forgave) her son, after that became ranting, and want to rebuke the strumpet to honor. Against this the council and the whole city gave the damsel valid testimony. For we have often done this and done it right, when father or mother wanted to prevent their own children from honest marriage, we have not recognized them as natural parents, but as enemies of their own children, and have helped the children to marriage without their thanks. This should also be done.

The third.

We do not know how to interpret the letter of E. C. F. G., since it says of the *gradibus* or songs: the fourth degree should be forbidden, *inclusive*. We think that it should be called *exclusive,* or the third *inclusive,* and consider that it has now been established so far almost in all countries of our kinship that the fourth degree is free and permitted, that it may not now be forbidden without great annoyance or disruption. But that the third may be forbidden, we have all considered useful and good, even in unison, for the maintenance of discipline among this time of wild and impudent 3) people.

This is what I wanted to give E. C. F. G. this time for a humble reply to E. C. F. G.'s letter. Further, Doctor Brück will also have heard and indicated. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befohlen, der E. C. F. G. durch seinen Heiligen Geist seliglich regiere und erhalten, Amen. Sunday after Antonii [18.Jan.] 1545.

E. C. F. G. subservient Martinus Luther.

1) The Concordia established about the secret engagements is printed by Muther in Niedners Zeitschrift 1860, p. 461, from the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O. 8. 397, YY. No.* 1.

2) "more honest" put by us instead of: "more conjugal".

3) "naughty" put by us instead of: "glad".

No. 3186.

Wittenberg. 20 January 1545.

To the city council of Amberg, together with Melanchthon.

Letter of recommendation for Johann Faber, whom Luther sends them to preach.

From Schenkl's Chronicle of Amberg, p. 220, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 718 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 127.

To the honorable, wise and fair gentlemen, mayor and council of Amberg, our favorable lords and friends.

God's grace through His only begotten Son Jesus Christ our Savior beforehand. Honorable, wise, favorable lords and friends! Although we recognize from your diligence in the appointment of preachers that you yourselves are inclined to the planting and preservation of the holy Gospel and right knowledge and invocation of God and to the promotion of Christian preachers, we have nevertheless given this document to the worthy *Doctor* Johann *Faberio, who is* known to you beforehand, so that we may kindly commend him to you as a learned, God-fearing man who has been called to the service of the holy Gospel. W. will accept him kindly and show him good, as you yourselves know that all men on earth owe this service to God first of all, to accept the *ministerium evangelii* with reverence, to listen to it, to love it, to help to preserve and protect it, each according to his station, and thus also to do good to faithful preachers. And it is right to deplore the world's hardness that it does not want to consider that God sent his Son and commanded with a clear voice from heaven, "This is the one you are to hear," and wants to be recognized and called only in this way, and only in this way to be saved through the one doctrine given by him, that nevertheless the greater number in the world persecute or despise the gospel. But if you, as godly men, love and honor the gospel of our Savior Christ, God will dwell with you, give you grace and blessedness, and will also preserve you bodily, as our Savior Christ says: "He who loves me will keep my word, and my Father will love him.
we will come to him and make our dwelling with him." This is a rich comfort, that God wants to have His dwelling place with and in those who gladly hear His Gospel, learn it, receive help 2c. Therefore let the holy gospel and Christian preachers be faithful to you, and we are willing to serve you kindly. Dat. Wittenberg, January 20, 1545.

Martinus Lutherus, Dr. Philippus Melanchthon.

No. 3187.

(Wittenberg.) January 26, 1545.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

About the letter of the pope to the emperor and the alleged reformation project of the emperor.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, Vol. III, p. 444. Printed in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 334; in Litt. Wochenbl. II, 313; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 345 and comparing *Cod. Goth*. 185. 4. in De Wette, vol. V, p. 720.

Grace and peace in the Lord and a very happy year, amen! Your son, Justus Jonas, has reminded me, who is not Magister noster, 1) but rather our Magister, that I should write to you, my dear Jonas. For he said that you wished it, and it would be pleasant to you. Therefore I write, and I have nothing to write earnestly, since thou art always ahead in writing news, unless perhaps thou knowest not this: A letter is being circulated from the pope, which the Venetian brethren have sent to Vitus Dietrich, who is very hopeful and fierce, to the Emperor Carl the Fifth, in which he takes him to task with much and great hope, all Italian, why he dares to permit and promise religious discussions, although his office is not to teach, but rather to hear and learn from the mother of the churches and the teacher of the faith. (These are words sufficiently known to you as an apostate lawyer). Many doubt whether this thing is an earnest, or the play of a pasquill, but yet it seems to me not altogether a nothing.

1) See St. Louis ed. vol. XVII, 2252, s. v. Magister noster.

be. In addition, the speech was raised that Carl wanted to propose a reformation at the upcoming Imperial Diet, based on the example of the church that existed at the time of the Nicene Council. O, about the excellent Reformation! If this is true, then the cause of the pope has come all the way to the rope, 1) or if it is a trap that they want to lure us to consent by this hope (which I rather believe), then the pope will mock us quite nicely as captives. For to believe the promises of the Pope is the same as to believe the father of lies (whose true son he is); but I would that the Pope were forced to follow the example of the Nicene Concilium. Dear God, where would then remain your coadjntor, your executioner (*carnifex*), your 2) cardinal? But let us pray earnestly while they play their game and mock GOD and all His creatures. It will happen, when they stop playing, that they will then seriously mourn in hell. 3) There you have what I could have written, so as not to write nothing. Fare well and pray for me. The 26th of January, 1545, Martin Luther, D.

No. 3188.

(Wittenberg.) January 27, 1545.

To Caspar Beyer, of Schwabach.

Luther announces to him that his marriage bargain is ended, and that he is expected by his bride. 4)

From the original in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 338 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 721.

To the esteemed young man, Caspar Baier, from Schwabach, his very dear friend.
Sibylla is yours, my dear Caspar, both as a bride and as a wife. The matter is

1) This means that the pope wants to hang himself out of desperation.
2) De Wette offers: *item*; the Litt. Wochenbl.: *meus*; the *Cod. Goth.*: *heus*; we have assumed *tuus.*
3) *inferne* at De Wette will be a misprint instead of: *inferno*.
4) De Wette adds this to this summary: "Cf. the letters of Jan. 22, 1544 (No. 3085. 3086) and following; only it is strange that Luther was there against this engagement and urged its destruction." - This remark is erroneous. Not from Sibylla Luther wished to see Caspar Beyer absolved, because the engagement with her happened with the foreknowledge of her father.

finished with the full consent of yours. Therefore, as much as possible, you will hasten your arrival. For that is why I send this messenger to you, because I did not wish the matter to be delayed any longer. As far as I understand, the girl has never turned away from you, but she has been forced to speak what those who were envious of you wanted. For the sister Barbara has also shown herself very honourable in this matter, so that it seems to me 5) that this was the case, that she was frightened by the oath which was insisted upon after the prince had spoken. But with joy she and the sister seized this saying, so that I easily recognized, 6) that you are loved and have always been loved. You, therefore, again correspond to the love of the one who loves you and anxiously awaits you, and do not care for the words of Satan and the satanic people, of whom the world is full, but rejoice in GOD and in the girl whom He has given you. We await you with great desire, and all your table companions wish you happiness. Fare well in the Lord. Tuesday after Paul's conversion [27 Jan.] 1545. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 3189.

About February 1545.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

The Landgrave reports on fine negotiations with Rosenberg in the matter of Baumgärtner. 7)

Communicated by M. Lenz in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, IV, 152. The above regest in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 410.
but of Margaretha Moschwitz, with whom a secret engagement had allegedly taken place. See No. 3158.
5) Instead of: *videtur* is probably to be read *videntur.*
6) Instead of: *intelligerent* we have assumed *intelligerem.*
7) A Frankish nobleman, Albrecht von Rosenberg (not, as Bretschneider states in *Corp. Ref.,* vol. V, 418, note, and Neudecker, Merkwürdige Aktenstücke, p. 448, note 39: Johann Thomas von Rosenberg), had captured Hieronymus Baumgärtner, a Nuremberg councillor, on May 31, 1544, because of an old grudge against the Nurembergers, stemming from disputes with the Swabian League. Baumgärtner was not released from his prison until August 4, 1545 (*Corp. Ref.,* V, 827).

No. 3190.

(Wittenberg.) March 6, 1545.

Luther and Melanchthon to the Landgrave Philip.

(Regest.)

Thanks for its use in Baumgärtner's favor, with the request to give the matter further thought.
Communicated by M. Lenz in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, IV, 152. The above regest in Kolde, p. 410.

No. 3191.

(Wittenberg.) Early March, 1545.

Concerns of the Wittenberg theologians about the "Wittenberg Reformation".

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1163, no. 1422.

No. 3192.

(Wittenberg.) March 9, 1545.

To Prince George of Anhalt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1982.

No. 3193.

(Wittenberg.) March 9, 1545.

To the Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg.

Luther apologizes for not having written to the Elector so far; he warns him against the Jews who abuse him with his preference for alchemy, and asks for a scholarship for Buchholzer's sons.

The original is in the church library at Landshut in Silesia. Printed in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 724 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 56, p. 128. David Schulz in Breslau corrected this letter according to the original in Illgen's Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie, Vol. II, Stück 2, Leipzig 1832, p. 222. The corrections are printed in De Wette-Seidemaun, vol. VI, p. 477, note I. We have used the same.

G. u. F. in the Lord and my poor prayer. Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! The worthy Mr. George Buchholzer, provost of Berlin, has informed me that E. C. F. G. sends her gracious greetings to me through him, and is surprised that I write nothing to E. C. F. G., and also requests that I send out a booklet against the two women. First of all I humbly thank

E. C. F. F. G. with my best regards. That I do not write anything to E. C. F. G. should not be interpreted by E. C. F. G. as if it were done out of displeasure. For my heart is such that I am not hostile or disfavored to any man on earth; especially to you princes and lords I cannot be disfavored, because I must daily pray for you, which St. Paul teaches in 1 Timothy 2:2. 2 See also what a poor thing it is for a ruler in this shameful time, when there is so much unfaithfulness among the rulers, and the devil of the court is a mighty lord; therefore discord and displeasure arise among all kings and princes. So I have had no special cause to write to E. C. F. G.. Therefore let E. C. F. G. be sure that it will not remain out of any! ...from any displeasure. I have often said and preached that I am not angry with the Cardinal at Mainz. Yes, I do not want him to have my *calculus for* an hour, even though I attack him harshly; for I do not like to see him hurry and run to hell, as if he were worried that he would miss it, if he can enter in time enough, when he is already slowly trying to enter foot by foot. But no admonition will do anything.

For the sake of E. C. F. G. I am very worried that the Jews will one day prove their Jewish perfidy. But E. C. F. G. have such a strong faith and trust in them that my letter would be in vain, but I would have no faith at all; therefore I pray God that he will graciously protect E. C. F. G. from them, and also the young margraves, that E. C. F. G.'s faith will not be too strong in this, lest something happen which would be too slow and futile for all of us afterwards. The provost pleases me beyond measure that he is so vehement against the Jews. He loves E. C. F. G. with earnestness, I feel that well, and means them with loyalty. And I have strengthened him still further, that he should stay on the course. For that they pretend of alchemy is a great and shameful deceit. It is well known that alchemy is nothing and can make no money without sophistication, which does not hold fire, like other gold, which some goldsmiths also know.

Mr. George also admonished and asked me: I wanted to scream E. C. F. G. for him.

and ask that E. C. F. G. graciously grant his two sons a spiritual fief so that they may be kept in the studio. It would be a pity that they should be neglected and abandoned.

Summa, E. C. F. G. do not consider me an enemy, but I cannot believe that E. C. F. G. can believe, namely, that the Jews mean E. C. F. G. with fidelity. And the alchymists certainly play with E. C. F. G., that they mean everything, and E. C. F. G. the niece win, Doctor Jeckel makes me more pious than many others have told me.

Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befohlen sammt die jungen Herrschaft und dem ganzen Regiment, Amen. On the 9th of March 1545.

E. C. F. G. williger

Martinus LutheR, D.

No. 3194. 12 March 1545.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Landgrave sends him the translation of a shameful poem that came from Italy on Luther's supposed death. 1) - Luther answered on March 21.

Printed in Rommel's Urkundenband, p. 168. The above regest in Burkhardt, p. 464.

No. 3195.

(Wittenberg.) March 14, 1545.

To Martin Gilbert, pastor at Marienberg.

Luther exhorts him to overcome the difficulties of his office in patience.

Printed in Litt. Wochenblatt, II, 313; in *Strobel- Ranner*, p. 349 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 726.

I pray the eternal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he may govern your ministry. The character of the Diaconus seems to me to be a good one; I have exhorted him that he may preserve the harmony of the church. We must, my dear Gilbert, bear the difficulties which our ministrations bring with moderate equanimity, and look to Christ for help. Now that the violets are coming out, let them remind you, as you sometimes walk along the fence of your gardens, of our situation. We are to

1) This document is included in the Nachlese attached to this volume, No. XVII.

2) Let us fill the church with a sweet odor of doctrine; and his raiment is purple, which is the color of afflictions, but within is another flower, golden and yellow, signifying that faith fadeth not away. Let us do our duty and ask God to govern the outcome, as He has promised, that those who abide in Him will bear abundant fruit. There is still silence about the meeting in the city of Worms. The Emperor is detained by sickness in the Netherlands. Farewell. March 14, 1545.

No. 3196.

Dessau. -19 March 1545.

Prince George of Anhalt to Luther and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

Reply to No. 3192 and *Corp. ref.* vol. V, 698. The Prince thanks them for their letters of consolation on account of death, by ^l. George Helt (*Forchemius*).

From the original in the Wolf Collection of the Hamburg City Library in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 411.

No. 3197.

(Wittenberg.) March 20, 1545.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Upon request, Luther names several pastors to fill Spalatin's position, who had died on January 16, 1545.

Printed from the original in Joh. Aug. Bergner's "Etwas von denen Superintendenten-Adjuncten in Chursachsen" 2c., Bauzen 1781. cl. 8th, p. 62; in De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 370 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. LXI.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

G. and F. in the Lord and my poor services before. Most illustrious, highborn prince, most gracious lord! I have delayed to answer in the matter of Altenburg, for reasons. But the most noble one is that M. Andres has all the

2) Instead of: *populo* (?) we have assumed *flosculo.* 3) Adreas Hill.

Days waited full Amberg letter and answer that he knew where he was, whom I would have liked to see in M. Spalatin's place. Now, according to his promise, he is already connected, and those from Amberg are here to fetch him. We have, praise God, a good supply of young theologians. But we must have so many in foreign countries that, where one is ripe, many hands ask for him, that we cannot so suddenly give every hour who and what he wants. Some of our students, who are now pastors and preachers there, are already in Turkey and sometimes in Hungary. So the cities also draw very few pupils, think we have here of the abundance and left, which one should send to them. Accordingly, M. Philipp and I have looked around and considered whether M. Augustinus 1) should not be called to Colditz. But we are told that he is weak. So we would like to have the one at Jessen 2) there as well, because he is also thinking of leaving there. Finally, we are considering the schoolmaster at Altenburg, who is learned and old enough, also almost experienced in church matters, and known at Altenburg, and [it] has always been so that the schoolmasters have given the best pastors, especially when they have practiced so long in the school regiment. To them we give E. C. F. G. to choose and provide what E. C. F. G. pleases. This time we know no more and no other, till the others be ripe. I know not what grows there in Leipzig or Erfurt. Wittenberg is not able to give pastors to all the world, and it does more for one church than Rome and the papacy do now. Should be called otherwise what the devil do. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. XX Martii 1545.

E. C. F. G.

willing and subject Martinus LutheR, D.

No. 3198.

(Wittenberg.) March 21, 1545.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

Luther sends back the Welsh falsehood about his death, and announces that in a few days his book "against the diabolical Papacy" will go out.

1) Augustin Himmel.

2) Wolfgang Brauer.

The original is' in the State Archives at Kassel. Printed by Rommel, Urkundenband, p. 109, No. 29; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. LXIII and by De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 373.

G. u. F. in the Lord. Sublime, highborn Prince! I herewith send again to E. F. G. the French joy of my death. He's a poor, merciful bastard, who would gladly do good, and yet has nothing in his belly. My little book against the devilish pabstry will be out by Thursday, and that will tell whether I am dead or alive. God, our dear Lord, be merciful to E. F. G., Amen. Saturday after Lätare [March 21].

E. F. G. willing Martinus Luther.

I want to print the German and the French all together. 3) For it is worth no other answer. I alone will testify that I have read it.

No. 3199.

Wurzen. 26 March 1545.

Margaretha Staupitz to Luther.

She asks Luthern for help in obtaining her right. 4)

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, pag.* 385. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 464.

My poor prayer before. Respectable, worthy, dear Doctor Martinus! [My special good friend, I beg of you, poor, miserable, abandoned woman, for the sake of God, and of the 6) superiors for the sake of justice. You will be helpful and constant to me poor, miserable woman, for (when) I am abandoned by all the world, by friends and children, and would S. ch. F. G. diligently ask for me, that S. ch. F. G. will give me assistance and help over my paternal and maternal justice, which I have had to win over Heinrich von Lundenau and Ebert von Lundenau with great difficulty and expense.

3) See the postscript to this volume, No. XVII.

4) Burkhardt notes: "According to the acts the trial was already in progress in 1540. The widow received no right, the Elector referred the relatives to support the plaintiff." (This is not completely understandable to us. It may be meant: the Elector instructed the relatives to support the plaintiff).

5) Burkhardt: "mine". - We have added what is written in square brackets in this letter.

6) Burkhardt: "the".

Guardian is that they have kept for me all the paternal and maternal righteousness that was due to me before God, [of which I] have received nothing at all, that I have had to put great toil and expense into it, that I have consumed more than three and a half hundred florins over it, that I, a poor, miserable woman, have had to suffer great hardship and misery, and great persecution in addition from some people, that they have pushed me out of the chairs 1) in the church, have defiled and blasphemed me, that I have never deserved such for them. And I have been forbidden all scribes and messengers and carriages, that I have always been prevented from doing so, [so] that next Tuesday I have gone a long way, that I have not been able to get a scribe nor a carriage and messenger, that so great [distress] and misery has come under my eyes. Once again I ask for God's sake and for the sake of justice that you be so kind and helpful that I may receive what is due to me from 2) ch. F. G. and princely court (hofericht) made and awarded to me by the lords of the court court, because you have been so well at one with Doctor Staupitz and with my squire, both of whom God bless, and will not deny me this prayer, and will take the reward from God, and ask for a friendly answer. With this you are commanded to God Almighty, together with your dear wife, my dear godparents. Date in haste from Würzen, Thursday after the Annunciation [March 26] Anno Domini 1545. Margaretha Staupitzin

...widow by intestate succession...

No. 3200.

(Wittenberg.) 27 March 1545.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Intercession for Margaretha von Staupitz, prompted by the previous letter. - Further details are unknown.
The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, pag.* 385. PP. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 465.

G. u. F. in the Lord and my poor *pater noster*, Amen. Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious H^rr! Good old Matron Margaretha von Staupitz has sent me this enclosed letter, in which E. C. F. G. will hear what is happening to her as an abandoned old widow. Now she me

1) "den Stühlen" is Our conjecture instead of: "den stuben".
2) "of" put by us instead of: "before".

For so highly admonished by Doctor Staupitz, whom I must praise "if I do not want to be a damned, ungrateful papal ass," that he first of all was my father in this doctrine and was born in Christ, on account of which I recognize myself guilty of serving all those whom he would demand of me if he now lived here: so my most humble request is that E. C. F. G. should be ordered to burden her with this good matron for the sake of Doctor Staupitz and my intercession. C. F. G. may be commanded to burden her with this good matron, for the sake of Doctor Staupitz and my intercession. It is unkind that her blood friends (as she complains) should go with her like this, when one should do more to help than hinder poor widows. E. C. F. G. will know how to show mercy. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. 27th of March, when our Lord Christ rose from the dead, according to the course of the sun (sonnenlaufft) 1545.

E. C. F. G. subservient Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3201.

(Wittenberg.) March 1545.

Concerns about the question: whether the Schmalkaldic League should be continued?

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1174, no. 1424.

No. 3202.

Gnandstein. 9 April 1545.

Heimich von Einsiedel to Luther.

(Regest.)

Einsiedel asks Luther for an answer or an expert opinion on enclosed fragments about the Frone, about which he had already negotiated with Luther during Spalatin's lifetime.

Printed in Kappens kleiner Nachlese, Vol. I, p. 350. The above regest in Burkhardt, p. 466.

No. 3203.

(Wittenberg.) April 14, 1545.

To King Christian of Denmark.

Luther says thanks for the prescription (see No. 3178), gives news and recommends M. Torbert, who returns from Wittenberg to Denmark.
From Schumann's Learned Men's Letters to the Kings of Denmark, 3rd thl, p. 265, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 726, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 130.

G. u. F. in the Lord and my poor *Pater noster*. Most powerful, most illustrious, most highborn, most gracious Lord King! I thank most humbly E. K. M. so graciously prescribed; for I do not deserve such. Our dear Lord God grant E. K. M. his Holy Spirit abundantly, to govern blessedly, and to do his divine good will, Amen. The Diet is slow in coming, the Concilium stands as if it would walk the crab's course, Emperor M. is to lie hard by in the Low Countries. M. is said to be hard up in the Low Countries with *arthritis* [gout], and the Sophists are raging confidently against God. What the Turk is doing, we do not know. May God Almighty help that it may be well, which cannot be well, for the last day will come soon, amen. M. Torbertus, who has been my table companion and boarder for some time, is now coming home to H.K.M. again, whom I humbly respect to H.K.M. He is a fine, learned man. I hope that God will create much fruit and good through him, which I also ask for and wish from the bottom of my heart. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befehlt, Amen. On 14 April 1545.

E. K. M. subordinate

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3204.

(Wittenberg.) April 14, 1545.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther thanked him for the applause he had given his book Wider das Papstthum, which, by the way, many did not like. About a writing of the Zurich preachers Against him. About the persecutions that the Protestants have to suffer in various countries.

The original is in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. Printed by Schütze, vol. I, p. 34l and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 727. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1539.

Your in Christ venerable father and lord, lord. Nicolaus, your right and fair bishop of the church at Naumburg, his superior who is highly honored in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I give you thanks, venerable Father in Christ, for your honorable testimony concerning my book against the papacy. It is not pleasing to all alike. But your prince liked it so much that he distributed copies for 20 florins. But thou knowest my way, that I do not...

I do not believe that they are evil, but that they have either the essence, the greatness, or all the categories, the species, the sub-species, the peculiarities, the differences, and the accidental things. For I do not believe that they are wicked, but either that they do not understand the essence, the greatness, the nature, and all the categories, the kinds, the subspecies, the peculiarities, the differences, and the accidental things, that is, all the abominable and horrible monstrosities of the papal abomination, 1) for no eloquence or understanding can attain and comprehend them, or that they fear the wrath of kings.

The Sacramentarians of Zurich have written against me in Latin and German, 2) because of my booklet "Kurz Bekenntniß. I have not yet decided whether I want to answer them, since they have been condemned by me so often, before and now. These people are enthusiastic, hopeful, then also idle. Although in the beginning of the matter, when I alone had great difficulty in withstanding the Pope's fury (*sudarem*), they were bravely silent and looked on at my success or my danger, they soon, after the papacy had been broken to some extent and room had been made for freedom, burst forth as glorious triumphants, who had nothing from others, everything through their own powers. Thus, yes, thus works one, and another enjoys it. Yes, they direct their attack upon me, by whom they are made free. A cowardly beast of drones, which have learned to eat the honey that was brought about by other men's labour. Their judgment shall find them. If it seem good to me to answer, I will make it brief, and confirm my sentence of condemnation. For I have purposed the rest of this booklet...

1) Here we have erased the punctum, for *vel-vel* belongs together. The thread is: that they either do not recognize the abominations of the papacy, or fear the wrath of kings.

2) The title of the writing is: *Orthodoxa Tigurinae Ecclesiae Ministrorum Confessio, illorum et fidem et doctrinam, quam eunti catholica Sanctorum Ecclesia communem habent, continens, inprimis autem de coena Domini nostri Jesu Christi, una cum aequa et modesta responsione ad vanas et offendiculi plenas Dr. Martini calumnias, condemnationes et convicia, quae tum alibi, tum in novissimo libello, quem Brevem de sancto Sacramento Confessionem appellavit, potissimum edita et vulgata sunt. 1545.*

...against the papacy, if strength permits.

The emperor in the Netherlands and the Frenchman in France raged cruelly against the gospel, and Ferdinand in Hungary and Austria was no milder. Thus Caiphas advised that the Son of God must be slain, lest they lose their land and people. Thus they cannot overcome the Turk, unless they have defiled their hands with the blood of the martyrs and the brothers of Christ. The final wrath of God has come upon them. May the Lord hasten the day of our redemption, amen. In Him, Your Honor, be well. On the day of Tiburtius [April 14] 1545.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 3205 - Wittenberg. 17 April 1545.

To Christoph Jörger.

Luther wishes him luck that he is relieved of his office, through which he came into trouble of conscience. On the Suppression of the Gospel in Austria.

Printed in Raupach's Evang. Oesterreich, 1st cont., p. 71; in Moseder, Glaubensbekenntniß, p. 72; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 729, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 131.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Consecrated, honorable, dear lord and friend! I am glad to hear that you have been released from your office and have entered into better peace of conscience. We have gladly heard Mr. Leopold, secretary, and have offered the service and will of our small fortune, for which he needs us. The Father of all mercy must have mercy on the fact that it is so difficult for the good word to work among you. Some of the lords are wicked people, and they are like King Ahaz of Jerusalem, who, the more misfortune overtook him, the more he strove against God, so that I can well think that where God will not honor his holy name, it cannot be good for the sake of the lords, who weigh down the consciences and strengthen the enemy of Christ, the Pafft, so that many souls must remain without God's word. Therefore it is necessary to pray earnestly that the dear Father will not regard our merits and the raging of our enemies, but His mere grace and mercy, and will honor His name in us who are unworthy, so that the Turk will not boast, "Where is your God?

For he hath boasted enough, and is come up with murders and blasphemies: let God control him, and forbid him, and make an end of him, amen. Give my regards to your dear mother. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. At Wittenberg, on April 17, 1545, Martin Luther.

No. 3206.

(Wittenberg.) April 24, 1545.

To Caspar Heidenreich.

Luther consoles him over the loss of his newborn son.

Handwritten in the *Cod. chart. Goth*. 402, f.; 185.4. and 1048. Printed in Schelhorns Ergötzlichk., vol. I, p. 82; in *Strobel-Ranner, p.*350; in Schütze, vol, I, p. 343 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 729 f.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I have heard that a son has been born to you, my dearest Caspar, but that in your absence he has both been born and died, which, as they say, you bear very heavily, because you have not seen the fruit of your flesh. But cease from sorrow, rather rejoice that he is born again in Christ, and that thou shalt see him in glory, whom thou hast not seen here in this misery, as the wise man saith [Wis. 4:11], "He is moved, that wickedness should not corrupt his mind, nor false doctrine deceive his soul." He hath run the race, and in a short time hath passed through many times. But all this thou knowest thyself, who can and must teach others such things. But thou doest not wrong in being somewhat moved by carnal and natural affections as a father (this name is an exceedingly sweet one). For we are not stones, neither ought we to be, but we must be temperate in these things. Fare well in Christ. April 24, 1545.

No. 3207.

(Wittenberg.) 24 April0 1545.

To Friedrich Myconius, pastor in Gotha.

Luther asks to free him from the tarnish of someone for whom he had already written once to Myconius.

1) De Wette has the 1st of May. But the letter is to be dated April 24. See Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 564, note 2.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 448. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 343 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 731.

To the in the Lord highly venerable brother, Mr. Friedrich Myconius, the faithful bishop of the churches at Gotha and in Thuringia, fine very dear [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I beseech thee for Christ's sake, my dear Frederick, that thou make this man calm and comfort him as much as thou canst. He has already come to me for the second time, complaining of his misery. But I have already written a letter to you for him once. Or at least show me this, what he is guilty of, that he cannot find mercy with you, as he tells me. He demands a letter from me to the prince, but since this would be in vain, I rather wanted to write to you and order the whole thing to you. He presents the testimony of two preachers of your church in Gotha, who testify to his innocence. Take care of it, I beg you to free me from the tarnishing of such people. I, an old and dying man, have now other things to do, since I am now altogether a papist, having become so anew, "take up no more cause," as the papists are wont to do. Fare well in the Lord. Friday after George [April 24] 1545.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 3208.

Göttingen. 25 April 1545.

Joachim Mörlin to Luther.

Mörlin asks Luthern for an expert opinion on an Anabaptist and sacramentarian book, so that Luther's judgement may be added to his, and thus the dissemination of the book may be prevented.

The original is in the Wolf Collection of the Hamburg City Library, *Cod*. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 414,

To the in Christ venerable father and lord, Mr. Martin Luther, Doctor of sacred theology, his highly venerable patron and teacher.

The grace of the Lord through Christ! The Count of Plessen has sent me this book through his advisors, and, since he is a neighbor of our church, he has requested that I look at it and make my

He added that the author was urging daily by letters 1) that he should see to it that copies were distributed in these churches. He added that the author urged daily by letters with extraordinary impetuosity 1) that he should see to it that copies were distributed in these churches; he would now publish several more. I have freely stated my opinion, rather the judgment of the God of God, that this book is quite inappropriate to the faith of the general church and entirely Anabaptist and sacramental, and I have asked that the Count, in accordance with his duty, see to it that this kind of teaching is not spread among the people. The councilors promised that they would do this with the greatest willingness, but as far as I can see, the fame of the place in which the book was printed keeps the Count's mind not a little in suspense. Therefore I ask, my dearest 2) Doctor, that you also write to me your judgment, with which I can fortify the mind of that good man and gentleman. I cannot write to you how great the difference of doctrine is in these places and the extraordinary presumption of the clever people (*ingeniorum*). May the Lord grant his highly afflicted church true harmony and peace, and may your valuable person (*humanitatem*) remain with our other teachers for a long time, amen. Göttingen, April 25, Anno 45. Werther Lord, 4)

your devoted Joachim Mörlin.

No. 3209

(Wittenberg.) April 30, 1545.

To Heinrich von Einsiedel zum Gnandstein.

Luther sends the questions submitted to him (see No. 3202) back to Einsiedel with marginal glosses.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p.471; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p.577; in Walch, vol. XXI, 505; in Kapp's Ref.-Urk., vol. I, p. 353 ; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 730 and in the Erlanger, vol. 56, p. 132.

To the strict and firm, He Heinrich von Einsiedel zum Gnanstein, my special favourable lord and friend.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Strict, firm, dear Lord and friend! To your

1) Instead of *opportunitate,* We have adopted *importunitate.*

2) Instead of *clarissimoe* we have assumed *charissimoe.*

3) Instead of them we have assumed *sue* [*suae*].

4) Instead of V. IVl. we have adopted V. H. (*tuae humanitatis*). *H.* will be read in *M.*

I have briefly noted my opinion on the questions shown in the margin. But it pleased me that you have such a tender conscience, not wanting to knowingly do wrong to anyone. Nevertheless, the world is evil, and the peasant has very thieving nails on his fingers, and is not rustic, but doctor enough to seek his own where one does not look diligently at it; to the same one must look sharply at the entrenchment. But where they are poor good people, E. G. will well know how to keep Christian with indulgence 2c. 2c. The more part, especially those who are not poor, are so confidently stingy that we have to let ourselves be toiled and scraped in our market, as all the world complains. Hiemit dem lieben GOtt befohlen, der euch vor allem Uebel bewüten, Amen. On the last day of April, 1545.

Mart. Luther, D.

No. 3210.

(Wittenberg.) 2. May 1545.

To the Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg.

(Regest.)

Luther reports that he has received the letter of credence of the Elector for Agricola, but refuses to see it himself.

Communicated by Kawerau in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, I V, 464. Above regest with Kolde, p. 415.

No. 3211.

(Wittenberg.) 2. May 1545.

To Duke Albrecht of Prussia.

Luther recommends Christoph Albrecht von Kunheim to the Duke. News of the Turkish War; that the Emperor was raging against the Gospel in the Netherlands, but that Count Palatine Frederick, Elector, together with his wife, had accepted the Gospel.

From Faber's collection of letters, p. 61, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 732, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 133.

G. u. F. in the Lord. Sublime, highborn, gracious Lord! The present Christoph Albert von Kunheim 1) has asked me for

1) His youngest brother, Georg von Kunheim, married Luther's daughter Margaretha in Wittenberg in 1555, who went with him to Prussia. She died after bearing him nine children and is buried in the church village of Mühlhausen, which belonged to his inheritance (three miles from Königsberg), along with five of her children.

this writing to all E. F. G. requested and admonished. Although I did not have anything special to write, I let this matter be sufficient for me that he desires to be ordered by me to E. F. G. and may bring my testimony, to which I know that E. F. G. may well suffer my writing with gracious patience. New [we] know nothing. One says the Turk comes; the other says he stays outside. But it is certain that neither emperor, nor king, nor princes are preparing. The emperor begins to persecute the gospel fiercely in the Low Countries. God turn it, amen. The Bishop of Cöllen still stands firm by God's grace. Thus Count Palatine Frederick, Elector, has accepted the Evangelion, with his Electress, this Easter took the Sacrament of both forms publicly and confessed it. To God be praise and glory, and strengthen them, Amen. The Roman abomination is still mimicking the Emperor and the Empire with his Council, which he has postponed from Mid-Lent to Michaelmas, and has also let himself be heard in Ferrar, that it is still far off; this is, of course, once the true word that comes out of the lying mouth; for they cannot suffer a Council for eternity. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. Command also E. F. G. this Kunheim, for he, a fine fellow, has kept himself very well here. *Secunda Magi* 1545.

E. F.G.

willing

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3212.

(Wittenberg.) 2. May 1545.

To Nikolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

About a matrimonial matter. Of the arrival of Agricola and Dr. Jakob Schenk from Berlin in Wittenberg; of the alchemists of the Elector of Brandenburg 2c.

The original is in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 344 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 733. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1541.

To the in Christ venerable father and lord, Mr. Nicolaus, the exceedingly loud and faithful bishop of the church at Naumburg, his superior to be highly honoured in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord. In Christ, venerable Father! The purpose of your

In the case of Michael Hartbeck, I very much approve of the decision of his dignities, namely, that he be separated from the wife by episcopal, and even by secular, judgment, in order to avoid and eliminate aggravation, or, if he does not want the matter to be brought before the Prince. We shall do the same if he should come to us. "Does the devil hold the world? Are there not 1) otherwise more women and maidens left everywhere enough that he must cause such displeasure?" But Satan is Satan.

There are here in Wittenberg the two preachers of the Margrave, "Master Grickel and Doct. Jeckel." And M. "Grickel" Has to me a commission, or (as it is called) a credence from the Margrave, that he should speak to me. But I have reverently accepted the commission, but him myself, "Grickel," the exceedingly wicked and impenitent hypocrite, I will neither see nor hear. What will happen I do not know. The other, "Jeckel," is said to have been dismissed by the Margrave, and to seek another nest. If your dignity will call him, he may be found willingly without difficulty. But this in jest. The margrave's alchemists (*alcumistae*) have escaped, having deceived him. But he has seized one, an excellent one, and keeps him prisoner at Jüterbock. I am sorry for M. Franz Burkhard's sake at our court, for that alchemist is his brother. But the princes rightly suffer harm, since they believe that the creature can become another through human lies than it was created according to its kind, as Moses writes in Genesis 1. I believe that you have heard or read about the Emperor's rage and the articles of the Louvain Sophists 2). May God turn his wrath away from the emperor, so that he does not stain his hands with innocent blood, amen. Your dignity is well in the Lord. On the second of May 1545.

Venerable Father, your devoted --Martin Luther, D.

1) "not" is missing in the original.
2) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1808, are Luther's counter-articles.

No. 3213.

(Wittenberg.) 2. May 1545.

To Georg Buchholzer, provost in Berlin.

Luther sends a letter to the Elector of Brandenburg as an answer to the letter of credence for Agricola, whom he did not want to see.
Handwritten in *Cod. chart. Goth*. 451. f. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 346 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p.734f.

To the highly esteemed Mr. Georg Buchholzer, provost of Berlin, the faithful servant of Christ, his extremely dear brother.

Grace and peace in the Lord! "Jeckel" has been here a whole eight days, my dear George, and as if he were dumb, he shows himself in the inn as one who is not a man (*quendam non hominem*). Magister "Grickel" arrived here with his wife and his daughter Magdalena, and had a commission or credence (as it is called) to me, but I neither heard nor saw the man. 3) But the wife came to me with the daughter, and they were quite burdensome to me, and the daughter was more than befitting a virgin, bold and garrulous. "There is intemperate hope in the blood." To-day I sent this letter to the inn, that he might deliver the answer to the prince, but they were gone early; therefore I send it to thee, that thou mayest deliver it to the prince. I have no doubt that they will make a tragedy against me, and I shall now become an incredible sinner; but may you do or say nothing for me. For I desire very much to be damned by this monster, if by this means I may be delivered from his company and fellowship with him and all his friends. Thou continue, as thou doest, to teach Christ pure, and let Satan rage and boast. "Grickel" is "Grickel" and will remain "Grickel" forever. Fare well in the Lord. Given this 2nd day of May, 1545.

Martin Luther.

3) Instead of: *velim* we have assumed *volui.*
4) We have adopted the reading of *Cod. Goth.*: *nunc* adopted instead of *tunc* in De Wette.

No. 3214.

Wittenberg. 6 May 1545.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Bugenhagen and the deputies of the Consistory.

They set the date for the opening of the judgment in the Starschedel marriage case.
The original (but without personal signatures) is in the Weimar archives, *Reg.* Printed by Burkhardt, p. 466.

Most Sublime, Highborn Elector! E. churf. G. are our prayers, guilty and willing services in subservience before. Most gracious lord! When Your Lordship sent us a reminder that we have accepted the judgment in the matter of the marriage of the noble Prince and Lord Philips, who is the most illustrious of all the princes and lords, and who is the most illustrious of all the princes. Prince and Lord, Mr. Philipsen, Duke of Brunswick, and Maiden Anna, Ernsts von Starschedel (Torschidel), blessed, daughter, to be beneficial to the parties, accordingly we have resolved to open the same in the near future on Wednesday after Trinity [June 3], and have therefore made this preliminary decision to our most gracious Lord. We humbly request that Your Lordship will have the same announced to His Lordship and also to the said virgin, and Your Lordship obediently commands us to do so in humble service. Date Wittenberg, on Wednesday after Cantate [May 6] Anno 1545.

E. churf. G. submissive, obedient Martinus Luther, Johann Bugenhagen, the Holy Scripture Doctores. Scripture Doctores, and we the appointed Commissioners of the Consistory at Wittenberg.

No. 3215.

(Wittenberg.) May 7, 1545.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther sends back the theses of the Louvainers to the Elector; from the Concilium at Trent.
The original is in the Weimar Archives, H, p. 622. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 110, No. 209; in Walch, vol. XXI, 506; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 735, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 134.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg. R. Reichs Erzmarschall und Churfürst, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

G. and Fr. in the Lord, and my poor *Pr. nr.* Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I am sending E. C. F. G. the articles again, sent to Löven, for we also received them printed about eight days ago. It is very true that the wretched people show themselves off like this and disgrace themselves. In the emperor's letter, they are called 1) his, the emperor's, daughter. O wretched emperor, who must be the father of such great, shameful, abominable harlots! Well, the pope is mad and foolish from the top of his head to his heels, that they know not what they do or speak. There is no doubt where a council is to be held, they would decide such wisdom and more within it. But I think they are so wise, especially their holy spirit, Mainz. They will let the Concilium, like the unripe barley, stick in the cap, so that they cannot leave the word. The other part of the newspaper about the Council of Trent and those who are supposed to be there, I consider to be Roman and Magian gossip and drivel, which they themselves should be sorry for if it had to become true. God will not have them, neither will they have him. Let it go, it will do. Hereby be E. C. F. G. commanded to the dear God, who rules and protects E. C. F. G. to all his good, perfect will, amen. The seventh of May, 1545.

E. C. F. G. subservient
Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3216.

(Wittenberg.) May 7, 1545.

To Prince George of Anhalt.

The Prince wished to accept Georg Schnell in place of Georg Held, who died on March 6th; Luther gives his opinion about it.

1) "They" are not, as De Wette thinks, the articles of the Louvain, but these themselves, "the Academy of Louvain", which the Emperor calls in his Edicte "his daughter". See Neudecker, Merkw. Aktenstücke, Th. II, p. 453.

From the original in the archives at Dessau at Linduer, Mittheilungen, vol. II, p. 94, no. 64 and at De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 374.

To the most reverend and most illustrious prince and lord, Lord George, the most holy bishop of the church at Merseburg, prince of Anhalt, count of Ascanien and lord of Bernburg, his in the Lord very gracious prince.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Most reverend and gracious Prince! I do not dislike the intention of E. F. G. to put Georg Schnell in the place of Georg Forcheim. And although he is well enough versed in Hebrew, he is not quite equal to him in moral knowledge and reputation. And I am very much afraid that Musa 1) and he will not be able to agree on everything. But in this, E. F. G.'s insight will find the right remedy 2) and without difficulty. For I do not believe that at this time an unmarried man can be found who is of more mature age and more proven by experience. And an unmarried man is in many respects more suitable for E. F. G. than a husband, so that for this reason a removal must take place if a disadvantage should appear. Furthermore, those at Mönch-Nienburg will more easily find another who is suitable for them than E. F. G. That is my opinion. God grant that the counsel of E. F. G. may be happy and continue, amen. May 7, 1545.

E. F. G.

devoted

Martin Luther, D.

No. 3217.

(Wittenberg.) May 7, 1545.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

About rumors of war. Luther wants to write once again Against the Papacy.

1) Antonius Musa helped with the visitation in Merseburg. (De Wette, Vol. V, p. 763.)

2) *Medium Comicum* - the means of resolving all difficulties, as in comedy. The same expression is found in the Interpretation of Genesis, St. L. edition, vol. II, 1640, §45 and ibid. vol. XV, 1171.

The original is in *Cod. Seidel*, at Dresden. Printed by Schütze, vol. I, p. 347 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 736 f. German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1542.

To the venerable father and lord in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus, the right and fair bishop of the church at Naumburg, his superior who is to be reverently honoured in the Lord.

Grace and peace! Although there was nothing, my venerable Father in Christ, that I could have written, and even if there was so much, there is such a great desire to lie, to invent, to hear, that even what is true cannot be believed. That defeat at Soest was first 4000 killed, then 1500, later 300; and before it was Spaniards, now it is Germans. The Turk is said to have fallen on his sword while hunting and to have died, and the sons to have made war among themselves. This I praise, that at least this is certain, that the Son of God sits at the right hand of the Father, and speaks to us on earth in the most loving way by his Spirit, as he spoke to the apostles, but that we are his disciples and hear the word from his mouth. Praise be to God, who has chosen us totally unworthy sinners to this glory of his blessing, that we should be hearers of his majesty through the word of the gospel. Angels wish us happiness and all the creatures of God; the pope mourns and fears, the monster of Satan, and all the gates of hell tremble. Let us all rejoice in the Lord. The day draweth nigh for them, and their end.

I am thinking of another book against the papacy. But I am prevented from doing so by the condition of my head, and also by the innumerable number of letters that have to be written, which steal my leisure in an unseemly manner, even rob it by force. Yet I will, if GOD gives grace, continue as soon as I can. Pray for me that I may be dissolved as soon as possible and be with Christ, or if I am to live longer or, more properly, be sick, that he may give me strength of body and impetuosity of spirit, that like Samson I may yet take One vengeance on these my Philistines. Fare well in the Lord. May 7, 1545.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 3218.

(Wittenberg.) 7 May 1545.

To the council of Halle.

Luther exhorts him to continue in zeal and faithfulness for the gospel.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 473; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 521; in Walch, vol. XXI, 507; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 737 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 135.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Honourable and prudent gentlemen and good friends! I have talked with my dear Lord and friend Dr. Jonas about all kinds of things, especially about church matters, and have heard from him quite happily how your church in Halle has almost increased and is well blessed by the Holy Spirit, that the people are doing very well, and the teachers have one heart and one mouth among themselves, and the council is also inclined toward the Gospel.

The merciful God and Father of all joys and unity would increase and maintain His gracious blessing in you, and accomplish His work begun in you until that day! It is a great blessing and treasure where a city can sing with one accord the Psalm: *Ecce, quam bonum et quam jucundum, habitare fratres in unum*. For I daily know, alas, how strange such a gift is in the cities and in the country. For this reason I have not been able to refrain from showing you all my joy, and also from asking and exhorting, as St. Paul did those in Thessalonica, that you continue in this way and, as his word says, *ut abundetis magis,* and grow stronger and stronger. For we know that Satan is an enemy to us, and cannot suffer such God's work in us, but 1) creeps about, seeking whom he may devour, as St. Peter says. Therefore it is necessary to be courageous and to pray that we will not be overtaken by him. For we are not unaware of what he has in mind; thus he still has great space with you, as on the Morizburg and at Aschenburg, 2) in addition to others, so that he has also now blessed or cursed two nuns (God may redeem the souls again, amen), by which he proves what he would like to do more.

1) "but" put by us instead of: peculiarly.

2) This name occurs only here. We assume that "Aschaffenburg" is to be read, because this belonged at that time to Chur-Mainz.

Thereupon I have diligently asked my dear Lord Doctor Jonas to keep the church, council, preachers, and school all the more diligently together, so that with earnest, united, strong prayer and faith you may resist the devil, whether he would do anything further than he certainly intends to do without ceasing; as I know that Doctor Jonas has faithfully done such things beside you up to now, and will do so again.

Commend the preachers, church servants and schools to your Christian love, especially Doctor Jonas, whom you know that we would not like to let him go, and I would like to have him around me. They are precious, such faithful, pure, fine preachers, we learn that every day. God himself esteems them dear, as he says: "Few are the workers," and St. Paul: "Here is found who is found faithful. Therefore he also commands us to have them in double honor, and to recognize that they are God's great, special gifts, so that He may 3) honor the world to eternal blessedness, as Ps. 68 sings: *dedit dona hominibus*. Not much less a gift is it, since God has given you such a heart to call them, to love them, to value them, and to honor them in the Lord. In many places they are held very worthless, and caused to turn away, and also urged to flee. Then they see all too late what they have done, according to the saying, I know what I have, but I know not what I get. For to amend is easy, but to mend is grievous. May the Father of our dear Lord Jesus Christ strengthen you against all the wickedness of Satan, and protect you from all his cunning attempts. May he also grant you a temporal rest and peace from the wicked, treacherous flesh and blood, amen, amen. Date Thursday after John Latin. [May 7] Anno 1545. E. E. willing

Martinus Luther, D.

(Wittenberg.) **No. 3219.** **8** May 1545.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther gives the interpretation of a satirical-allegorical illustration of the papacy that he published. He will respond only casually and very briefly to the Zurich counter-script.

3) "He" put by us instead of: "it".

The original is at Dresden in *Cod. Seidel*. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 348 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 739. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1543.

To the in Christ venerable father and lord, Mr. Nicolaus, the right and faithful bishop of the church at Naumburg, his in your Lord highly venerable superior.

Grace and peace in the Lord! With the three furies, venerable father in Christ, I had nothing else in mind when I painted them for the pope than that I expressed the frightfulness of the papal abomination with the most frightening words in Latin. For the Latins do not know what Satan or the devil is, any more than the Greeks and all the heathen. Therefore they have formed these names afterwards (*a posteriori*) and according to the doings [of the devil] (*effectu).* The mega-era has its name from envy and hatred. 1) This is the devil's malice, which envies the eternal and temporal salvation of the human race ("hinders the good") 2) just as the pope does, the imitator and ape of Satan. The alecto is called, as it were, the *incessant* attacker, who does not desist. This the poets make the worst of all and who brings sadness ("drives all evil"), who commits the terrible things in the world, as patricide, matricide. This devil we Christians may call the old serpent, who in paradise ruined the human race by innumerable ways full of misery and evil with eternal and temporal sadness, and still daily fills the world with new sadness by the pope, the Mahomet, the Cardinals, the bishop of Mainz, 2c. and cannot stop or moderate his saddening infliction of misfortune. 2c. Tisiphone is called the avenger of murder. Of this it is fabled that she is a (*passive*) Furie capable of sensation ("provokes his wrath"), that is, the wrath of God with which the tyrants and the wicked are punished for the effects of the two preceding Furies, as suffered by Kam, Saul, Absalom, Ahitophel, at

1) *odeo* at De Wette will be a misprint instead of: *odio*.

2) This and the following parenthetical theses, written by Luther in German, are in the margin.

the pagans Orestes, Ajax and many [others]. These we Christians would actually call the evil spirits (*daemones*), by which the possessed are overcome and the nonsensical rage, which also blaspheme God. This furies reigns primarily in the opinions and the blasphemous teachings of the pope and the heretics, who are condemned for the due reward of their error. I have nothing else.

I have decided not to answer the enthusiastic Zurichers, except briefly and casually. 3) It is superfluous for me to write against Zwingli and Oecolampad; they have not yet touched those things, and I do not want to lose this time of my old age with those hopeful and idle readers. Neither do I want to be forced to read their writings, and I am satisfied that their testimony proves that I am quite far from their rage. This is what I had in mind in my last confession [of the Lord's Supper. Fare well in the Lord, Amen. May 8, 1545.

Venerable Lord, your devoted Martin Luther, D.

No. 3220.

Berlin. 9 May 1545.

Georg Buchholzer, provost in Berlin, to Luther.

Buchholzer reports that a few hours ago the prisoners, who, as it seems, had led away several chanted students from Wittenberg, 4) favored by Agricola, had escaped from the monastery.

From a contemporaneous copy printed in Förstemann's "Neues Urkundenbuch", p. 354.

To Dr. Martin Luther.

Grace and peace *per Christum*. Beloved Doctor! I have received your letter, and I will hand it over, and I will not be ashamed of you, as Paul says to Timothy [2 Tim. 1, 8]: *neque me vinctum noli erube*

3) Luther did this in the 16th and 28th thesis of his writing: "Against the 32 Articles of the Theologians at Louvain." St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 1808 ff.

4) Melanchthon, in his letter to Buchholzer, May 14, 1545, calls them *plagiarii* (== human thieves), which Bretschneider, *Corp. Ref.,* vol. V, 757, refers erroneously to the alchemists of the Elector.

5) No.3213.

scere. I want to defend, praise God, *heroicum factum,* but I do not want to keep you from having an example of what fruit Grickel's actions bring. He once told me himself how he escorted the three boys who led the students away from you in Wittenberg to our most gracious Lord. I was also once sent to the prisoners by my most gracious lord, and they famed themselves highly for Eisleben's sake, as he did much in their cause. These same prisoners are today date, half way one, 1) come away. It happened like this: They have been let go free, behind the house where they lay imprisoned, they have left a 2) mess; have gone to them, eaten and drunk with whom they will, and have consumed 500 fl. (V C fl.) consumed, 200 fl. (ij C fl.) 3) drunk in Rhenish wine, everything is borrowed. Today they threw the ball. There is a door behind the monastery, they opened it, and went out behind the wall to the other gate. That (Thursday) they stopped for the first time at two hours 4). Then (Thu) the mayor, a right pious man, called Georg Freiberger, let them hurry along with several horses, likewise all the castles from the castle had to follow, they could not arrive, but it is said that when they came to the gate, a wagon with strong horses was there, on which they sat and drove away. They have also dropped their clothes at the gate, which were brought into the city here; they have gone away in trousers and doublet, but they have all their rifles and goatees with them, so that it seems as if some of them had made it. Our most gracious lord did not come home until six o'clock, was mightily angry that they had been let go, and has hurriedly sent for them and written to all the townsmen that they might come again. For I fear that, if they get away, they will do "yours the greatest harm. I have been a prophet. I warned those of Berlin, but it did not help. This I did not want to do to you in haste, "do with it,1 °) what is dear to you. Dat. with haste Anno 2c. 45. Saturday after Cantate [9 May] *hora nona, in nocte*.

Georg Buchholzer,

Provost of Berlin.

1) That is, 12-1/2.
2) "Boßleich" == bowling alley. Förstemann has the wrong reading: "Bogleich" with the note: "Probably as much as convivium."
3) Förstemann: "ij C", which he explains by: "150 florins". But this would have been written "C L fl." would have been written.
4) That's, at two o'clock.
5) Completed by us. (Hole in the paper.)

No. 3221.

(Wittenberg.) May 11, 1545.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther informs the Elector of Buchholzer's news, and sends his letter.

From the very damaged, handwritten original of Luther in K. E. Förstemann's New Document Book on the History of the Protestant Church Reformation. Vol. I. Hamburg 1842. 4. p. 355; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 375, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. LXIII f. - Only two additions, "Grickels" and "Epi[machi]," have been made by Förstemann, and approved by Seidemann. The others we have inserted after the striking letters.

To my most gracious lord, Duke Johann Friedrich, Elector of Saxony 2c., hastening to S. C. F. G. Handen.

G. and F. and my poor Paternoster. Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! I have not been able to restrain E. C. F. G. from sending me this letter from Berlin. The devil is an enemy to C.F.G. from the bottom of all his wealth, we all see that and must see it. But God is almighty, in whom we believe and call upon, without doubt also mighty over all our enemies, and has so far shown himself fatherly towards us, and from now on we will prove ourselves, where we remain in faith and [right doctrine]. M. Eisleben's [request to] forbid him against E. C. [F. G., I have refused]. He [has been with me] with a letter, 6) which I have accepted, but I have neither wanted to see nor hear him, "he was given an answer enough by me earlier. I hope that he will give the malefactors (7) room and bridle, and undertake to protect them.] Great is the pride of the high family master [Grickels]. I have apologized to your Margrave "that) I did not want to hear M. Grickel, and sent the answer to the man who wrote me this red letter, which E. C. F. G. wanted to have sent to me again, and did not report the man, even though he "did not ask much about it, [whether it would happen;] without a reply.

6) We have assumed instead of: "l": "C".
7) "thätern" put by us instead of: "kether".
8) Buchholzer.

...that I will not be denied. [Herewith GOtte commanded, Amen. Monday after Epi[machi] [11 May] 1545.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

God judge Mentz once too.

No. 3222.

Torgau. 12 May 1545.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

He sends Buchholzer's letter back to Luther, and testifies to his pleasure that Luther did not leave Agricola before him, nor did he intercede for him. News that the Margravine of Lichtenberg has agreed against her son, the Elector of Brandenburg, to return to the Mark, on condition that Agricola and Schenk be dismissed and that righteous preachers be appointed in their place.

From your Concept in Förstemann's "Neues Urkundenbuch", p. 355.

To Doctor Martinum. Johans Friedrich 2c.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have received your letter together with the enclosed letter (which we are sending back to you herewith), in which it is reported what measure the prisoners in Berlin, who led away the students in Wittenberg, have escaped, and have heard all the contents. And another thing is that the devil and his followers are almost very hard on us, but the Almighty has graciously helped so far, and he will help again without a doubt, first of all so that these boys, if they want to do something evil against us and ours, will not succeed nor will they. You have done us a special favor by not letting Eisleben come to you when he was in Wittenberg, nor by forbidding him to come to us. And we do not want to reprove you in your gracious opinion, after our friendly dear grandparents, brothers-in-law and brothers, the Elector and Margrave Hans of Brandenburg, have now been with their dear wife's mother at Lichtenburg, that they have kindly addressed their loved ones and asked them to join them again in the Margraviate, which her loved ones then agreed to a certain extent, but especially that the Elector should remove the said Eisleben and Doctor Jakoben from himself and away, and provide himself with other Christian and righteous preachers, and also keep it otherwise with the ceremonies in conformity with the others. Whereupon the Elector shall have made such a promise to her beloved.

If this were to happen, it is to be hoped that Eisleben and Doctor Jacob would no longer have their being and staying in this place. Then, too, you would undoubtedly not refrain from your Christian and possible support of the Elector's Christian work and project. We would not have you do such a thing, and are inclined to you with grace and good. Dated Torgau, Tuesday after Vocem Jucunditatis [42 May] 1545.

No. 3223.

Torgau. 18 May 1545.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther, Bugenhagen and the Commissars of the Consistory.

The Elector orders an extension of the day in the Starfchedel marriage affair.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. D, fol.* 49. 42 Printed by Burkhardt, p. 468.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotees, counsellors and faithful! We have received your letter together with the enclosed citation to our friendly dear grandfather and brother-in-law, Duke Philipsen of Brunswick, concerning the marriage of his son, Duke Ernsten, to the maiden Anna, Ernsten von Starfchedel's, blessed, deceased daughter, and have heard its contents, and would have been inclined to send your citation to the said Duke Philipsen. However, the appointed day and date of H. L.'s concern is somewhat short, and it is also necessary that the said maiden Anne's guardians and brothers be cited and summoned by you, but this was left by you and without doubt because you did not know who they were. Therefore it is our gracious request that you extend the day for about ten or twelve days, and that you change the citation to Duke Philipsen, which you 1) will find hereafter, likewise to the maiden guardians, namely Dieterichen von Starschedel, her cousin, and Heinrich and N. Wolf von Starschedel, her brothers, to Mutschen, and then send it to us, [so] we want them to be ordered to the proper end. We have not wished to restrain you from doing this, and we are pleased to do so. Date Torgau, Monday after Exaudi [18 May] 1545.

1) "you" put by us instead of: "the".

Wittenberg. **No. 3224.** . 22 May 1545.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Bugenhagen and the Commissaries of the Consistory.

You set another date in the Starschedel matrimonial case, 14 days later than before.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. D, fol.* 49. 43[3] (without personal signatures). Printed by Burkhardt, p. 468.

God's grace through Jesus Christ, "our" Saviour, and our subservient, willing services are always before Your Lordship. Sublime, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! By E. churf. G. gracious letter and order we have sent the citation to the durchl. 2c. Lord Philipsen, Duke of Brunswick, our most gracious Lord, have had the day extended by 14 days, and have also issued a special preliminary decision to the Maidens of Starschedel (Storschiedel) guardians, all of which we hereby humbly send to Your Lordship, and acknowledge that we are humbly obliged to serve Your Lordship, and are also prepared to do so and always willing. Date Wittenberg, Friday after Exaudi [22 May] Anno 1545.

E. churf. Gn. unterthänige

Martinus Luther, Johann Bugenhagen, i. e. Scripture Doctor, and the ordered Commissaries of the Consistorii at Wittenberg.

No. 3225. 23 May 1545.

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Duke thanks him, answering his letter of May 2 (No. 3211), for his continued paternal benevolence and apologizes that he cannot write himself because of government business.

A short regest in J. Voigt, p. 15; above regest in Kolde, p. 415.

No. 3226.

(Wittenberg.) May 26, 1545.

To the mayor and council of Hammelburg.

M. Friedrich Bachofer of Leipzig, Diaconus at Wittenberg, had gone to Hammelburg as a preacher in January 1543. He demanded of the Schultheißen there that he should urge the Jews to attend his sermons.
and to be baptized. The Schultheiss turned to the Fulda Abbot, Philipp Schenk von Schweinsberg, for measures of conduct and received the instruction that he should protect the Jews against Bachofer's insolence. Bachofer also received a warning. Over it he became insane. Luther sent medicine, spoke out about the circumstances and the abbot, and wished that Bachofer be sent to Wittenberg.

The original is at the public library in Fulda. Printed in the Journal von und für Deutschland 1785. Zweiter Jahrgang, erstes Stück, p. 61; in the "Archiv des hist. Verein für den Untermainkreis", vol. III, issue 2. Würzburg 1835. 8th p. 153 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol.VI, p. 376 f.

To the honourable and wise gentlemen, mayor and council of Hammelburg, my favourable good friends.

G. and F. in the Lord. Honourable, wise, dear sirs! We have heard of Doctor Friedrich's accident from your letter with great compassion. In response, our doctors of medicine here are sending him some medicine, which you will have him use, although it seems better to them, if you and he are able, that you send him in to us. Some of our people also wrote four weeks ago about what had happened with the Jews and the mayor against the aforementioned doctor, and they were well concerned that he would not be able to stay with you long, because your abbot is a friend of the Jews and prefers the enemies and blasphemers of Christ to the faithful servants of Christ. Even though he is otherwise in the clamor with surrounding neighbors, that he believes all kinds of things and nothing everywhere. To please the bishop of Mainz he is papist, to please the landgrave he is evangelical, and to please himself he is nothing everywhere. With such rulers you will not receive a preacher, Christ or God. Therefore, we theologians also ask that, if Frederick were to recover in a moment, you send him home to us again, for that is better in the sight of God than that God's servant should sit there for the devil, abbot, and mayor to mock and ridicule. Christ our Lord will know in his time how to find the abbot and his mayor or servant. Let us therefore with our prayers (if they do not repent), together with the prayers of the church, direct them to where they belong. But to you, who must tolerate such an abbot, we wish God's grace and (all) good, amen. Tuesday in Pentecost [May 26] 1545. Martin Luther, D.

No. 3227.

(Wittenberg.) 29 May 1545.

To Prince George of Anhalt.

Luther informs him that M. Georg Schnell does not want to accept the position offered to him.

The original is in the Dessau Archives. Printed by Lindner, Mittheilungen, vol. II, p. 90, no. 65; by De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 377 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 244.

To the most illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Lord George, Bishop of Mersburg, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascania and Lord of Bernburg, my gracious lord.

G. and F. in the Lord. Sublime, highborn Prince, gracious Lord! I had to hear M. Georgen Schnell, and I did not like to hear that he cannot accept the condition of E. F. G.; for he prefers so much for the sake of his person that I could not penetrate further into him, although he is especially inclined to serve E. F. G., wherever it wants to be done, since it is ever fair to serve E. F. G., because we all know how warmly E. F. G. means God's word and promotes it with earnestness. The celibacy makes people dear to us. Thus the married state also hinders us everywhere in this kingdom of the devil, who can suffer nothing that God wants 2c. I humbly write this to E. F. G. as an apology to M. Georgen Schnellet, because he asked me for it, because he is concerned that E. F. G. would understand his refusal to be disgraceful. God, the merciful Father, grant E. F. G. His Spirit abundantly to do His divine will and good pleasure, Amen. Friday in Pentecost [29 May] 1545.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3228.

Altenburg. 29 May 1545.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector asks Luthern to express his opinion about the pastor of Rochlitz (Martin Wolfs) appointed by the congregation in Colditz.

The original concept with many corrections is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ll*, p. 51. n. 40. 1. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 469.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! After the worthy, our also dear devotee, He Augustinus Himmel, pastor at Colditz, has now 1) been vocated and appointed as pastor and superintendent here at Altenburg, to which he is also to be appointed, the council at Colditz has now come to us for the sake of another pastor and pastoral caretaker by a supplementary document, which we are sending to you enclosed, from which you are to hear what they intend to appoint for a pastor. When we have to remind ourselves that you mentioned 2) another one, who is to be appointed for Colditz, and that you note letters from the congregation of Colditz that they have a good will towards the pastor of Rochlitz, who, according to their indications, is willing to go away, we have not refrained from hearing your concerns, We did not want to refrain from hearing your concerns in this matter, and therefore we graciously request that you inform us of your concerns as to what should or should not be done in this matter, in addition to sending us a copy of your letter, so that we may be heard on this matter, and you do us a gracious favor by doing so, and we are also inclined to you with graciousness and all good. Date Altenburq, Friday after Urbani [29 May] 1545.

No. 3229.

(Wittenberg.) 2. June 1545.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther approves the proposed filling of the parish of Colditz.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ll, pag.* 51. n. 40. 1. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 470.

G. and F. and my poor *Pater noster*. Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! In reply to E. C. F. G.'s letter, this is my most humble concern. If those at Colditz want to have the preacher at Rochlitz, especially because he is perhaps tired of the Jewish regiment, I am very happy to see that he is transferred from there to Colditz, and I wish them that they will be lukewarm and eternally fond of such a preacher. For Augustine [heaven] gives him a very good report. With our Rosenberger, previously stated, God will find another condition. To me it is

1) "now" put by us instead of: "no longer".
2) "before" put by us instead of: "of". See the following number.

It is a special joy to hear that the people like their pastors and the pastors like their people, and they consider it a special grace. It is so mean that the parish priests can be ill-tempered; that makes the devil dislike the office they hold. But it does not help them. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. Tuesday after Trinity [2 June] 1545.

E. C. F. G. submissive Martinus Luther, D.

N o. 3230.

(Wittenberg.) 3. June 1545.

To Andreas Osiander in Nuremberg.

Luther consoles him over the loss of his wife and daughter, and exhorts him to offer his pain to GOtte.

From the Stuttgart library in Burkhardt, p. 471.

Grace and peace in Christ, who is our consolation, yea, who is wholly ours, and we are wholly his, as Paul saith [Rom. 14:8.], "We live or die, we are the Lord's." We have heard that you, dear and exceedingly dear Osiander, have again been deeply afflicted, and that at the same time by a twofold affliction, namely, by the death of your wife 1) and your exceedingly lovely daughter. And I believe certainly and very strongly, by the example of the daughter who is extremely dear to me, 2) that her death causes you very special pain. It is extraordinary how much I am tormented by the death of my Magdalena, whom I cannot yet forget. But I know for certain, 3) that she is in the place of refreshment and eternal life, and that God has given me a great sign of his love in this very thing, that he has taken my flesh into his bosom during my lifetime. But this is a natural love, 4) such as

1) From a letter of Melanchthon to Veit Dietrich of Aug. 5, 1537, we see that the first wife of Osiander had died around this time, and that Luther also wrote a letter of comfort to him at that time. The letter is missing. See *Corp. Ref.*, Vol.V, 399.

2) Instead of *filii charissimi* we have assumed *filie charissime* (in the original we will probably find *filie charissime*), because Luther did not lose a son by death.

3) The comma should come after *certissime*, not before it.

4) Instead of xxxxx, read xxxxxx.

You know that although it is good and innate, it must be crucified with us, so that the good, pleasing and perfect will of God may be fulfilled, since even the Son, through whom and for whose sake everything exists, wanted to perish and die, although he did not have to, nor was he guilty of doing so. I write this so that I may bear witness, and I believe that you do indeed believe that we are subject to these temptations, just as God has given you to be a true and faithful comrade in our faith and doctrine. For thou shalt slay this thy dearly beloved Isaac for a burnt offering, for a sweet savour unto the LORD; not thy daughter, nor thy spouse, which are alive and blessed in the LORD, but that natural strong and exceeding bitter motion of heart, which is all too lively in us. But this burnt offering is necessary to the Lord for our comfort. But what do I teach the unintelligent (*sus Minervam*); you know all this better without my teaching it. Farewell and be convinced, 5) that you are exceedingly dear to us. June 3, 1545, Yours, Martin Luther, D.

No. 3231.

(Wittenberg.). 3 June 1545.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

About an unusual behaviour of the foxes, about which Luther asked hunting experts; about the course of time and an offensive painting by Lucas Cranach.

The original is at Dresden in *Cod. Seidel*. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 350 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 741. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1545.

To the venerable father in the Lord, the bishop of the true and holy church of Naumburg, the upright servant of Christ, his highly venerable superior.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I have, most reverend Father in the Lord, put your question about the monstrosity of the foxes to people who are experienced and skilled in the art and practice of hunting, and who are complete masters in this art. They said at first that what I had said could not be true.

5) After *persuade* we have added *tibi.*

said. Soon after I showed them your letter, they were astonished beyond measure. They unanimously asserted that the fox, with its cunning, does not rob where it has its nest. Köthen was mentioned, where foxes have their nest in the so-called city moat (*fossata oppidi*), but do no harm to anyone in that place. What this means I do not know, unless perhaps a change of all things is imminent, which we ask for and expect, amen.

I do not care about imperial diets and conciliation, believe nothing, hope nothing, think nothing. It is all vain. The Nurembergers have captured a certain nobleman in the hope that they will in turn free their tree-gardener. If God does not intervene, this seems to be a spark of a future conflagration to punish Germany; but first He will take us and ours away from this misery. There is no justice, no regiment in the kingdom, and it is a kingdom without rulership, that is, the yeast and the end of the kingdom.

Your nephew George showed me the painting of Pope, but "Master Lucas is a crude painter. He could have spared the female sex for the sake of God's creature and our mothers. He could have painted other figures befitting the pope, namely, more diabolical ones; but you will judge. Fare well in the Lord, in Christ. June 3, 1545.

Your Martin Luther.

Postscript.

The Emperor has ordered the Augsburgs to accept the Cardinal, that is, their Bishop with the clergy and the Papal ceremonies, but those are preparing to protect themselves by force of arms. "The parsons will not" peace, nor possess theirs with peace. Let it be done what is required.

No. 3232.

(Wittenberg.) June 15, 1545.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther complains of stone pains, which prevent him from writing. Cranach is to produce a respectable painting instead of the offensive one.
The original is at Dresden in *Cod. Seidel.* Printed by Schütze, vol. I, p. 351 and by De Wette, vol.V, p. 742. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1547.

To the venerable father and lord in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus, the right and fair bishop of the church at Naumburg, his superior to be reverently received in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I give thanks, my venerable Father in Christ, for the gift of wine. I have not slept nor rested this whole night from the pain of my tormentor and Satan, the stone. Therefore I am of no use this day. It has not yet gone away, but is hidden in the body, but not without making itself felt, this thorn of my flesh. I know not when I shall bear this hateful fruit. I wish to die, but these tortures I abhor. But if it should be the will of the dear God that I should depart in such great torments, he will give me grace to ask them, and if not to die sweetly, yet bravely. Enough of this.

I will work diligently, if I remain alive, to have the painter Lucas exchange this abominable painting for a more respectable one. I had already planned a vain second part against the pope and something short against the Sacramentarians, and behold, my stone is falling, my stone, for God wanted it to be not only mine, but also the pope's and the Sodomite (*Gomorraeorum*) cardinals', so that they would have something to say that they were human. But thou art well pleased in Christ. On St. Vitus' Day [15 June] 1545.

Venerable Lord, your devoted Martin Luther, D.

(Wittenberg.) **No. 3233.** 25 June 1545.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Letter of recommendation for Johann Rosenberg to obtain the parish of Colditz. 1)

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. LI, pag.* 51. n. 40.1. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 471.

1) Burkhardt notes: Luther was too late with his recommendation. The congregation of Colditz had at the same time (June 25) asked for confirmation of the preacher they had elected, Martin Wolff, previously of Rochlitz.

G. u. F. in the Lord! Most illustrious, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! I have previously proposed E. C. F. G. to the parish of Colditz, if M. Augustinus would leave, M. Johann Rosenberg, the child of the same country, therefore his wife is also, and well known to the people. But where he has remained, I do not know, and how it stands around the parish. That is why he is now here himself, to inquire whether he might get the parish there at Colditz according to my report or not. I still testify as before that he is a fine man, and I worry that he will not be able to remain lukewarm under Ferdinando the King. For they both, God and Ferdinand the King, will not suffer each other. If the parish is still vacant, then I humbly request that E. C. F. G. assign this M. Johann Rosenberg to it. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. Thursday after St. John's Day [June 25] 1545.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3234.

Wittenberg. 2 July 1545.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

Request for the mayor M. Oswald Losan in Zwickau in a scholarship matter.

Reprinted, as it seems, from your original in Job. Christian Hasche's Magazin der Sächsischen Geschichte aufs Jahr 1789. Sechster Theil, p. 542 and at De Wette- Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 715. - The churfürstliche Bewilligung, which Churfürst Moritz repeated on April 24, 1551, is dated July 9, 1545. Probably Melanchthon is the author of the letter, which Luther only signed. (Seidemann.)

To the by!, high-born. Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony 2c. 2c., our most gracious lord.

God's grace through His only begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour, beforehand. Sublime, highborn, most gracious Prince and Lord! The honorable Oswald Lasan, mayor of Zwickau, will hand over to E. C. F. G. a subservient application, in which he will give an urgent account of how the fief is to be administered.

S. Jacobi and *Laurentii* at Zwickau, from his forefathers and kinsmen, namely to the descendants Lasan and Jungnickel, which Jungnickel now died completely without heirs, so donated that it should be given to them with this duty that they should study in a university for a named time, and this fief has remained with the Lazans until now, according to the foundation, and only this next year has it been relinquished, because the common church of Zwickau intends to take it. Since this fief is not just for masses, but expressly endowed to the studio forever, so that some of this family will be Lasan, he asks in submission, p. 1) C. F. G. will graciously decree that the said fief be used for the studio of the poor youth and children of the Lasan family, as it has been held here in Wittenberg with a fief of Zülsdorf 2) and otherwise, has also requested us that we, on the authority of E. C. F. G., may be granted the fief. which we therefore did not refuse, first of all that we do not consider his request to be contrary to the visitation, especially since the common caste has otherwise received large, stately endowments, namely four fiefs, from its forefathers, and we ourselves held it in the visitation in such a way that we left something to the families from which something stately came to the common caste, although no report of the study was made. - Thus E. C. F. G. of this man in Zwickau knows that he has also taken on the task of raising his brother's eight poor orphans, and has himself, by the grace of God, five sons and two daughters, whom he is diligently raising to the honor of God, and several of his sons are well-suited for the studio. Therefore, we ask in submission that S. C. F. G. graciously show himself in this, and for the advancement of the studies and preservation of these good pious people, who have been so long in Zwickau, and have borne common burdens, namely at three and a half hundred years, leave this help to their children for the studio.

1) So further below still twice. But probably misprint for "E.". (Seidemann.)

2) In the text: "Julsdorff" is a printing or reading error for "Zülsdorff". Cf. *Album*, p. 20: *Dominus Martinus Czulstorff albiorenus*. 1507. (Seidemaun.)

...to the church... For this, we hope, they will also do their due diligence to faithfully serve their church and fatherland. The eternal God, Father of our Saviour JEsu Christ, graciously preserve S. C. F. G. at all times. Date Wittenberg, on the day of the joyful meeting of Mary and Elizabeth [2. Julias Anno 1545.

E. C. F. G. subject Martinus Luther, Dr. Johannes Bugenhagen, Pomer., Dr. Philippus Melanthon.

No. 3235.

Wittenberg. 2 July 1545.

To Duke Philip of Stettin, Pomerania 2c., together with the other theologians.

1)

Intercession for two expellees, Peter Schwabe and Simon Wolder of Stolpen.

A contemporaneous copy is in the. Weimar Archives, *Reg. C, fol.* 427. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 472.

God's grace through His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Savior, before. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! E. F. G. know without doubt himself all occasion of the trade, how Peter Schwab and Simon Wolder of Stolpen, by evil reports, have come into disrepute with the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord Barnim, Duke of Pomerania, Our Lord. H[errn], come into disfavor and that afterwards takes place that they cannot again be safe in their estates. Although we do not make ourselves judges, we nevertheless consider this matter to be one in which the revered Barnim reports badly and that the said men of Stolpen are being treated unfairly. However, after we had asked Duke Barnim for remembrance and intercession, we did not know how to refuse this "out of Christian compassion": In doing so, we also considered writing to E. F. G.. For although E. F. G. has nothing to do with this matter, E. F. G. can nevertheless kindly remind us that 2) these people will be released from the unjust burden. For this reason, we ask that E. F. G. graciously promote such a thing, as you yourself will indicate that it is possible and fruitful to do so. We can well

1) Bugenhagen, Creuziger, Major and Melanchthon.
2) "that" put by us instead of: "of".

that the harshness did not flow from Duke Barium's person, therefore to hope, if S. F. G. would be better reported. F. G. would be better informed, they would show themselves more merciful. Thus the F. F. G. know by which persons 3) a better report is now to be made. In this, E. F. G. want to mean that the work is primarily pleasing to God, to promote right things and to prevent unjust oppression, as it is written in the Book of Solomon Prov. 24, 11, you shall help to save (speak) those who are unjustly led to death, for God will reward such. Thus the noble princes and dukes of Pomerania have always been held up as lovers of justice, and are now praised in the confession of the holy gospel as Christian, benevolent princes. Therefore, they should be all the more diligent in preventing injustice and trouble. Let E. F. G. command them in this matter as much as possible, and God will reward them for it. May He always graciously govern and preserve E. F. G., Amen. Date Wittenberg, on the day of the *Visitationis* and the happy meeting of Mary and Elizabeth [2. Julia] Anno 1545.

E. F. G. willing and subject Martinus Luther, Dr. utsupra. 4)

No. 3236.

(Wittenberg.) July 5, 1545.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

Luther asks him to make inquiries about a young man who had begun a relationship with Luther's niece.

Handwritten by Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 744, printed by Schütze, vol. I, p. 353 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 744, German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1548.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. M. Anton Lauterbach, the exceedingly faithful pastor and bishop of Pirna and the neighboring churches, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! There is a certain young man here, my dear Anton, who gives his name as Ernst Reuchlin from a city that lies beyond Dres

3) namely Schwabe and Wolder. "Person" in the text is the plural.
4) utsupra has been added by the copyist to save the repetition of the names given above.

the name of Geusing 1) (*Gensing*). He has approached the widow of M. Ambrosius Berndt, my niece Magdalena, and has lured her with many and great words, so that it seems that he seeks nothing other than her little money, under the pretext of marriage. When I heard this, I became very agitated, because the unknown and so young man (for he has not yet exceeded twenty years of age) seems to be setting an ambush for me by the devil, since he, without consulting me and my family, also without giving any indication of his father or his origin, is dragging the poor and foolish woman around. Therefore, for the sake of our faithful friendship, I beg you to let yourself be charged with this matter, and to find out for me his relations, and if you can, either his father or his family, what they are, or what they are worth, but especially whether they know that their son or relative is doing such things. For if perchance he should have written to them that he had my consent and good will, or that of my family, you may say it is a lie. For we advise with the utmost strength against it, because this is neither for him nor for her. And I would that the young man were recalled by his parents before I am compelled to act more harshly against him. For my duty cannot suffer him to undertake a marriage in this church without his father's knowledge, much wavier with my niece, since I have already condemned this example for two years against the lawyers. Summa: It seems to me seriousness to act everything in a lying way and to have the foolish woman as a fool, by doing this to my shame by the malice of the devil. Therefore write all carefully to me. For this marriage I will hinder for this sake,

1) Walch offers: "Geusing"; Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 535, note 7, remarks: It is to be read *Geusing* or *Geising*. Des Ambrosius Berndt Wittwe, "die Muhme Lene", married again with *Dr. med.* Ernst Renchlin, native from Geisingen, who published still in the year 1577 as appointed physician of the city Lübeck "zwo Haußtafeln vnd vnderricht vor die Reichen vnd Armen - wider die Pestilentz" (Lübeck 1577.4.), in which he calls Dr. Luther "his dear brother-in-law".

because he has not shown his Father's will until now, and at the same time he has despised my reputation with her. And I will (God willing) ridicule Satan, who wanted to ridicule me with my church. Be well and do that which I promise you. Sunday after the Visitation of Mary [July 5] 1545.

Your Martin Luther, D.

Lauterbach added to this letter:

As soon as I had read this letter from the reverend father, I immediately went to Maxen with the deacon Christoph Justi and my brother, Balthasar Lauterbach, to the priest of the church, Georg Reuchel, the father of this young man, who assured me in a modest answer that he and his son would do nothing against the will of Dr. Martinus, and he showed a letter from his son, who announced that he had been seriously admonished by Phil. Melanchthon on St. John's Day that he should not do such great things with the widow. He added these words to the letter: "I will gladly be content with this widow, if I can be rid of her. For she will not let me. "2c. The father promised that he would send a letter the next morning and call the son back.

No. 3237.

(Wittenberg.) July 9, 1545.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Of the Emperor's strange insistence that the Protestants should attend the Concilium, and of the peace negotiations with the Turks.
The original is at Dresden in *Cod. Seidel*. Printed by Schütze, vol. I, p. 356 and by De Wette, vol. V, p.746. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1549 f.

To the ill Christo venerable father and lord, Mr. Nicolaus, the right bishop of the church at Naumburg, his superior to be highly honoured in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I would write if I had anything to write, venerable Father in Christ. For I suppose that everything is better known to you than to us. It is written from the Diet that the Emperor is very anxious that our people should consent to the Concilium.

We are told that he is very unwilling to do this. What monstrosity this is, I do not understand. The pope cries out that we are heretics and should have no place in the Concilium; the emperor wants us to consent to the Concilium and its decisions. Perhaps God makes them fools; indeed, since Satan reigns, they are all utter nonsense, since they condemn us and at the same time ask our consent. But this seems to be their furious wisdom, because hitherto they have not been able to make their very bad cause fearful under the name of the Pope, the Church, the Emperor, the Imperial Diet, so now they intend to use the name of the Concilium, so that they may have something to cry out against us, namely, that we are such shameful people that we do not want to hear the Pope, nor the Church, nor the Emperor, nor the Empire, now not even the Concilium, which has been so often demanded of us. Behold the wisdom of Satan against our foolish God! How will He be able to escape such cunning plots? But it is the LORD who will mock the mockers. If we are to consent to such a Concilium, why did we not consent 25 years ago to the Lord of Conciliums, the Pope, and to his bulls? Let the pope first acknowledge that the concilium is above him, and let him hear the concilium against him, as his conscience testifies against him: then let us debate the whole question. "They are mad and foolish, thank God.

The emperor, Ferdinand, and the Frenchman seek peace with the Turk, and it is thought that the emperor will turn his arms against us. But David says [Ps. 109:4], "But I pray"; let the will of the Lord be done. Fare well in the Lord, my venerable father. We are both old, may have to be buried in a little while. My tormentor, the stone, would have killed me on St. John's Day, if God had not provided otherwise. I would rather die than your tyrant. Again, farewell. On Thursday after Kilian [July 9] 1545

Venerable Lord, your humble Martin Luther.

No. 3238.

Wittenberg. July 10, 1545.

To George, Prince of Anhalt.

At the request of the prince Luther speaks out about the ceremonies.

Printed by Beckmann, Historie des Fürstenthums Anhalt; by Lindener, Mittheilungen, vol. II, p. 96, no. 66 and by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 378.

To the reverend father in Christ and noble prince and lord, Lord George, the right and fair bishop of the church at Merseburg, prince of Anhalt, count of Ascanien and lord in Bernburg, his gracious lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Doctor Augustin has urged me very diligently to write a letter to E. F. G. about the ceremonies. And I confess that I am not fond of the necessary ceremonies either, but an enemy of the non-necessary ones. Experience has burned me and still burns me, not only in the papacy, but also the example of the old church. For it easily happens that ceremonies become laws; but after they have been issued as laws, they soon become cords of conscience, and pure doctrine is obscured and overwhelmed, especially if the descendants should be cold and unlearned, who quarrel more about ceremonies than that they should kill the carnal sense, as we see it even while we are still alive, and see divisions and discord arise, since everyone follows his own sense. Summa: the contempt of the word on our side, and the blasphemy on the part of the adversaries, seem to me to announce the time which John foretold to his people, namely [Matt. 3:10.], "The axe is already laid to the root of the trees. "2c. Since the end is at hand, it seems to me, at least at this blessed time, that it is not necessary to be too anxious to arrange ceremonies and to bring them into conformity, and even to fortify them by a constant law, but that this one thing must be done, that the word may be taught purely and abundantly, and learned and efficient church ministers must be appointed, who first take care that they be one heart and one soul.

in the Lord. By this, of course, it will be easy for the ceremonies to be brought into agreement, or tolerated. Without this there will be no end nor measure of disagreement in ceremonies. For the descendants will use the same force that we use, and it will be flesh against flesh, as the corrupt nature brings with it. Therefore I cannot give this advice, that in every place there should be uniformity of ceremonies everywhere, but where apparently impious or unrighteous ones have been done, let them be tolerated unequally; as, if some have fallen anywhere, let them not be restored; if they have remained, let them not be abolished. Such is the case with altars, which are set in their usual places, and with the sacred or secular garments of preachers, and similar things. For if there be One Heart and One Soul in the Lord, the one will easily bear the unformity of the other in this. Now if there be not a striving for unity of heart and soul, outward unity will not avail much, nor will it last long in the descendants, since these are customs subject to place, time, person, and chance, in which the kingdom of God does not stand, being changeable by their nature. But whatever they may be, we must beware lest they be turned into necessary laws. And it seems to me desirable that, just as a schoolmaster or a householder governs without laws, but corrects the faults either of the school or of the house by the law of God alone, where they see that one steps out of discipline, so also in the church everything should rather be governed by present supervision than by laws which are left behind. For where the oversight of the father of the house ceaseth, there also ceaseth the discipline of the servants, as the proverbs say, The eye of the Lord maketh the horse fat, and: "The footsteps of the Lord fertilize the field. So even all power rests on able and (as Christ says) wise and faithful persons. If we do not call such to govern the church, mau seek in vain to govern by laws without such persons. And what need is there that all things should be done alike?

The Greek churches have always been so different from the Latin churches in how many ways. And in how great unevenness have the Greek churches always differed from the Latin. This is why we urge the establishment of schools, and above all, purity and uniformity of doctrine, which will unite hearts and souls in the Lord. But the people who study are rare, many are nothing but bellies seeking pasture to feed themselves, so that more than once the thought has occurred to me that it would happen that because of necessity the village pastors would have to be reduced, and instead of them some learned and faithful man would be appointed, ...who shall visit the neighboring places several times during the year, preaching loudly and diligently, while in the meantime the people go to their mother church to receive the sacraments, or the sick be ministered to by the deacons. Thus cause and time will teach many things which cannot be predestined or fixed by laws. There E. F. G. have for this time briefly what is my opinion. But let the Lord, with his Holy Spirit, "without whose power of God there is nothing that man can do, there is nothing that is not harmed," 1) guide E. F. G. in the way of salvation and peace to the praise and glory of God, Amen. July 10, 1545.

E. F. G. devoted Martin Luther, D.

No. 3239.

(Wittenberg.) July 14, 1545.

To Johann Lang in Erfurt.

Luther praises Lang's disputation on secret betrothals and declares the necessity of enjoying Holy Communion from time to time.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 464. Printed in De Wette, vol. V, p. 747. From an alleged original (privately owned), which offers a poor German translation, printed in the Theologische Nachrichten, August 1820, p. 355 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 748 and in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 56, p. 137.

1) Luther has here the words of an old hymn: *Sine cujus Numine Nihil est in homine, Nihil est innoxium.*

Grace and peace in Christ! My dearest Lang, your disputation on secret covenants has been very pleasant to me, not only because you are of the same opinion as us in this matter, but also because I would have liked to hear long ago that it is believed throughout the world that your school agrees with ours, which will undoubtedly grieve the papists, since up to now nothing has come from you that testifies to the nature of your school. Now, even as you stand forth alone, they will fear that all are like you. Hail, ye men, for the new virtue! so go ye to heaven,

As to the other question, I judge that your institution is quite reasonable, that those who wish to be Christians should testify at least once a year that they acknowledge Christ, although it is proper that this should be done throughout their lives. But those who assert that this is not necessary for them, and do not feel the necessity, confess by this very fact that they are weary of grace and disgusted with thy manna, are quite dead in themselves, and have long since returned to the pots of Egypt. Therefore they are to be reckoned unbelievers. Others, who say that strife is pending, do not give a proper cause, since we are bound to be ready to die at any hour; what would they do if they should die at that hour? Matters of strife may be left in abeyance, but my soul must not be without faith, without the word, without Christ. For by the same token they might say that they could not believe, could not hear the word, could not have Christ, because they were involved in disputes. Therefore they may deny Christ, forsake the word, and cease to believe, because all these things are likewise hindered by strife. Why do they not act in this way? They may let the rights of the parties or of the things be disputed, but may themselves calmly and willingly bear which of the two the verdict is favorable. I also have quarrels with the papists, and in these years there has even been a case pending before the prince with the jurists, but I have not allowed myself to be moved by it.

and communicated very often, have also been prepared to deviate from my position if the verdict had been passed against me. You have my opinion, but you can add much according to your gifts. Fare well in Christ and pray for me, who am a corpse. On the 14th day of July, Anno 1545, your Martin Luther.

No. 3240.

Wittenberg. July 14 or 15, 1545.[1)]

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

On Jonah's stone affliction; on the Concilium and the legation to the Turkish emperor.
From the *Cod. Goth*. 185. 4. at De Wette, vol. V, p. 743. .

Grace and peace! I pray God to give something better, my dear Jonas, than what you write of your stone. Yes, you give up your Falerner (*Faliscum*) and similar things, so that they may not, as they say, give you such frightful conceits. God have mercy on us! The Mainzer has sent ridiculous envoys to the Concilium,?) but this monster at the same time ridicules us and the pope. The Concilium is really *Tridenti*, which in German is "zertrennet," torn apart and dissolved, for God scatters it and will scatter it along with the envoys. I easily believe that they do not know what they should or will do. GOD has cursed their counsels, as it is written ^Jer. 17, 5Z: "Cursed is the man that trusteth in men, and holdeth flesh for his arm." I believe thou hast heard (for this is true) that from Venice, on the 21st of June, a brilliant legation of the Emperor, the Frenchman, the

1) De Wette dates too early from "July 1," for it was only on July 13 that Melanchthon had received the news from Venice that an envoy had been sent to the Turks (*Corp. Ref.,* Vol. V, 789), and in the same letter to Lang (July 14) he reports that he had read the latter's theses on secret betrothals, which he had shown to Luther, who would therefore write to him (this was done by the previous letter). Therefore this letter will be to datireN of July 14 or 15. (De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 523, note 5.)

2) We have *adopted* De Wette's Conjectur: *Legatos Mogun- tinus ad concilium ridendos misit, ftatt: Legatos Moguntini ad concilium ridendos misi*. Cf. No. 3242.

And, what is most honorable and worthy of eternal remembrance, so that they would not be spurned by the Turk, they have changed the clothing of their fatherland and each of them has put on Turkish, that is, longer robes. Thus they wage war against him about whom they have cried out so many years as the enemy of the Christian name, against whom the Roman Satan has made so much money by indulgences, annals, and innumerable robberies. Thou seest the fall of the kingdom, thou seest that the day of our salvation is at hand. Let us rejoice, be glad, and exult; the end of the world is at hand. To God be praise and glory forever and ever, amen. July 1, [1)]1545.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 3241.

Mid-July (?) 2) 1545.

Duke Barnim of Pomerania to Luther and the other theologians.

Answer to their intercession for Peter Schwabe and Simon Wolder.

A simultaneous copy is found in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. C, fol.* 427. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 473 f.

Our greetings, gracious will and all the best beforehand. Honored and venerable ones, special friends and dear special ones! Your letter, petition, and exhortation, which you have addressed to us, are especially pleasing to us. We also thank you diligently for the great gifts you have received from God, which we owe to you to honor and follow. But so that you may be led out of suspicion, as if we should have proceeded more quickly or more harshly than is due to us against our subjects Peter Schwaben (Schwauen) and Simon Wolder, or have burdened the church of our city of Stolp in an undeserved and ungracious manner, we do not know you to behave that the inhabitants of our city Stolp now a long time ago, as we may not note otherwise, deliberately rejected and despised our princely commandments and creations, and that Simon Wolder in particular, as if he should lead the bunch to it,

1) See the first note.

2) This approximate time determination results from No. 3235.

with many marital (ehaften 3)) traces. And although we have left our city of Stolp almost the status of a free city, and our protection, which we have graciously bestowed upon it, has not been compared or repaid to us in any way, neither by taxation nor by service, so that we also gladly bear the patience of a gracious princely clemency, we are nevertheless disconcerted, 4) that [they] refuse in many ways the due subservient reverence, which they owe to us as an easy and mild sovereign, 4) that they refuse in many ways to show us, as a light-hearted and mild sovereign, the due subservient respect they owe us, and that they do not know how to use their freedom for their own good, that they take pains to elevate one above the other, to push one over the other, and to rage and persecute more than to promote with good. And since we are inclined to direct the pardons, so that we may swear the pardons of ours at Stolp, to unity and their own good, we have for this reason decreed a serious transfer. If, however, Peter Schwabe or Simon Wolder thought that they had been overhyped or not sufficiently heard, and thought that they had been deceived into the accepted, pledged obedience, we are, in your honor, inclined to guide them in their search, and to hear their supposed excuse in full, and to let them enjoy innocence, if it were found in them. We also do not know that we will in the least let the justice of the churches of Stolp be broken off, and whether they think they have some justice in some monasteries, we have for many reasons, not only for our interest, but also at the instigation of our knighthood of the Pomeranian region, who complained of the aforementioned presumption, may not concede (clear) the same until now, but offered to wait for the explanation and instruction of some of our named councillors, graciously thinking that you want to know that we are excused from the suspicion with which ours dared to charge us with you. For we, in praise of God, have set our minds on promoting religion as much as is in us, and not to deprive them of the great liberties with which ours are entrusted: God willing that ours should not fail to promote the churches and to show due obedience and reverence, and should first pull the beam out of their eyes. Your admonition and report shall always be pleasant and dear to us. We hereby entrust you to the graces of the Almighty and, as much as is with us, graciously grant you all our wishes. Date.

3) That is: substantial.

4) "nevertheless" put by us instead of: "accordingly".

No. 3242.

Wittenberg. 17 July 1545.

All Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther does not disregard the foreshadowing attached to the toppling of a statue. Of the Concilium and of the legation to the Turks.
The original is in *Cod. Seidel* at Dresden. Printed by Schütze, vol. III, p. 222 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 750. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1551.

To the in Christ venerable father and lord, Mr. Nicolaus, the right and faithful bishop of the church at Naumburg, his superior in the Lord 2c.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I am not moved, Father in Christ, that what you write has happened. Do not concern yourself with dreams, says this one; the Scriptures teach the same, unless someone is a prophet, as is said in Numbers 12:6. But this sexton is no prophet. Then that statue of the prince, which is set up at Torgau, is of wood. I have seen it in Lucas' Hanse before it was painted. And it is no wonder that it has already fallen down; it is to be wondered at that it has stood so long. All said she would fall next, even without wind, of her own accord, so weak was she fastened. Enough of that.

It is written from Trent that 23 bishops and 3 cardinals are present, and that they spend their time in idleness, not knowing what to do or what they will do. The bishop of Mainz, rather the jack above all the jacks, has sent envoys thither, a sub-bishop (*suffraganeum*) with a Franciscan. I do not know whether he wants to mock them or us with this ridiculous legation, that he as such a great man sends to such great people, and yet such people. But it will make the Concilium worthy of such great monstrosities. Let it go ill with them, as the wrath of God drives them.

Hear another thing, if thou knowest it not: the Pope, the Emperor, the Frenchman, and Ferdinand, have sent a very splendid legation, laden with precious gifts, to the Turk, to obtain peace. And what is most beautiful, that they may catch the eyes of the
Turks, they changed their patriotic dresses, each of them his own, and dressed themselves in long robes after the manner of the Turks. It is said that they left Venice on the 21st of June. These are they who have hitherto cried out the Turk as the enemy of the Christian name, and under that title have extorted the money and stirred up their territory against the Turk. And the Roman Satan, against the same, has exhausted the world of money by the indulgences, the annatas, and innumerable arts in robbery. O on the Christians, rather on the infernal idols of the devil. I hope these are exceeding glad signs that the end of all things is at hand. Therefore, while they worship the Turk, let us cry out to the true God, who will hear us and also humble the Turk with them by the appearance of his future, amen. July 17, 1545.

Yours faithfully, Martin Luther, D.

No. 3243.

Wittenberg. July 17 or 18, 1545.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

(Missing letter.)

At the request of a delegation from Brunswick, Luther advocates that Nicolaus Medler be appointed there. - This is evident from a letter of Melanchthon to Medler, July 18, *Corp. Ref.* , Vol. V, 795.

No. 3244.

Wittenberg. July 22, 1545.

To Prince George of Anhalt.

Luther testifies to his satisfaction with a writing sent to him and gives his opinion of old pastors who kept housekeepers.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 464, printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 223 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 751.

To the reverend Father in Christ and noble Prince, Lord George, the right and faithful Bishop of the Church of Merseburg, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien and Lord of Bernburg, his especially gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I have, most noble Prince and reverend

Superior, read the little book which has been sent to me, and I have read it with great pleasure. It is all very pleasing to me, and praise be to the Lord who has begun this good work in E. F. G., and I pray that he may multiply and increase the so wholesome beginning of his blessing, amen. And it does not take place that E. F. G. should desire anything from me, either by consulting or by asking, The Lord himself is present and will assist with greater and richer grace than that it should be necessary to expect anything from me, a dry barren man, who himself has nothing (*pumice*).

Concerning the other matter, which only the servant presented orally, about old and infirm concubine-holders, I think so, that we can neither allow nor permit fornication, nor any future sin; but if they be so old that there may be hope to them that the evil lust with the flesh is gone and dead, so that they have these their old wives only to dwell with them, and for domestic service, they might be admitted to them in such a case, though such would not be admitted without danger, since the forbidding law (as Rom. 5 and 6 Fund 7) also incites dead sin; but having received from them the promise of safety (*cautione),*[1] we can leave all this danger on their head, and are excused by having warned them, and by having indulged their need alone, believing their promise and assurance given. Love sins not when it believes all things, and presupposes the best of the brethren, especially as we are helped to this easy belief by our very probable inability, and by the pleasure we have long since satiated. In the case of the strong and those in whom there is danger, our love warns us sufficiently that we should not trust them. Here E. F. G. has my thoughts, but the Lord will give better. May E. F. G. be well, amen. On the day of St. Magdalene [July 22] 1545.

E. F. G. devoted

Martin Luther, D.

1) Added by us because of Rom. 7, 9.
2) Instead of *crudelitatem* read *credulitatem*.

No. 3245.

(Zeitz.) 3) 28 July 1545.

To his housewife.

Luther writes that he does not want to return to Wittenberg because of the immorality and the contempt of the word in Wittenberg, and asks them to move to Zülsdorf.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, pag.* 151. FFF. 9 (without address). Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 111, No. 214; in Walch, vol. XXI, 512 f.; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 752 and in the Erlangen Ausg. vol. 56, p. 139.

G. u. F. Dear Käthe, Haus 4) will tell you everything about our journey; although I am not yet sure whether he should stay with us, Dr. Caspar Creuciger and Ferdinandus 5) will tell you. Ernst von Schönfeld has kept us beautiful at Lobnitz, and Heinz Scherle even more beautiful at Leipzig. I would like to make it so that I may not come to Wittenberg again. My heart is cold, that I do not like to be there any more, I also want you to sell garden and farm, house and farm; so I want to give M. G. H. the big house again and would be your best that you sit down in Zülsdorf, because I am still alive, and could well help you with the salary to improve the Gütlin, because I hope, M. G. H. should let me follow the salary, at least one year of my last life. After my death, the four elements in Wittenberg will not suffer you well, so it would be better to do it while I am still alive, whatever needs to be done. Perhaps Wittenberg, as it happens, with its regiment will not get St. Vitus' dance, nor St. John's dance, but the beggar's dance or Belzebub's dance, as they have begun to fleece the women or virgins behind and in front, and there is no one to punish or defend, and God's word is mocked. Only away and out of this Sodoma. Is Lecks brook shit, our other Rosina 6) and Deceptor, not yet appointed, so

3) The letter is not written from Leipzig, as De Wette states, but from Zeitz. See Köstlin, Martin Luther (3.), Vol. II, p. 687 ad p. 620. - De Wette datirt: "Ende des Julius", but "Knoblochstag" is *Pantaleonis*, July 28. See the letter No. 1537, St. Louis edition, vol. XXIa, 1441, note 7.
4) "Hans" is Luther's son.
5) "Ferdinandus" is Ferdinand of Maugis. (Köstlin, M. Luther, Vol. III, p. 618.)
6) Compare No. 3090.

help what you can, so that the villain has to cheat himself. I have heard more in the country than I have heard in Wittenberg, which is why I am tired of the city and do not want to come back, since God is helping me. The day after tomorrow I will go to Merseburg, for Prince George has asked me very much. So I will wander around, and eat the begging bread before I want to torture and disturb my poor old last days with the disorderly being in Wittenberg, with the loss of my sour and expensive work. You may let Dr. Pomer and Mag. Philipps know this (where you wish), and whether Dr. Pomer wants Wittenberg hereby sucked off on my account; for I can no longer bear the wrath and displeasure. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Tuesday Knobloch's Day [28 July] 1545. Martin Luther.

No. 3246.

Wittenberg. 1. August 1545.

The University of Wittenberg to the Elector Johann Friedrich.

They request the Elector to cooperate that Luther gives up the decision, which he expressed in the previous letter, to turn away from Wittenberg.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 501; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXI, p. 529 and in Walch, vol. XXI, 257*, No. XVIII. - We have transferred this letter here from the Postscript of this volume.

God's grace through His only begotten Son Jesus Christ our Saviour beforehand.

1. illustrious, highborn, most gracious elector and lord! After we know that Your Electoral Prince. Since we know that Your Electoral Grace is burdened with the highest and most important matters that may occur in the Christian Church and in human government, we only know that we owe it to Your Electoral Grace to call upon God with all our hearts, and that we wanted to be able to do so. with all our hearts, and would not gladly cause Your Electoral Grace more distress. Your Elector's Grace any more grief. But a writing has come to us from the venerable Doctor Martin Luther, our dear father, the copies of which we have not known to Your Electoral Grace. We have not known how to behave, although we do not doubt that Your Electoral Grace will not be less concerned about the matter. will find the matter no less distressing than much else.

of the most burdensome things. The said doctor writes almost this opinion, that he is not willing to come back to Wittenberg, as he also intended to go away before this year, whereupon the venerable pastor and other persons, as on account of the church, university and city, sent to him, and also asked him with tears for it.

(2) Therefore, we have now once again considered sending this pastor and several more persons to him, with this humble request and solicitation that he not turn away his mind and good will from this church, university, and city of Wittenberg. And even if he wants to leave for the sake of his health from time to time, even if he wants to spend some days in Oertern, where he thinks he will have his refreshment, this would have its way. We ask, however, in all humility and for God's sake, that he not turn away completely, but rather let this church be commanded to him, to which God called him, and which God planted through him, and wanted to have his noble dwelling there and be and remain bishop and father of this church. For he himself, out of a high understanding, could consider what thought it would give, first, to the enemies of the Gospel, who would rejoice that this church, being abandoned, would be held in contempt. Secondly, that Your Electoral Grace would be most grieved by this. Gn. would be greatly distressed by this, who are otherwise too highly burdened. Thirdly, that in this city and in the whole German nation, many true members of Christ would be disgraced for many important reasons, which Your Electoral Grace should better consider. Your Worshipfulnesses themselves consider better than we can tell, would bring insurmountable affliction to many true members of Christ, since we otherwise truly bear no small burden here. And if this school, in which by God's grace all the laudable arts and necessary languages are now being taught more faithfully than perhaps in any other place, should fall apart, this action could well be the beginning of it. The same envoys should also make this request, if the venerable doctor should be displeased with someone's teaching or life in this university or city, that we all want to help that such displeasure should be stopped. And

We must humbly pray that he will not forsake the whole church and university for the sake of one or more persons, whoever they are, because God has graciously given him to us, as it is written of Elijah, that he should be the chariot and leader of Israel, first and foremost in this church.

003 Further, as for the courage of the young people, though we are weak, yet they know that we are heartily displeased with iniquity, and are ready to keep discipline and peace, so far as our bodies and lives are concerned. Thus God has hitherto given grace that the greater part of us may be chaste, and may study laudably. We have considered all this, in submission to Your Lordship. Gn. as our most gracious Lord, who cares for this church and university with all graces and fidelity. For we do not hold this matter in low esteem, and we ask that Your Electoral Grace will graciously allow us to do so. Your Grace will graciously consider what is to be done, whether perhaps Your Electoral Grace will Your Lordships might graciously require the said doctor to come to the place in question and talk to him themselves. Your Lordship. Your Lordships know very well that Your Lordships and this church and university are out of order. Gn. and this church and university have all too many external enemies, and God is to be asked that our little group remain together. It is said that the late Chancellor of the Emperor, Mercurinus, advised the Emperor to make war on this doctrine, for if it were of God, he would not be able to do anything, but if it were not of God, this part would soon fall apart of itself. Now we know that this doctrine is of God. But if the most noble shepherd turns away from this church, there would still be further dispersion to worry about. E. churfürstl. Your Grace may graciously hear our submissive writing, which, according to the importance of this great matter, is much too small. For to the fact that we are to be unskilled, we are truly so highly afflicted that we cannot express our sorrow with words. So we know that your elector's grace... Your Grace can think of all this much more deeply than we can.

4 The eternal God preserve E. churfürstl. Grace at all times, and govern and preserve this poor church for His glory. Date 1. Augusti Anno 1545.

The pious Elector did not celebrate this letter, but sent to Luther's distinguished advisors and others, and had him graciously summoned to Torgau. And because the university also sent an honest message to him, he allowed himself to be asked and persuaded as a father by his children, and completed his last work at *Genesin* in Wittenberg, on which he had worked for ten years with the greatest diligence, on November 17, and concluded with these words: I can no longer, I am weak, *orate Deum pro me,* pray God for me, that he may grant me a good and blessed hour.

No. 3247.

Merseburg. 2.r) August 1545.

Ordination certificate for Prince Georg of Anhalt as bishop of Merseburg.

Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 359; in Pezel's Mel. *Consilia lat., P. I, pag.* 651; in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. V, 825; in *Camerarii Vita Melancht., p.* 227 and in De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 381.

We give thanks to the eternal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that with immeasurable kindness he has instituted the ministry of the gospel from the creation and restoration of the human race, and has maintained it throughout the ages until the raising of the dead, and has continually raised up competent teachers, and has commanded his church to appoint competent ministers, promising that through their voice he will give forgiveness of sins, the Holy Spirit, life and eternal righteousness, that by their voice he will give forgiveness of sins, the Holy Ghost, life, and everlasting righteousness, and we beseech him that he will not let the light of his gospel be put out, but that he will also now raise up champions and faithful watchmen of the pure and wholesome doctrine of the gospel, and that he will also now gather together in these lands a church, by which he will be praised for ever and ever. Since, however, for this service to the Gospel, the most reverend and noble Prince, Lord George, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascania and Lord of Bernburg, Provost of the Church of Magdeburg,

1) In *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. V, 826, the date in the text is: the *tertia Augusti,* but in the superscription: Aug. 4. In De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 382, the date in the text is: *August* 2, but in the superscription: "August 3.
The ordination will have taken place on August 2, which was a Sunday.

was rightly and godly called to help in the direction of the ecclesiastical office in the diocese of Merseburg, then, according to the old custom of the first churches, learned and respected men who govern the neighboring churches were called, whose names are written down below, so that in the church of Merseburg itself a public testimony of ordination would be added to this calling. Since we have now been called together, we have, because we must be certain that this noble Prince George rightly understands and constantly accepts the pure doctrine of the Gospel, which the churches of these lands confess with one voice and in one spirit with the general Church of God, and that his virtue and the holiness of his morals are excellent, we have made known our testimony concerning him according to apostolic custom by the laying on of hands, and have commanded him the office of teaching the gospel and administering the sacraments. And since Paul commanded Titus [Tit. 1, 5.] that he should appoint elders everywhere to instruct and govern the churches, let this ordained man know that he also is commanded by the voice of the apostle in this exercise of the office, that he should ordain priests to instruct and govern the churches, and pay attention to their teaching and their conduct, and that he be mindful that he also is commanded by your Son of God [Luc. 22:32], "And when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." And since the Son of God sitteth at the right hand of the Eternal Father, that he may be effective through this office, we pray that he may govern this ordained man in all his administration, and assist him, as he promised, saying [John 14:23.], "He that loveth me shall keep my word, and my Father shall love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." And we exhort the ordained that he may uphold himself by this comfort. For though there are many and great dangers in government, and no human wisdom is equal to so great a burden, yet let him know that God is present in truth, and dwells in the Church, where the voice of the Gospel resounds, and that it is defended and preserved by God. In this assurance
The work of such a large office must be undertaken and carried out with the utmost care. Given on the second day of August in the year 1545 in the city of Merseburg.

The ministers of the gospel called together from the neighbouring churches Dr. Martin Luther, Dr. Justus Jonas, superintendent of the church at Halle.

Dr. Joh. Pfeffinger, Superintendent of the Church at Leipzig. 1)

No. 3248.

Torgau. August 3, 1545.

Chancellor Brück to the Elector Johann Friedrich.

About Luther's departure from Wittenberg.

From the archives at Weimar, Reg. O, p. 151. FFF. 9. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta p.* 416.

... So Mgr. Philippus came to me at noon and dined with me, and thereafter told me Doctoris Martini's intentions, also how he wrote back to his housewives from Zeitz and ordered them to sell everything (but since, thank God, there will not be merchants so soon, other people may be lacking, who do not have such valuable houses and goods to sell as his are), has also reported to me his thoughts as to who is doing it, 2) and what he considers the things to be, and that it is not what he claims, as he has also reported all this to Hans Hudlofen at Weydenheim after the length, and especially what his, Doctor Pomerani's and Major's concern is, as their request does not want to help, as E. churf. churf. G. would like to set him right again, so that his displeasure and anger would vanish.

It takes me that already so much crying about it will not remain hidden even from the adversaries. So I note, Philip has also told the Chancellor and Doctor Mordeisen about it. I hope 3) that the Chancellor will not spread it further. The almighty God who helps. Will Mar

1) According to Lingke, who refers to *Goetzii Miscell. ex Hist. Vit. Lutheri,* p. 6, also the dean of Merseburg Sigismund von Lindenau, *Lic.* Antonius Musa, preacher there, Wolfgang Stein, superintendent of Weißenfels, Laurentius Reinhart, pastor of Merseburg, and Jakob Steyrer, pastor of Roßlau, signed.

2) This will be directed at Luther's wife. Cf. No. 3283, first supplement.

3) Here we have omitted a "not" (nit).

I'll note Philip will not stay either. For he said that the doctor had begun the matter, and he was the least to have entered into it. But if the doctor himself wanted to make such a nuisance of the matter, he would have to go into hiding and would not be able to stay. Therefore, it will be necessary to use smooth and convenient ways, first of all, through your Lordship.

No. 3249.

Torgau. August 5, 1545.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector is surprised at Luther's secret departure, offers him an escort, and sends Dr. Ratzeberger away to persuade him to return to Wittenberg.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, p.* 147. Litt. fff. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 475.

Our gracious greetings first. Venerable, respectable and reverend, dear devotee! It is credible to us that some days ago you went to Zeitz to visit the venerable, our dear devotee, Ern Niclasen, bishops of Naumburg, which we quite gladly heard for the sake of your health and recreation, although we would have graciously provided for you that you should have made such a planned journey known to us before your departure, so that we could have provided you with a living escort, also food, to move to the place touched and to get through all the more safely. For you know that we did not like to have it done to you before, and that we considered it useful and good, because you know yourselves that Julius Pflug does not cease to strive for the monastery of Naumburg, and to do all kinds of strange practices and substructions with his cousins and friends who sat at the end. And although we do not doubt that the Almighty will let his holy angels wait for you and the churches at your prayer and guide you in your ways, we still acknowledge ourselves guilty of being careful with our princely and human assistance for you. Therefore, we would have graciously and well suffered if you had informed us of your departure beforehand, as we also graciously desire that you inform us of your return from Zeitz beforehand, so that we may assign some of our own to you and also have other convenient orders made.

But when we arrived yesterday at Torgau, after the date of our arrival at our essential court camp, we were told that you should go to Wittenberg.

If you complain about all kinds of things, so that you should not like to be there from now on, then we may not reassure you in a very gracious opinion that we have truly heard this in true sorrow and compassion. For if we had known the causes of your grievances, we would not have been under any obligation to see to it and provide for ourselves as much as we could through God's help, so that we might have averted it. Now we have not heard your complaints so far, which is why we do not know how to take care of them, as you yourself, as a man of understanding, can judge.

Dieweil aber, wie wir vermerken, davon ein Gerücht und weite Ausbreitung beide auf jetzigem kai. M. Imperial Diet at Worms, and also elsewhere, first of all among those who oppose the Divine Word and among enemies, to their great joy, where such a rumor is to press on and on, so we have not refrained from ordering the Reverend Matthias Ratzenberger, our dear faithful, the doctor of medicine and our personal physician, to send you a secondary advertisement with this document of ours, with this our writing also to order secondary advertising to you, and request you quite graciously to give him, like ourselves, complete and full faith in his report, to show you also thereupon promptly, as we then quite graciously provide ourselves of this and all good will to you. In this you do us a particularly gracious favor and we are inclined to you with grace and all good. Date Torgau, Wednesday after *Vincula Petri* [Aug. 5] 1545.

No. 3250.

August 6, 1545.

To Dr. Ratzeberger, personal physician of the Elector.

Luther sends him and his wife writings as a gift.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p.467. Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 361 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 754.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Most illustrious Doctor! I send here by the Prince's messenger for you and Marcus Crodel a copy of my angry writing against the papal monster. But I have not done enough for myself and the greatness of my anger, nor do I trust myself to be able to do enough, so great is the immensity of the papal monster. Only that I believe that we are that last trumpet, by which a preparation and a prelude of the

Christ's future is coming to pass. And therefore, however weak we may be, and have a small voice before the world, we nevertheless have a great voice in the assembly of heavenly angels, who will follow us and our trumpet, and so make an end, amen. To your wife, my godmother, then also to my kinswoman and countrywoman (*Landesmanninae*), 1) I send this small gift, kin prayer booklet. Let this gift be welcome. We are poor, but we are rich, yes, immortal lords of heaven and earth in Christ. Farewell in Christ. August 6, Anno 1545. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 3251.

. 8 August 1545.

To an unnamed person.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1748.

No. 3252.

(Wittenberg.) 2) August 18, 1545.

To the council of Torgau.

Intercession for the local pastor Gabriel Zwilling.
From the original in Lingke, Luthers Gesch. zu Torgau, p. 93; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 756 and in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 56, p. 142.

To the honorable and prudent, mayor and council of the city of Torgau, my favorable, good lords and friends.

G. and F. in the Lord. Honorable, prudent, dear lords and friends! Your parish priest, M. Gabriel, has asked me to make this intercession to you: after he has previously given one beer 3) to his house from the honorable council, and bought two in addition, and is to buy the fourth: that the same fourth beer also be given to him. Although I now consider that he might well have obtained it without my asking, he has nevertheless considered it valid that I give him a signatory. Because now an honorable

1) Ratzeberger's wife was the sister of the physician Dr. Johann Brückner in Gotha. Ratzeberger was the brother-in-law of Christoph Rühel.
2) Only on August 18 Luther had arrived again in Wittenberg. See the following letter.
3) "a beer", that is, the right to brew beer once a year.

The council and the city know that he has served long and faithfully, and that he has also obstructed himself from doing so, and that he has no other means of access: I ask very kindly that you also give him this fourth beer. For he is the one of whom St. Paul says, "Those who are well to do shall be honored twice over, and he acknowledges himself guilty of providing for his own, as St. Paul teaches; and I would not make such a request if I did not think that an honorable council could do it without complaint. What I would again know to do for the service of an honorable council, I am ready and willing to do in all ways. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. Tuesday after Assumption of the Virgin Mary [Aug. 18] 1545. Martinus Luther, D.

I respect (for it is forgotten to me in the quantity of my business and thoughts) that I have thanked an honourable councillor for the barrel of beer [that] is given to me; if not, then I thank even now quite kindly; for it has been almost good.

No. 3253.

Wittenberg. August 19, 1545.

To Nicolans von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther reports his return, recounts a joke speech by Mutianus, and pleads for a maltreated wife.
The original is in *Cod. Seidel*, at Dresden. Printed by Schütze, vol. III, p. 225; by De Wette, vol. V, p. 757 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 143; everywhere the first half in Latin. Entirely German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1553.

"To the venerable in GOD Father and Lord, Lord Nicolao, Bishop of Naumburg, our gracious Lord." Grace and peace in the Lord! At last I came home, venerable Father in Christ, on the 18th day of August, so full of stones that even today I am not free from them all. Although I do not have many pains as before, I still suffer from an unbearable thirst. Of that enough. But hear a pretty jest. When I told Joachim at Leipzig 4) about the Satan of Mainz, how he commanded that out of the roof of the tower these words

4) Camerarius.

should be torn out: *Soli Deo gloria* [Glory to GOtte alone], he said, that Mutianus of Gotha had thus jested: it was an idolatrous saying. For we confess that the sun (*Solem*) is God, since we give it glory like God, namely: *Glory* to the sun (*Gloria sit Soli*) or the sun shall have glory like God. Thou seest, therefore, with how beautiful a subtlety the Mainzer can be defended, who did not wish that the glory of God should be ascribed to the sun, which is a created light.

Also, venerable sir, we, Dr. Pomer and I, ask E. G. to hear the good Mrs. Elsabeth Ruckers, *quae est soror Dominae Christianissae swelche is the* sister of Mrs. Christian's goldsmiths, herself with her husband, who tracts her very badly. Is said to be now at Naumburg, and to have sued the wife hard against E. G.. Although I know that E. G.'s captain and the chancellor may well do so, but because she desires to hear things from E. G., E. G. may do what they will or like. The good woman is known to all of us, and also has good credentials in other respects.

Alias plura. Nam adhuc surn ex calculis lan

guidus et lassis viribus. Gratia Dei tecum, vir Dei [More at another time. For as yet I am weary with stone and exhausted in strength. The grace of GOD be with you, man of GOD]. 19 Augusti MDXLV. *T. D.*

deditus Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3254.

Wittenberg. 6 September 1545.

To the pastor and the council of Zwickau, together with the other theologians.

Luther and his colleagues order a stricter investigation of a marriage matter. - More about this matter can be found in the objection given on 16 December.

According to a copy in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O, pag.* 614, in Burkhardt, p. 477.

God's grace through His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Savior, beforehand. Worthy, honorable, wise, favorable lords and friends! To your dignity and wisdom we add the knowledge that we have the scriptures, concerning

the cantor 1) and the pirrethcremerin, both sent by you, Reverend, and the cantor's father, have read and diligently considered. And though we cannot know the reason of the matter, we find from the narration two things that make a great suspicion and have grieved us very much. The first, that the cantor, after forbidden company, was disobedient, and yet had 2) for and for his usual walk into the house. Secondly, that at one time he stayed together with the shopkeeper in a hut the whole night. Now it would have been right that punishment should have been taken against these offences long ago, and because the cantor then undertook to take the grocer's daughter in marriage, and because of the previous suspicion to fear that this would be a forbidden mixture, you, Mr. Pastor, have done right to work on it, so that the wedding would be delayed. For God has forbidden incest and punishes it with great severity, as Moses and many other histories testify. But so that this matter may come to an end, this is our council: that an honorable council of Zwickau actually investigate this article, whether the said cantor has been and stayed one night in the shopkeeper's house (puden). And if this has happened, because the suspicion is very strong that he has slept with the shopkeeper, we cannot advise otherwise than that this engagement, which followed, is null and void, and that *honestas publica,* [public respectability] moves us not to permit a marriage with the daughter on such a suspicion. If, however, it is not found that the cantor has been in the house together with the shopkeeper during the night, and the cantor insists that he has never touched the mother, then, after Christian admonition, the cantor shall be permitted to marry the daughter in Zwickau and to live there. We have considered this concern of ours and our council, and attribute it to both you, Mr. Pastor, and to an honorable council, and mean that an honorable council should undertake the investigation and inquisition, which know how to keep due measure in this.

1) Matthew Weissmann.

2) "Nevertheless" put by us instead of: "accordingly".

...and be a man. Both are very burdensome: to pollute the city with incest, and to make someone infamous for such a great vice without cause. Therefore let an honorable council act carefully in this matter. The almighty God, [the] Father of our Saviour JEsu Christ, preserve you. Date Wittenberg, September 6, Anno 1545. Martinus Luther, D.

Joannes Bugenhagen, Pommer, Dr. Georgius Major, D.

Philip Melanchthon.

No. 3255.

Wittenberg. 7 September 1545.

Permission certificate for the rulers of the common box at Kirchhain (Lower Lusatia).

Luther, Bugenhagen and the Commissars of the Consistory give permission to the rulers of the common treasury and the envoys of the Council to sell some silverware belonging to the church and to use the proceeds.

The original, with the seals of Luther, Bugenhagen and the Consistory, was in the possession of Valentin Ernst Löscher. Printed in the Fortgesetzten Sammlung Von Alten und Neuen *Theologischen* Sachen, 1729, p. 18, and 1740, p. 507. From the former volume in Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 77 f.; from the latter in Friedr. Siegemund Keil, Luthers merkw. Lebens-Umstände 2c. Vierter Theil. Leipzig, 1764. 4. p. 248. - Burkhardt, p. 478, has an inaccurate registry. He seems to have only read through Seidemann's table of contents and did not understand it correctly.

We, Martin Luther and Johannes Bugenhagen, Pomeranians, Doctors of the Holy Scriptures, as Visitators, and the appointed Commissioners of the Consistory at Wittenberg, hereby publicly certify: After the rulers of the common treasury, in addition to the deputies of the council, have come to us at Kirchhain, have indicated and reported to us how they have in stock some silver work for the church, the value of which extends approximately to fifty guilders, which they intend to sell, and to use the purchase money for the ball and improvement of the churches, parish and school buildings, and have therefore asked us to permit and concede such to them: As we have considered that their undertakings are Christian and useful and necessary for the preservation of their churches and their servants, we have therefore granted them permission and indulged them, touching Sil.

We have also given them this open document with our usual petitions (pitzschaftenn) and the consistorial seal to certify our approval. Done at Wittenberg, Monday after Egidii Anno 2c. 45 (xlv).

Martinus Luther, D.

Johannes Bugenhagen, Pommer, D.

No. 3256.

Wittenberg. September 12, 1545.

University Program.

By public notice Luther, as Dean of the theological faculty, invites to the doctoral graduation of M. Peter Hegemon, which takes place on September 17th.

This writing is in: *Scriptorum publice propositorum a Professoribus in Academia Witebergensi, Ab anno 1540. usque ad annum 1553. Tomus Primus. Witebergae excusus ab Haeredibus Georgii Rhaw. Anno 1560. pag. 135b*; from it at De Wette- Seidemann, vol.VI, p.383 and, from the former Palm collection in Hamburg, at Schütze, vol. I, p. 362....

The Dean of the Faculty of Theology.

The immense good deed of God must be acknowledged, and not only praised with a grateful voice, but also cultivated, protected, and adorned with every kind of service, so that He preserves in the world the ministry of the Gospel, through which the eternal Church is gathered, and does not allow it to be destroyed. But he so maintains it that he wills that the studies of divine doctrine be cultivated, and from this very number of learners, and from those who have learned the ministry in this our school (*ex hac nostra militia scholastica*), he takes out the ministers of the gospel. Therefore, schools of the Gospel have always been connected with populous Churches, as at Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus. May the youth consider this will of God and learn that these schools are not playgrounds of licentiousness and wantonness, as the pagan grammar schools were, but that they are associations gathered in the name of the Son of God, yes, that they are temples in which God dwells in truth. Therefore, just as it would be an abominable shameful deed to disturb the gatherings in the churches, so it is, that should be

The students (*scholastici*) know that it is a shameful act to set examples in the schools that are unworthy of well-meaning people. But above all, the studies of the Gospel are to be held in honor, for the sake of which God preserves the other arts.

But on the 17th day of September next, the testimony of our College will be publicly announced concerning the studies and pDoctor[degree of the highly venerable man M. Peter Hegemon. We therefore call upon all honorable people and those who hold the ministry of the Gospel in honor, that they come together for this announcement of the [Doctor]degree in the usual place, where the young people shall hear learned recollections and with fervent prayers ask of God that He may for His glory govern and protect these our studies of the sciences and the Gospel, and honorable discipline, which are the highest goods of this life, as He graciously promises in Isaiah [Is. 48:9, 11.] "For my name's sake, and for my glory's sake, I will restrain my wrath, that thou shalt not be cut off"; "for my sake, yea, for my sake, I will do it, that I be not blasphemed." Let our minds be fixed on this promise, and let our prayers be kindled by the remembrance of it. (Sept. 12, Anno 1545. Martin Luther.) 1)

No. 3257.

Wittenberg. September 15, 1545.

To the bailiff and the council of Baireuth.

Luther asks to let Lorenz Stengel, who feels unfit for the handicraft and is gifted for the study, administer his money bequeathed to him for this purpose.-As appears from old news, Stengel has been schoolmaster at Baireuth in the year 1549.

Printed in Archive für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde des Ober-Main-Kreises, vol. II, issue 3, p. 132. Baireuth 1836, and De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 384.

To the strict, firm, honourable, wise gentlemen, N. N., Amtmann, and Rath zu Baireuth, my favourable gentlemen and good friends.

Gentlemen, friends, honourable and wise men! It hath pleased me the good

1) Date and signature only for shooter.

Lorenz Stengel, your city child, has asked for this letter to you, after he has a desire and is sent to study, you want to be beneficial and helpful to him, so that he may have his inherited money, as you know, and use it for the studio, because he feels unfit for the trade, as he complains how his hands are supposed to be frozen. Since his request is honest and praiseworthy, and he can henceforth be used to serve in all church offices, I do not know how to deny him such a request. Therefore, my humble, amicable request to you for the aforementioned Lorenz, is that you, as far as possible, show him favor and support for his Christian endeavors, and if you have any hesitation in trusting him with such money, you may well deposit it at our university with instructions as to what should be given to him. Such my intercession, as a stranger, may be granted to me, I deserve what I can. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Tuesday after *Crucis exaltationis* [15 Sept.] 1545. Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3258.

Wittenberg. September 23, 1545.

To Veit Dietrich in Nuremberg.

Luther recommends to him the Doctor Pflug and sends him his sentences against the theologians of Louvain.

Ans der Börnerschen Sammlung zu Leipzig bei Schütze, vol. I, p. 364 und (from the original) bei De Wette, vol. V, p. 758.

To Veit Dietrich.

Even though there was nothing I could have written, my dear Veit, I still did not want him to come without a letter from me when this Doctor N. Pflug came to you. You see to it that you let him be ordered to you and also recommend him to all others in the best way. Because of his righteousness and godliness, he is extremely worthy of everyone's favor and honor.

There are rumors of war with us; I do not know what they are leading to, unless perhaps the papists are oppressed by their money, which they have obtained shamefully (*scelere*). God grant that they may be rid of it to their eternal evil, amen. I believe that M. Jerome has understood my sentences 2)

2) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1808.

against which the Magistri nostri (*Nostrollas*) have sent you. I am engaged in a special work against them, 1) but my health and my age hinder me, and one business is prevented by another. Against the Pope, likewise about the Zwinglians should be written, but one is not enough for all. Give my respects to Dr. Wenceslaus and Mr. Osiander. I would have written to others, but you see my occupations, and you know the age. Fare well in the Lord; pray for me, and greet Baumgärtnern. September 23, 1545.

Mart. Luther.

No. 3259.

Wittenberg. September 25, 1545.

To the council of Brunswick, together with Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

They report that Nicolaus Medler is inclined to come to Brunswick as a preacher 2c.

Printed by Bindseil, p. 227. The above regest by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 418.

No. 3260.

Weimar. 3 October 1545.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector asks the theologians for ecclesiastical intercession because of the Brunswick war.
The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H*, *pag.* 1079. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 479.

No doubt you have also heard more of the war party which Duke Henry of Brunswick dangerously and deceitfully assembled, so that he has now turned to the land of Brunswick, which we and our kinsmen agreed to deliver to the Emperor at the Imperial Diet now held at Worms. Mas. at the same negotiation, in the confidence that her Imperial Maj. Maj. would have it accepted by her appointed commissioners within a month after the act has been decided upon, and if it is done, we consider it all the more so.

1) Luther's last polemic, St. L. ed. vol. XVII, 1494, no. 1456.

for, the said of Brunswick would not have subjected himself to reconquer the same country by the deed. But since this did not happen, and he now has the advantage, regardless of the action decided upon by the emperor, even of her emperor's harsh and severe penal mandates, he has nonetheless obtained the right to take back the land. Maj.'s harsh and severe penal mandates, he nevertheless has some advantage of his actions, to speak in a human way, to create his will, before one may rise up to a proper resistance against him. And since the Landgrave and we are now in daily preparation of our people for resistance, to which our dear cousin, Duke Moritz of Saxony, is also preparing and showing himself no less friendly with his kind help, we are in comforting hope of God, the Almighty, to meet him by his divine help in such a way, that his behaviour shall be broken in a beneficial way, which we, in our gracious opinion, do not want to leave undisclosed to you, since many a speech will undoubtedly occur to you and 2) to the other scholars of our university. And since all comfort and help from God is to be asked and waited for, and since these actions also have all kinds of strange appearances, whether it may be a prelude and a beginning to further emphasis, which God graciously will turn, after all kinds of dubious practices have been carried out for some time, we 3) quite graciously request that you have us, our country and people in your prayers to God, that he may be the right and supreme warlord in this cause of his own, and that he may control and increase his and his dear Son, our Lord Christ, and his members' enemies and adversaries with earnestness, and that he may not allow them to prevail in their iniquity and will of courage, nor to maintain the pressure, but that he may strengthen us and all his own with right faith, and also grant correction of our sinful life. We also wish to decree that the people be diligently exhorted and urged to prayer and at the same time to correction, and finally we wish to inform Dr. Pomerano, Magistro Philippo Melanchthon, Dr. Creutzinger, Major and others of this letter of ours according to your concern, as if by our command. In our gracious opinion, we have not left this undisclosed to you, as we are inclined to do so with grace and all good. Date Weimar, Saturday after Michaelmas [Oct. 3] 1545.

2) "and ... and" == both... and also.

3) "so we desire" set by us instead of: "and desire" in the Concept.

No. 3261.

Nuremberg. 6 October 1545.

Hieronymus Baumgärtner au Luther.

(Regest.)

He writes in detail about his imprisonment, thanks Luther for his sympathy, especially for the comforting letter to his wife.

Printed in Hummel's "Neue Bibliothek", vol. I, p. 108. Above regest in Burkhardt, p. 480.

No. 3262.

Wittenberg. October 14, 1545.

To Augustin Himmel, Superintendent in Altenburg.

About the filling of the position of Eberhard Brisger in Altenburg.
From the Kraft collection in Husum in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 364 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 760.

Grace and peace in the Lord! When I returned from Mansfeld, my dear Augustin, I found your letter at Hanse with the letter from the council of Altenburg, in which you indicate that you also like the preacher at Rochlitz instead of M. Eberhard, and that it would be useful for the schoolmaster to remain in his position, because of the gift by which he is able to do much in teaching the youth. Since this is the case, what need is there for you to ask me for advice? since it is your office, as a superintendent, to take care of and determine such matters. By the way, if the church at Colditz is vacant, I would like, also for my own sake, that you appoint M. Christoph of Strasbourg there, who was formerly schoolmaster there and is well known to them; he is learned, godly and in every respect a Christian; if a position were vacant, we would under no circumstances let him leave Wittenberg. Yes, we hold counsel that we may only keep him back because he is the father of about eight children, so that he might have something to be maintained with in the meantime. Thou sendest to answer me as soon as thou canst. Farewell in Christ. On the day of Calixtus [Oct. 14] 1545.

Martin Luther.

No. 3263.

Wittenberg. 16 October 1545.

To Georg Mohr.

Luther reassures him about his deposition in Naumburg, and sends him the interpretation of the prophet Hosea.
Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 455. Printed in *Schlegel, vita Jo. Langeri*, p. 228; in *Strobel- Ranner*, x. 351, and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 760 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1342.

To the highly venerable man, his brother in Christ, M. Georg Mohr, servant of the Gospel, his exceedingly dear [friend] in Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I beg you, my dear George, do not be so fainthearted and do not lose heart so quickly. He is still alive and will live forever, who said [Heb.13,5. Jos.1,5.]: "I will not leave you nor forsake you", whom you have preached for so many years, that he is such and will always be. It behooves thee to bear this trial of faith, that thou mayest prove what the power of God is. If you suspect that contempt and danger have arisen for you from your removal from Naumburg, you should know that this is not so. For, as you know, things could not be advised if you and Medler were not removed at that time. But as it brought no dishonor to him, so it will bring no dishonor to you. Therefore I would have thee think better of us. We do not wish thee to be abandoned, but thou must be patient for a little while until the prince, who is now engaged in a difficult war, returns. Then I will either obtain a salary for you, or in the meantime we will provide you with a position as soon as we can. We will not forget you. For we cannot and will not let the gift of God that is in you and the pound that is given to you be idle or dead. Only be a strong man, and trust in the LORD, which thou hast taught others hitherto. I send you, as a token of my love for you and my sincere esteem, this small gift, but the great prophet Hosea, explained by my work and the gift of God, so that you may be sure of it.

that I have you in good memory and will have to advise you most willingly. And if I should perhaps, overwhelmed with business or temptations, postpone it, then you shall know that free access to me is open to you, whether by letters or by messengers. Only wait for the Lord, and be of good cheer. Fare well in Christ. In the day

St. Galli [16 Oct.] 1545. Martin Luther.

No. 3284.

Wittenberg. 19 October 1545.

To Anton Lauterbach, pastor in Pirna.

Luther wants to give in to the Bishop of Merseburg that the use of the elevation is maintained in the Duchy of Saxony. Of the marriage vows of his niece (see No. 3236).

The original is at Gotha in *Cod. chart.* 379. A piece of this letter is found in Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth., lib.* III, p. 593 sq. and in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 344, dated Jan. 2. From the von Ludwig collection at Halle in Schütze, vol. I, p. 365 and (from the original) in De Wette, vol. V, p. 762.

To the in Christ highly venerable brother, Mr. Anton Lauterbach, pastor and bishop at Pirna and in the neighboring churches, his in the Lord exceedingly dear [friend], 1)

Grace and peace! That I have not written or answered your two letters already, my dear Anton, I hope that I will be easily excused from you, since you know how exceedingly busy I am, then a sluggish old man and eager to die, furthermore that you know my opinion in this matter in the most certain way, namely, if it is demanded of us that anything be granted in ceremonies, not as out of a right, but out of the love of freedom, especially from such a godly bishop as the very good prince of Merseburg is (for with God and with me he is a right bishop, even though the titles are different, which for the cause of freedom are not the same).

1) Lauterbach has written: "The last letter of Dr. M. L. sent to me, which was written 121 days before his departure in 1546 on the day of *Concordiae* [Feb. 18], which, unfortunately! was followed by the war of discord (*discordiae).*" - Lauterbach did not include Oct. 19 and Feb. 18. De Wette did not understand this remark, and therefore put two question marks in it. However, everything is in order,

(For if there be no weight,) we must serve one another according to the doctrine of Paul, who was all things to all, to the Jews a Jew, and to the Gentiles a Gentile: otherwise, as soon as he perceived that he was compelled to do it, as to a servitude, and that it must be done for necessity, he gave way to none at all. Therefore it is not proper for thee to entertain doubts, or, in this matter, to make further inquiry. The unity of the Spirit, since it belongs to eternal life, is far preferable to these temporal and indifferent things, which come to an end with this life; only that in them we are to be of service for a little while out of necessity, or for the sake of our brother's weakness, just as we are obliged to serve parents, little children, the weak, or the sick. The other you will understand.

I thank you for the apples you have given us, but at last ask something of us with which we can do you a favor. You fill us with shame by serving us in so many ways for nothing, and in all too pleasing a manner.

But listen: my niece Magdalena, for whose sake I asked you to find out about Ernst's father, Reuchlin, seems to be enchanted by him; she cannot let go of him. And publicly she says that you wrote wrong what you wrote about his father. So she is heard against my will. But if she will not hear, let it go as it may. 2) Be at ease in the Lord Christ with your own. On Monday after Lucas [19 October] 1545.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 3265.

Wittenberg. 21 October 1545.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther gives his verdict on Antonius Musa. News about the armaments for the Brunswick War.

The original is at Dresden in *Cod. Seidel.* Printed by Schütze, vol. I, p. 367 and by De Wette, vol. V, p. 763. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1754 f.

2) Lauterbach has written in the margin: "She has received punishment. For after the death of Dr. M. L. she married him. They fell into extreme poverty with their children." - But compare the note to No. 3236.

To the in Christ venerable father and lord, Mr. Nicolaus, the right bishop of the church at Naumburg, his superior and exceedingly gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! We have received the silver coins, venerable father and lord, and we all give thanks, both for the gift and for the goodwill. Antonius Musa, 1) as I met him at Merseburg, seems to be a good man, who has also recommended himself to us in all things in the best way. He has this fault, however, that he sometimes bursts out with clumsy words. But I believe that he has an honest mind, therefore it seems to me that this weakness must be borne, in which he is inclined to dispute against those who are younger than he, as if he did not want to suffer himself to be dominated by them. I have no doubt that, admonished by people older than he is, he would yield in all things, as he has also promised me verbally. Such is man. He has a musical (*musicum*) head 2c.

About the Brunswick War, as I have written before, strange rumors are spread. In the beginning he had only 6,000 foot soldiers without guns (*machinis bellicis*) and 1,200 horsemen. In the meantime the number has increased, so that now it is spread that he has 20,000 men of selected foot soldiers and 2500 horsemen. Of ours we know nothing what they undertake or suffer, except that from a letter Dr. "Brücken, dated October 6, that the Elector has 9,000 soldiers and 1,300 horsemen under arms, as many as Duke Moritz, as many as the Landgrave, that is 27,000 soldiers and 3,900 horsemen, 4) and that they are still streaming in from all sides. If the cold does not intervene, then this war seems to become a war of the pagans (*Pfaffense*), with which they have been pregnant for more than 20 years. GOtt finally put the pope to shame. It is not hidden.

1) He was preacher at Erfurt, later at Jena, and assisted the bishop of Merseburg in the visitation of the churches (De Wette).
2) Duke Henry of Brunswick.
3) In the text: 6000 *millia; millia* is either a misspelling or a misprint for millitum.
4) Instead of *milites* we have assumed *equites.*

that the collegiate churches (*Collegiatus Ecclesias*) contribute your Heinz money. I suspect the Emperor of being unworthy, and his brother Ferdinand of being the worst of scoundrels. Dear God, how much money and time is being wasted here. May the Lord do what is good, and preserve His Church, and His Word to us, for the blessedness of many, amen. May Your Grace 5) be well. On the day of the 11,000 virgins [October 21] 1545.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 3266.

Wittenberg. October 26, 1545.

To Justus Jonas in Halle.

Luther rejoices at the victory the allies have won over Duke Henry of Brunswick.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth*. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 368 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 764.

Grace and peace! More at another time, now a few words, my dear Jonas. How joyful a victory has God, who hears prayer, given us! O let us only believe and pray. He is true who does the promise. It is an unspeakable and incredible thing that is accomplished in so short a time, so suddenly. How saddened are certain people, even many of the nobility, who were quite sure of the victory of their Mezentius 6). O God, preserve for us this joy, rather this your honor. About the cause and the time all write the same as you, but about the manner and other circumstances the rumors go out of each other. We shall shortly receive our letters from the Court. For the Lord Brück wrote nothing on "Wednesday" [Oct. 21], on which the battle took place, except that ours were armed and full of the highest desire to fight, and it would happen that on "Tuesday" the attack would be made which happened on "Wednesday." That Mezentius with his son and the Count of Ritburg and Weißenburg with the nobles had been brought to the castle "Zapfenburg" near Cassel, in order to capture them there.

5) tua D[ominatio], which Luther himself renders (in No. 3253) by E[ure] G[naden], Walch translates by: "your wife".
6) This is the name given to Duke Henry of Brunswick after a character in Virgil.

Bernhard von Mila also writes. "The brave riflemen did it and dispersed the "Heinzen's" ricey stuff. The soldiers soon dispersed. But the rest we will hear. Fare thee well, and give thanks to our God, dex praised for ever, Amen. "Monday after" Crispini [26 Oct.] A. 1545.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 3267.

Weimar. 26 October 1545.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector reports his victory over the Duke of Brunswick.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, fol.* 1090. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 480.

Our gracious greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! After we have graciously informed you of the land peacebreaker and rebel, Duke Henry of Brunswick, the nobility, and in what armor the landgrave and we would have to use for ourselves and because of our Christian unity the resistance against him, with gracious request to ask the almighty God for victory and welfare against the said enemy and his followers, also to exhort the people in the pulpit to pray for this purpose, as we have commonly written to the superintendents of our country, so we do not know how to restrain you in our gracious opinion, to the fact that you will now have heard from common speech that on the next Wednesday after Lucia [21. Oct.] the almighty, merciful God granted mercy to our warband, that they kept the victory and the field against the aforementioned enemy and his followers, and that he surrendered himself together with his son Carl Victor into our and the landgrave's grace and disgrace; and for this reason it is our gracious request that you also inform the rest of our theologians of this and give praise and thanks to God Almighty, and also order and command the people to do so in the church. But how it happened with such an act of war, among other things, you will find summarily recorded on the enclosed note 1) and we have graciously not wished to keep it from you, as we are inclined with grace and all good. Date Weimar, Monday after Ursula [26 Oct.] 1545.

1) This note is missing, but is in any case the common source: the report of the landgrave, in Hortleder, I. IV. pag. 1039. (Burkhardt.)

No. 3268.

Stendal. 27. October 2) 1545.

Conrad Cordatus in Stendal to Melanchthon.

More detailed news about the defeat of Duke Henry of Brunswick.

From the collection of Caspar Sagittarius at Jena in Schütze, vol. I, p. 369 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 765.

To the truly famous, learned, and godly man, Mr. Philipp Melanthon, his godfather and exceedingly dear teacher, Cordatus wishes

Hail! Not only have we prayed for your church, as you have desired, my dear Philip, but even, that our prayers might be quite sure, we have made Jesus Christ our intercessor, and that we have certainly been heard, we hear from many. 3) For all, alike Mezentius and the Papists, 4) who even before the victory cried out with hands and feet the victory, are now silent in a bitter and more than careful silence. I have never experienced such silence in so famous a matter in all the time of my life.

Furthermore, what I heard today from one of our citizens who believes in Christ, I cannot help but write to you, dear sir. Having travelled overland in these days, he came to an old soldier of the emperor, well known to him for many years, who is also one of those who wanted to overthrow the church. When he was asked by our citizen, because of their old friendship, that he should deign to tell him at least something of what might be believed to have happened against that duke, he said to him, "What shall I say? I have neither seen nor heard anything but that heaven and earth fell together. But of men I have heard nothing but: Strike! Strike! (Stroke) and so forth. Therefore also he that hath found a cave hath hid himself." And ours, who out of godliness broke the silence,

2) This date is our Conjecture. The date set by De Wette according to Schütze: "*hujus mensis 17*" is wrong, since in this letter already the victory over the Brunswicker is discussed, which however took place only on Oct. 21. On Nov. 5 Luther sent this letter to Amsdorf.

3) Instead of "*solis mutis*(?)" we have adopted *satis multis.*

4) Instead of *Marchitu ac Papista* we have put *Menzentius ac Papistae.* About the praise of both compare St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1404, § 13 f.

said, "Yes, my dear Jacob, where angels help, there it is so." And he answered with a terrible cry, "Yes, angels! I mean, a hundred thousand and all the devils have been there." He added no other word. But when ours inquired of the emperor, he broke out into these words: "The emperor is a Christian lord, and will certainly bring it forth, which I have heard of him more than twenty times: he must hang the German lords on green trees." But according to the words which he said about the defeat which had taken place, I think that he spoke the truth about the terror. For God is wont to inflict it on His adversaries; to Him be glory forever through Christ, Amen. From Stendal, in this 1545th year, on the 27th 1) of this month. In the greatest haste.

No. 3269.

Wittenberg. 29 October 1545.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with the other theologians.

Intercession for the town of Helmstädt, which was threatened with severe punishment by the victorious princes.

From a copy signed only by Melanchthon in *Cod. Rhed.* at Breslau and a very old copy in *Cod. Goth.* 94, p. 229, in *Corp. Ref.* vol. V, 879.

To the most illustrious and illustrious, highborn princes and lords, Mr. Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, Elector, and Count of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg (Meidburgk), and Mr. Philippsen, Landgrave of Hesse, of Katzenelnbogen, Ziegenhain and Dietz, our most gracious and gracious lords, jointly and especially.

God's grace through His only begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour, beforehand. Most Sublime, Most Illustrious, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious and Most Merciful Lord! First of all we thank the almighty God, Father of our Saviour JEsu Christ, that he has given Ew. chur and fürftl. Gnaden good counsel, strength and victory in this sudden noise, and has given Ew. chur and fürstl. Grace, person, country and people, churches and regiment to his praise so publicly and graciously.

1) Just now we see that already Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p.457, note 2, has remarked that instead of "17." it should be read: "27."

We hope that this work will serve as a clear reminder to all people of the fear of God and of right faith. Thus, we also thank in all sincerity Ew. chur and F. G. that they themselves have shown their earnestness in this and have done their princely work in it, and we ask God that he may also henceforth govern and preserve Ew. chur and F. G. blessedly, as we do not doubt that many God-fearing people ask this with us, who consider how highly and greatly the Christian Church and Lahr are interested that Ew. chur and F. G. remain in good government. Gn. remain in good government.

But that we now write to Your Highness and Princely Grace, we are moved to do so by a lamentable letter from the poor people of Helmstädt. We are moved to do so by a lamentable letter from the poor people of Helmstädt, all of us holding them, who ask us for God's sake to have mercy on them in this extreme peril of theirs, and to make a submissive and Christian intercession for them.

They state that it is true that they have sent provisions to the enemy and have given them fire supplies, but that they have to hold back so that the enemy should not have cause to attack them in the first hurry, since there has not yet been any rescue in the country.

But that it should be laid upon them further, as if they [had] fallen away from the Gospel, that is not so, but that they are always and still willing to lay down their life and limb by this Christian doctrine, which Ew. chur. and princely graces confess. Gn. confess. But that they are now in such terrible misfortune that they are commanded to give 4000 fl. in eight days, or the spot shall be given up to the people of war, they ask and cry out for God's sake that this great wrath may be alleviated.

Now we ourselves consider that Your Highness and Princely Grace are not angry without great cause that they have strengthened the enemy. Grace are not angry without great cause that they have strengthened the enemy, even if their minds have not been to fall away from Christian doctrine. We also note that not everyone in the country was equally firm, especially in the first terror, before Your Highness and Princely Grace arrived with the people. Gn. arrive with the people, and no doubt there are many bad boys in the country who have extolled the power of the enemy, inclining the people to him, as many speeches have otherwise sounded in the German country, that even at Nuremberg it was said at one time that Ew. chur. and princely Gu. Gu. People would have been slain.

But let it be as it may with those thought of in Helmstädt, so we ask for God's sake in all submission, that Ew. Ch. and F. Gn. show them mercy, accept them again in mercy, and mercifully alleviate the great punishment, considering that God has also mercifully assisted Ew. Gn. also graciously assisted, who, though He commanded wanton wickedness to be punished, yet He wills that wrath should be mitigated with mercy, as Christ said, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall be shown mercy."

Your Highness and Princely Grace. Your Grace, as wise, noble and practiced princes, know themselves that moderation and kindness are praiseworthy in such times, and pleasing to God, as David also held against Nabal and Simei. Thus it is said that when Pompey had won a city in Sicily and wanted to kill the people, one of the noblest in the council asked Pompey why he wanted to punish the poor people, who had been innocent of this outrage, but that he alone was guilty. Because of this confession, Pompey spared him and everyone else.

And although the cost of war is great, that treasury and fines must follow, so we ask in courtesy, Your Highness and Princely Grace, to consider the impossibility of 4000 fl. Your Grace will consider the impossibility with the 4000 Fl. The poor country is already highly and miserably afflicted, so that we do not doubt that Ew. Ch. and F. Gn. themselves have mercy and most gracious compassion, as well as remembering the poor, scattered and erring people. They should be an example to other cities and countries to recognize God's wrath in them and to call upon God that no further such punishments be imposed. Therefore, in submission and for the sake of God, we ask that Your Lordship and Your Grace, in honor of God and in consideration of the great suffering of the poor people, show mercy to these afflicted people of Helmstädt. God will undoubtedly reward them mildly for this. Thus, some God-fearing people will recognize this mercy and pray to God for Ew.

Thus also our prayer, which we do daily with all our hearts for Ew. Ch. and F. Gn., will be all the more joyful to GOD, the eternal Father of our
Saviour JEsu Christ, be done. May he always graciously preserve Ew. Ch. and F. Gn. Date Wittenberg, 29th October Anno 1545.

Ew. chur- und prinstl. Graces subject
Dr. Martinus.
Dr. Pomeranns. Philip Mel. Dr. Crucigerus.

No. 3270.

Wittenberg. November 5, 1545.

To Nikolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

First of the matter of the Abbot in Posen who wanted to marry. Then about the letter of Cordatus (No. 3268).

The original is in *Cod. Seidel.* at Dresden. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 369 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 766. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1556.

To the most reverend father and lord in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus, the right bishop of the church at Naumburg, his superior who is highly honoured in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I have written about the Abbot of Posen, Reverend Father in Christ, in order to keep my promise. I neither ask nor desire that anything be done other than what you write.

I send you a letter from Cordatus, from which you will see what I very eagerly believe. For for some days I have been in doubt in my heart that there might be some secret agreement between Mezentius and ours; so I interpreted this sudden surrender. But Cordatus, by this letter, hath put this contestation to rest. But I wonder why they [the papists] so conceal this honor of God, by which he wanted to make himself known. Do they perhaps seek a future, other, even greater defeat and disgrace? At court one learns nothing, not even from the prince himself. Therefore I ask you to let yourself be called upon to gather information wherever you can 1). For thou dwellest among the enemies of the prince and the friends of the me

1) Instead of: ubi, *ubi* is to be read ubiubi.

zentius, whether we might be able to detect something that would strengthen the testimony of Cordatus. I had intended to make the letter, which I have now put into print, to our prince and the landgrave, 1) that they should not release Mezentius, stronger and more extensive through this matter, therefore I inquired at court. But they make a fairy tale of this matter to me. But I believe that our Lord has not yet experienced such a thing (*audisse*). 2) For God is wont to frighten the enemies in this way. But they want to hide their shame, as you see. Fare well in your Lord, venerable father. November 5, 1545.

Ew. Gn. ergebenster Martin Luther, D.

Send back the letter of Cordatus after you have copied it, if it so please you, for it does not seem to me to resemble fiction.

No. 3271.

Wittenberg. November 8, 1545.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther gives thanks for a rich gift of food.

Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 110, No. 211; in Walch, vol. XXI, 509; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 767, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 144.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg. Roman Empire Archmarshall and Elector, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

G. u. F. and my *Pr. nr.* Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! This morning I received from E. C. F. G. the rich gift, namely half a cartload of Suptitzer, half a cartload of Gornberger, four buckets of Jenisches wine, plus a shock of Karpen and a centner of pike, beautiful fish. It is too much at once, if enough of the pieces had been for one. Well, I thank E. C. F. G. most humbly. Our Lord God will

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1396 f., no. 1440. 2) Walch: "to undertake."

E. C. F. F. G. again. So I do not know how to deserve all the mercy that E. C. F. G. shows me so abundantly every day. With my arms I will do what I can. Hiemit dem lieben GOtte befohlen, Amen. Sunday after Leonhardi [Nov. 8] 1545.

E. C. F. F. G. subservient

M. Luther, D.

No. 3272.

Wittenberg. 16. November 1545.

To Nikolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Of the matter of the Abbot at Posen; of the preacher Mohr; of the enmity of the Meisseners against the Elector; an anecdote.
The original is at Dresden in *Cod. Seidel*. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 372 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 768. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1558.

To the reverend Father and Lord in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus, the right and faithful bishop of the church at Naumburg, his superior who is highly honoured in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Reverend Father in Christ and Lord! I think I remember that when I was in Zeitz, the Abbot of Posen asked something, namely (as I think) that he would not be deprived of the administration of the monastery if he took a wife, and that he had received consolation. Then M. Georg 'Mohr was here with me, sighing and complaining that he did not yet have a position; I gave him a letter to the Prince to obtain some alms. But for the abbot's sake I have been asked to write to your reverence and ask that, now that he is old and well deserving of the monastery, he may keep the administration for life. He is said to be a most useful and faithful steward, and it seems unreasonable if he should be cast out, since he cannot live long. If he marries, he may have a cause, for it cannot be pleasure. I suppose that loneliness moves him, but God grant that he may not be mistaken, amen.

It is a wonderful thing, and what I would not have believed, the hatred of your Meissner against

our Elector; therefore I like more and more every day the counsel of the Elector, according to which he willed that thou shouldest be bishop in this place against the plough, that the sinner might see it, and be angry, and gnash his teeth, and harden himself, and that the desire of the wicked might be frustrated. "Surely it is now come to pass, the devil is enraged." For though we said with that peasant with uplifted 1) hands, "Ye are my gracious lord the devil," yet he would not become a hair's breadth more gracious. May the Lord who began it also accomplish it, amen.

In this hour "He Hans Schotte" was with me, who ordered two sons to our school; he told me that in the city of Hassfurt 2) there had been a certain pope, who had preached in this way: "Now help me to ask God that the S. of Brunswick may lie. If he lies above, three dukes will be given for a penny; if he lies below, fourteen priests will be given for a heller." But this you may have heard long ago. Farewell in Christ for ever and ever. November 16, 1545.

Your Grace

devoted Martin Luther, D.

No. 3273.

Cassel. 21 November 1545.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

Answer to No. 3269, the intercession for the Helmstadters.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, fol.* 1103. n. 3. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 481.

Dignified and esteemed, dear faithful! We have received and read your intercessory letter concerning Helmstädt. Now it is not without reason that those of Helmstädt have grossly forfeited it against our friendly dear cousin and brother, the Elector of Saxony, us and our related estates. The

1) In the original, probably by misspelling: *velatis* instead of: *levatis*,

2) "Haßfurt" is our conjecture. With De Wette "Haffurt". Walch offers: "Staßfurt". Haßfurt is a town in Lower Franconia. "Haffurt" doesn't exist.

But since the matter concerns not only us, but also the Elector of Saxony and others of our religious relatives, we want to further compare and decide with them what is to be done about it. This we do not wish to do in your gracious opinion, to which we are more graciously inclined. Date Cassel, 21 November 1545.

No. 3274.

Wittenberg. November 26, 1545.

To King Christian of Denmark.

Luther recommends M. Georg Stur and gives thanks for a gift received.

Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 110, No. 212; in Walch, vol. XXI, 510; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 769, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 145.

To the most magnanimous, most noble, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord Christian, King of Denmark, Norway, the Goths and the Wends, and Dukes of Schleswig, Holstein, Stormarn and the Ditmarschen, Counts of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord, and my poor *Pater noster*. Most gracious, most illustrious, most highborn Prince, most gracious Lord King! Magister Georgius Stur, a native of the Principality of Schleswig, has asked me to write this letter to His Majesty, after he has received a grant from His Majesty and has already received some money, so that His Majesty will most graciously remember him and complete this grant. For he has a good name here, that he is pious and honest, studies diligently, and has good hopes of becoming a useful man, for which reason I could not deny him this testimony and intercession. Most humbly request that E. K. M. would have him commanded in grace; this is a good work, and will please God, who gives all good things abundantly, and repays even more abundantly. To the same be E. K. M. together with the young dominion, country, people and whole regiment faithfully commanded, Amen. Thursday after Catharine [26 Nov] 1545.

E. K. M.

subservient

Martinus Luther, D.

I have also received through Doctor Pommer the fifty Thaler, E. K. M.'s most gracious gift, and thank E. K. M. most sincerely. God give everything back abundantly, here and there, amen.

No. 3275.

Wittenberg. Towards the end of November 1545.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

(Missing letter.)

Intercession for Jörg von Selmenitz at Wittenberg that he should be made assessor of the High Court. - This request was rejected on Dec. 1.

According to *Reg. O, fol.* 394. W W. in the Weimar archives. Above proof with Burkhardt, p. 483.

No. 3276.

End of Nov. or Auf. Dec. 1545.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector requests him to hasten the printing of the letter addressed to him and the Landgrave from the captive Duke of Brunswick (St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVII, 1396, No, 1440). Of the publication of the wedding order.

The original is in the Archives at Weimar, *Res. O,* p. 146. n. 20. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 482.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! After we have spoken to you through the reverend, our councillor and dear faithful, Gregorius Brück, the right doctor, about sending out a public letter to us and our cousins and brothers, the Landgrave of Hesse, for the sake of the prisoners of Brunswick, by means of printing, the said Doctor Brück has reported to us that you have willingly offered to do so, which we graciously note. 1) After that, in case it does not happen, we graciously request that you, as much as you are able due to weakness of body, promote the same letter for the first time, for there is much to be done about it for all kinds of concerns and reasons. So we also know to remember that we ordered our university and the council of Wittenberg a short time ago to consider a regulation of the unnatural

1) Already on November 5th Luther had put his writing into print (see No. 3270), but by Klug's "only one press" the printing was delayed.

and other misdemeanors at weddings, christenings, and the like, and especially how to prevent the misconduct that is to be practiced at dances, even with unseemly shouting in the streets there at Wittenberg. And although we received the concerns of the university and the council last summer, and you had a look at them when you were with us, we did not want to publish them until now, unless you, or the university and the council, had seen one. We therefore graciously request you to overlook one more of the doubts you have about it, and to consider it without any worries 2c.

No. 3277.

Wittenberg. December 6, 1545.

To Count Albrecht of Mansfeld.

About a journey to Mansfeld for the foundation of a settlement between the counts who are in dispute with each other.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 469. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 111, no. 213; in Walch, vol. XXI, 511; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 770, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 146.

To the noble, well-born Lord, Lord Albrecht, Count and Lord of Mansfeld, my gracious and dear sovereign.

Grace and peace in the Lord, and my poor *Pater noster* before. Good my lord! Once again I am willing to be with E. G. on the next Monday, as I have offered myself, so today this hour a letter comes to me from M. G. Counts Philipp and Hans Georgen, in which they give me a very gracious answer to my previous letter, that I am very pleased, and they very graciously offer themselves for business with E. G., with notice that I should name a day after the next Leipsic market. So I must stay here again; for I had intended to stay at Mansfeld this Christmas. Because they are so kind to E. G. and so gracious to me, I will soon appear at the end of the Leipsic market at Mansfeld, and let you, both parties, appoint a day for yourselves, and whoever you want to have with you, I will appoint. There must be no need for 8 days, although I have much to do, which I want to dare, so that I can enter my coffin with joy.

may lay me down, where I before have tolerated my 1) dear sovereigns and have seen friendly, unanimous hearts. I have no doubt that Your Grace will do your bidding and gladly see this displeasure laid to rest. Herewith commanded to the dear God. *The Nicolai* [6 Dec.] anno 1545.

E. G. willing

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3278.

Wittenberg. 12 December 1545.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with the other theologians.

Repeated intercession for Helmstädt.

The original (Canzleihand with original signatures) is in the archives at Weimar, *Reg. H*, p. 1103. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 483.

God's grace through His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, our Saviour, beforehand. Most Serene, Highborn, Most Gracious Prince and Lord! Some weeks ago we 2) made a submissive intercession for the poor people of Helmstädt to E. C. F. G. and to the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, the Landgrave of Hesse, as to our most gracious and gracious lords, not to excuse them, but in consideration of the impossibility, and that we know that with E. ch. and F. G., as with Christian sovereigns, mercy and grace exceed and prevail over severe judgment, to which we have this short answer enclosed. 3) Now we hear that the punishment is continued, that people are taken away, and also that poor servants (Dienstmeyden) are deprived of their clothes. Although it may be that the people of Helmstädt have acted very badly, we ask again for God's sake that E. C. F. G. will graciously help to alleviate the punishment, which will undoubtedly be pleasing to God, whose honor should be justly increased by this victory. We know, however, that the parish and the school at Helm

1) "my" put by us instead of: "my". Luther also elsewhere calls all the Counts of Mansfeld "his sovereigns.
2) No. 3269.
3) No. 3273.

The church in Helmstädt is now even more destroyed by this misery, even though previously, for three years after the first conquest of the land of Brunswick, a pastor in Helmstädt never received the prescribed salary and provision. For although I, Doctor Joannes Bugenhagen, Pomeranus, the time required to establish church order in the Principality of Brunswick, have determined a fair salary, with indication in which places the same should be taken, this faithful and Christian order has never been put into effect, of which complaint has often reached E. C. F. G.. C. F. G., and to some extent they regard this matter as if the governors at Wolfenbüttel were a little harder for them just because they are sued for this reason. Should this gracious victory result in the destruction of the parishes and schools, we would be very sorry, as we have been informed that the schoolmaster can no longer remain, and he is still owed some previously earned remuneration. For this reason, we ask once again, for God's sake, that His Holiness show mercy to the poor people and, in addition to alleviating the punishment, order God to honor that the parish and school be maintained according to the established order. This will be rewarded by God, who will always graciously preserve E. C. F. G.. Date Wittenberg, 12 Decembris 1545.

E. C. F. G.

servants Martinus Luther, Dr. Johannes Bugenhagen, Pomer, Dr. Philippus Melanthon.

No. 3279.

Torgau. 14. December 1545.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther and Melanchthon.

The Elector asks them to promote Joh. Friedr. Petzsch, whom he has supported for a long time, to a church office.
The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Mm, fol.* 66 [a]. 10. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 485.

Our greetings first. Venerable and Reverend, dear devotee and faithful! Now that Magister Johans Friedrich Petzsch has reached us with a letter, and has asked for a condition and service for which he might be needed,

or in the absence of which he has humbly asked for a tax for the further maintenance of his studies, we are sending you such a document enclosed here, as you will further hear his report, request and offer. Since we have now transferred him to his studio for a good while and have provided him with entertainment, we hope that he will have made such use of it and applied himself diligently that he may now be used for church offices. For this reason we graciously request that you promote him to such an office, as you will know how to do, since applications of this kind come in daily. Our opinion is based on this, and we are inclined to you with grace and good. Date Torgau, Monday after Luciae [14 Dec.] 1545.

No. 3280.

Wittenberg. December 14, 1545.

To Christoph Jörger.

Luther asks him to reimburse Dr. Georg Major for the expenses and loans he had made for a long time for his son who was studying in Wittenberg.

In von Hormahr's Taschenbuchs für die vaterländische Geschichte, 1845, p. 200 (with date incorrectly solved: Dec. 12); in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. LXV and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 410.

To the strict, honourable Christoph Jörger, my favourable good lord and friend.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Dear sir and friend! Doctor Gregory 1) has enabled me to write this little letter to you, since your son is now almost indebted to him, and there is no such town or place here that one can advance much or borrow long. Poor thing it is with us, from hand to mouth. Therefore Eur Strict want to think that here is not long advance or supply, and amicably pay separate doctor. The boy studies well, and is very skillful, that the food is not badly laid up. This you shall know best. For E. Strict shall advance your boy beforehand for all kinds of future peril, 2) for after that be

1) George Major. "Gregor" will be a reading error.
2) "Fährlichkeit" (ferligkeit) put by us instead of: "skill".

And the number brings with it much inaccuracy, as is daily evident; this one dies, that one corrupts; that all ways are better prevention than cure. Hereby commanded by God, Amen. Monday after St. Lucius [Oct. 14] 1545.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3281.

Wittenberg. 15 December 1545.

Chancellor Brück to the Elector Johann Friedrich.

The Chancellor reports that he has spoken with Luther about speeding up the printing of his work. It will be ready by Dec. 18. He sends the first quatrains of it.

The original is in the Ernestinisches Gesammtarchiv at Weimar, Reg. O, pag. 146. EEE. 19.20. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 419.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Herr Johans Friedrichen, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

To S. churf. G. Handen.

Sublime, highborn Elector! To Your Electoral Grace my submissive, obedient services have been rendered in constant diligence. Most gracious lord. Your churfürstl. I received it today, Tuesday after seven o'clock in the morning, and will diligently read the writings sent over and send them back to your electorate the day after tomorrow, in addition to my submissive letter, God willing. For since Your Lordship has graciously 3) and with his own hand ordered to promote Doctoris Martini's letter to Your Lordship and the Landgrave 4) of which I then spoke with His Honor on the next Sunday [Dec. 13] in church, whereupon he indicated to me that he had finished with it, and had given it to a printer, called Klugk, I have sent the letter to Your Lordship. Gn. I have not wished to delay his messenger. And because Doctor Martinus considered it good that I should ask the printer, as a result of His Electoral Grace's order, to promote the printing. I sent Albertum to him yesterday; he delivered two printed quatrains to him, and let himself be heard that it should be done in the near future.

3) Instead of: "am" we have "gn." conjicirt.
4) St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1396, no. 1440.

The book should be ready by Friday [18 Dec.], so that it may reach His Lordship by Saturday. However, he has asked me to inform him how many copies E. churf. Gnaden would like to take. Thereupon I let him know again that I would like to inquire about this with Your Lordship humbly. The printer is a good poor man, with whom the gentlemen of theology bear a pity, otherwise it could have been produced sooner by one who prints with two presses. Send E. churf. G. herewith only the two tormentors touched before, where otherwise the third will not be ready for the meal either. And let me refrain, as I read in Eil 1), that it is a splendidly handsome letter, given to the man by the Holy Spirit without means, for the histories and sayings of the Scriptures, as he leads them, are to be taken to heart and not to be despised. So it is for this from moderate voices and words, to the Almighty be praise and thanks, and will the partisan Meissners, if they were still so partisan, have to be ashamed of it. Since the Princess, whose writings E. churf. Gn. sent me out of gracious trust, has reported a new advertisement, E. churf. Gn. will probably pay attention to it. will certainly pay attention to it, whether it might be meant for the handling of the new undertaking of the roads in Sachsenburg, for which I cannot consider it, because they themselves have suggested amicable negotiations, and I have not wanted to leave such a thing undisclosed to Your Lordship, and I am also willing to serve them at all times with my submissive property. Date Wittenberg, Tuesday after Luciä [15 Dec.] 1545. E. churf. Gn. submissive obedient Gregorius Bruck, Doctor.

No. 3282.

Wittenberg. 16 December 1545.

To the council of Zwickau, together with the other theologians.

Concerns in matrimonial matters of the cantor Matthäus Weißmann.

According to a copy in the Weimar Archives, *Res. O, pag. 614,* printed by Burkhardt, p. 485. - Burkhardt does not state what the above date set by him is based on. Cf. no. 3254.

On the witness statement in the matter concerning Matheum Weißman, Cantor, this is our Christian concern, which we send to an honorable council of Zwickau, as our

1) "Hurry" put by us instead of: "vil".

We have not considered this as a sentence or judgment, but we believe that this matter can most conveniently be brought to an end in this way. And first of all we say that the worthy pastor had cause to plead the offense, for *incesta consuetudo* is such a cruel sin that one should avoid not only the offense but also the suspicion and suspicion. For this reason, pastors and councilors are obliged to be more careful in such matters than in others, and the pastor should remain unchallenged on account of the plea. Secondly, although the witnesses do not say that the deed was done, and the persons are somewhat excused, therefore we cannot condemn them, nevertheless a suspicion remains, and both persons have done wrong in that the cantor, as a drunkard, lies down there in the booth (puden) and stays there until night, and that the woman allows such, goes in once and the other time; all this is annoying, although nothing else has happened. Therefore one E. R[ath] shall demand of the cantor and reproach him with this: that he will consider God's judgment, that *incesta consuetudo* is a particularly terrible sin, which God punishes not only in the perpetrators, but also in the whole cities, as God speaks *Levitici* 18 and Amos 2. Therefore, if he, the cantor, knows himself guilty, then there is no marriage, nor will there ever be a marriage between them, and he shall refrain from these *sponsalibus* altogether. And he shall be told plainly that he shall keep his conscience before God, and not give this answer: he is to be transferred; but he shall do for his conscience what is right. But if he insists that he is innocent, we cannot prevent this marriage with the virgin, but let him be free on his conscience. But because St. Paul says, *ab omni specie mala, abstinete,* and especially these are things in which not only the deed but also suspicion is to be avoided, our concern is that the cantor should not solemnize and hold the wedding in Zwickau, but in other places; he should also immediately live in other places and not in Zwickau; but "he" should not be forbidden the city with this. Nor shall the cantor and the other people consider this objection unreasonable, as though they had

quite deserves no punishment, for the vexation is grievous. A virtuous woman should be more careful than to suffer such full, disorderly people around her. So the cantor has done wrong, too, in causing such trouble. The world is wild, and will not suffer bridle and discipline. After this, we pastors should keep silent about all ailments; that is no good either. Therefore the cantor takes this punishment upon himself, as an example to others, that other companions and wives may avoid trouble more diligently, in honor of God and for the good of us all. And no person shall be injured in his honor, for this is a church punishment and fatherly discipline.

Martinus Luther, D.
Johannes Bugenhagen, Pommer, Dr. Caspar Crentziger, D.
Georgius Major, Dr. Philippus Melanchthon.

No. 3283.

Wittenberg. 18 December 1545.

Chancellor Brück to the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Brück reports that Luther could not be persuaded to change the passage in his letter to the Elector and the Landgrave that the Elector objected to. Luther had become very angry about the request, and he, Brück, had therefore let the matter go. Luther was also otherwise upset against the court, behind which his wife seemed to be.

From the Ernestinisches Gesammtarchiv at Weimar, *Reg. O, p.* 146. EEE. 19. 20. in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 421.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Herr Johans Friedrichen, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen and Burgrave of Magdeburg, my most gracious Lord.

To S. churf. Gn. himself hand.

Most illustrious, highborn Elector! Your churfürstl. My submissive, obedient services are before you in constant diligence. Most gracious lord! Your Lordship's letter, given next Wednesday, I received today, Friday at noon.

And what concerns Doctor Bleickhardt's 1) action with the von Stolbergs, of which I will speak with

1) Dr. Bleikard Sindringer.

talk to him about his homecoming and promote the things according to Your Lordship's command. So I will also address Doctorem Pomeranum and inform his honor of the opinion as E. churf. G. has written to me, I have also reported something to him next to the contradiction when he complained to me with the letter to send to E. churf. G..

But with Doctor Martins I am somewhat wrong, for in the quatern D, from the other sheet, I would have liked to have seen, according to E. churf. G.'s indication, that this might have been changed, as far as the armour is concerned, which has been sent from Welschland to the German nation, 2) therefore sent the Albertum up to him and gave him the copy of the Emperor's answer, which he gave to your churf. G. and the landgrave, touched armor and weapons, let his honor ask whether he wanted to burden the same few words outside, and nevertheless put the sense together again, with the request that the awarded 3) quaterns should be refunded to the printer. But he was angry and became whimsical, and said that he would not do it for a short time, and if he should be caught, then he would have to let such his letters go. And although I did not dare to send for the copy and to see if something else might be in it that might cause concern until the end of the emperor's life, I did ask the printer confidentially about it. He let me know that it would only be a quatern, as E, and noted nothing in it that might have the Emperor's half complaint or concern. Therefore, I will leave it at that, for it is nevertheless a necessary, beautiful, and amusing little book, and in principle such an argument that it will nevertheless attract many people. This I did not want to leave undisclosed to Your Lordship in subservience, I am also ready and willing to serve them in all ways with my subservient property. Date Wittenberg, Friday after Luciä [18 Dec.] 1545.

C. churf. G.

subservient, obedient Gregorius Bruck, Doctor.

First supplement. Most Gracious Sir! Out of humble trust I cannot refrain from telling Your Lordship that I am concerned because Doctor Martinus, in more than one way against the Hos.

2) Instead of "become," we have put "been." The objectionable passage is found in St. Louiser Ausg., Vol. X VII, 1411, § 25 z. E.
3) That is, the printed in vain.

can be noted. Once again the Wachsdorf estate must be behind it, and that the good, pious lord is moved by the rib (riebe) 1). For when I sent Albertum up to his reverence, she was also there, and said her word to this effect: Eia, dear sir, they read nothing at court, that makes it! Do they 2) know your ways well 2c. For as next to E. churf. G. the order, concerning weddings and baptisms of children, Doctori Martins sent again, Pomeranus and Philippus, who have come to me for this, have indicated to me that he told them that he neither intended to see nor to hear them. They would only have made a mockery of it at court; and at the same time added: if one would not do a favorable understanding inside, then he would want to move away, that one should take care (see before) 2c. that I believe he might easily be stirred up. In order that the mistake may be foreseen, and the annoyance may occur, I think it should not be unpleasant whether E. churf. G. Dr. Matthiassen Helten have a business made over, to note what the mistake is? It is a poor thing, God knows that; Your Lordship's Grace will consider what should be done for him. I did not want to let this go unreported out of humble benevolence. Date uts.

Second Enclosure. To Your Lordship I am also sending a copy of Doctor Martin's letter to Your Lordship and the Landgrave, which has now reached me at this hour, and the printer has asked me to report that he will be finished with it this evening. Since the impressions will undoubtedly come off, but in order that several copies may be sent to your Lordships as to how many they wish to keep, your Lordships will be pleased to know how many of these are to be kept for your Lordships, as I have also indicated this to your Lordships in my next letter, and have not wished to leave it undisclosed to your Lordships. Dat. uts.

Third Supplement. Most Gracious Sir! It would not be unfortunate that one might also have the report at hand that I gave to E. churf. G. when I was together with von Habsburg at Naumburg, and what since the time of the aforementioned von Habsburg and Jakob Wahl, also . . 3) himself, wrote to E. churf. G. and to me. This I show only for your humble remembrance to 2c.

1) That is, Luther's wife.
2) "they" == the Wittenberg theologians.
3) A cipher is found at this point: a circle in which a cross is drawn.

No. 3284.

Wittenberg. 18 December 1545.

To the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse from the captive Duke of Brunswick.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1396, no. 1440. - The more exact time given here is derived from the preceding letter, which shows that the writing was completed in print on the day named.

No. 3285.

Mansfeld. 25 December 1545.

To Prince George of Anhalt, Bishop of Merseburg.

Luther excuses himself that he could not keep his promise to visit the prince on the return journey from Mansfeld, because of Melanchthon's illness. Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 464, printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 374 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 759 (with the incorrect time: "In October").

To the ill Christo reverend father and noble prince and lord, Mr. Georg, bishop of Merseburg, prince of Anhalt, count of Ascanien, lord of Bernburg, his [superior] to be revered in the Lord.

Grace and peace in him who was born as Immanuel [Is. 7:14.] Man. Sublime Prince, reverend Father in Christ! I write briefly, since I am exceedingly busy with the strangest business, that is, with the service of the table and the belly. By the way, M. Philip's indisposition compels us to return to Hanse as soon as possible, lest we willingly expose ourselves to danger. Therefore, I want to be excused now because of my promise, but not yet released from it, if the Lord will give his grace to it at another time. Herewith your reverence is well pleased with the son who is born to us and the child who is given to us. At Mansfeld Castle, Anno 1545.

Your Reverence most devoted Martin Luther, D.

No. 3286.

Wittenberg. No date 1545.

To the pastor Schulze in Belgern.

Luther gives him advice on how to heal a melancholic man through prayer.

Printed in the Innocent News 1719, p. 760; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 352 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 771. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1343.

"To the worthy Mr. Schulzen, pastor of Belgern, my favorable good friend." Prayer and peace in the Lord and Jesus Christ. Most reverend pastor! "The castle of Torgau and the council of Belgern have written to me, asking me to give good counsel and comfort to Mrs. Hans Kornerin, so that her husband may be helped. Now I truly know of no worldly consolation, and where doctors do not know how to help, it is certainly not a "bad melancholy," but rather a challenge from the devil, which one must confront in the power of Christ with the prayer of faith. Thus we do and are wont to do. For here was a box-maker so seized with madness, whom we healed by prayer in Christ. Therefore thou shalt do thus: Go to him with the chaplain and two or three good men, and thou, in certain confidence that thou art in the public ecclesiastical office and the pastor in the place, lay hands on him and say: Peace be with thee, dear brother, from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. Then you shall pray the holy Christian faith and the Lord's Prayer over him in an audible voice, concluding with these words: GOD, Father Almighty, who hast said unto us by thy Son [Joh. 16, 23.], "Verily, verily, I say unto you, If ye shall ask the Father any thing in my name, he will give it you"; and again [v. 24.] thou hast commanded and constrained to pray in his name, "Ask, and ye shall receive"; likewise Ps.50, 15: "Call upon me in time of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt praise me"; therefore we unworthy sinners, at the word and command of thy Son, implore thy mercy as much as we can believe thou wilt graciously concede,

To deliver this man from all evil, and to destroy the work of Satan in him, to the glory of thy name, and to the increase of faith and of the saints, through him our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son, who liveth and reigneth with thee for ever and ever, Amen. Then, as thou goest away, thou shalt say again with the laying on of hands, [Marc. 16:17] "The signs which shall follow them that believe are these. Upon the sick they shall lay their hands, and it shall be better with them." This you shall do three times, once in one day, while nevertheless prayers are held publicly in the church in the pulpit, until God hears. At the same time, we will always join our petitions and prayers in the Lord with the fervent ones, in faith, as much as we can. Fare well. I have no other counsel, and am 2c. Anno 1545.

No. 3287.

Wittenberg. 8 January 1546.

To Nikolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther complains about the hostile attitude at the Dresden court against the Elector.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p.472; in *Cod. chart. Goth*. 402 and in *Cod. Closs*. Printed (incomplete) in Hummel's Library, vol. I, p. 235 and in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 353. More complete from the collection of Caspar Sagittarius at Jena in Schütze, vol. I, p. 375 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 773.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Reverend Father in Christ! Although it seems certain that many things will happen, I cannot write anything certain. But this is certain, that Satan is terribly angry with our prince, and with his whole kingdom, in which are also your Meissners, the most depraved of all the people who live there, of whom the exceedingly covetous, hopeful, and above all Sodom, Leipzig, is the head. "They will be damned fine, so be it done to them as they will." The emperor is altogether turned aside, and what he has hitherto kept hidden is now coming to light. Let us pray that Christ may live in us. Satan is thinking of a new evil against us. He arouses many counts and princes, and a dangerous uprising

ruhr is operated, and the Münster 1) spirit has now, after the peasants, seized the nobles. "God forbid and defend him, he truly means evil." But all is against us and our Prince and Christ. I believe that you know that Doctor Turk, the great son of the devil, will be chancellor at the court of Dresden, as they say, where the Mainz, who was two times worse than the Turk, will rule in Meissen; now George and the Mainz, though dead, will rule in Dresden. "Help God our gracious lord, it is a bouquet to him." But we hope that God, through our prayer, will put them to shame in their wisdom, like Mezentius, 2) Amen. "I would not have meant that such desperately wicked people should be in Meissen," who, although they are far richer than we are in goods and everything, yet cannot grant us even the poor breath. This is satanic, but God, whom they ridicule, will ridicule them in his own time. Fare well in the Lord, and, as you do, join your prayer with ours, that it may come before God, who brings justice to those who suffer injustice. Given at Wittenberg, Anno 1546, the 8th of January.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 3288.

Wittenberg. January 8 or 9, 1546.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with the other theologians.

On December 24, 1545, Bucer had sent a long letter to the Landgrave Philip of Hesse from Regensburg, in which he requested that the princes be concerned about the abolition of the Edicts of Worms and Augsburg, about a universal reformation in Germany, and about the rejection of the Council. The Landgrave had sent this letter to the Elector, who demanded that the Wittenberg theologians express their concern, which they did in this letter.

The original, in Cruciger's handwriting, signed by all the theologians themselves, is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, fol.* 633, No. 203. Copy (written by Georg Major) in the *Cod. Dresdensis* "of the *Regensb*. *Colloquii* writings and acts 1545.1546 . Printed in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. VI, 7 ff.

1) It would probably like to be read (according to the context) *Monetarius* (the minty one) instead of: *Monasterianus*.

2) Duke Henry of Brunswick.

The content of Buceri's writing is primarily these three points:

The first, that the princes and estates of this part work on the basis of the Edicts of Worms and Augsburg.

The other, that afterwards they intend to have a universal reformation in Germany, although they yield somewhat, and that not all churches should be conformed to ours.

The third, of the Recusation of the Concilii, so to be opened at Trident. On these three articles is this our concern.

First, the third. If the opening of the Concilii follows or not, we consider that it would be useful to present a Christian recusation with good reasons and causes, and to make this known in Latin, German, and French, so that it may be reported in a manly way why this Concilium is not only not to be considered for our judges, but also not a Christian Concilium, because the pope, as a persecutor of public truth, wants to govern it, to set judges in it, to ordain proceedings, and to close it 2c.

And although it is to be considered that they at Rome themselves are so wise that they are not in earnest to make a concilium, yet it is good that the common man be reminded beforehand of some articles which are now often impudently condemned by the Papists, as of the forgiveness of sins by faith, of right worship, of gross and public abuses of the Mass, of the invocation of the dead 2c.

Where the Concilium speaks in such matters, as the Bull of Leonis and Louvain 2c. Article, it is public that it cannot be a Christian concilium, and that all Christians are obliged to reject such an ungodly concilium with true confession.

Of the first article, however, this is our concern. We would also like the edicts to be rescinded, but this is not to be sought against His Majesty or the same potentates by means of oppression or force. And although the princes, princes, and estates of this part would like to argue that there is sufficient cause for them to have the right to override some other princes, it is not our place to advise on such matters, except in the case of the necessary defension, and we cannot

how it is to be acted upon at the Diet other than by petition. Our command extends no further than that the preachers, each in his profession, preach rightly, and that the superiors, each in his own place, help to protect and promote the right ministry and maintain outward honest discipline. But to reach into foreign principalities and to wage war is not for us to advise.

From this follows from the other article, of the Universal Reformation, that we also know no other reformation to pretend, except that we exhort all potentates to establish pure Christian doctrine and the right use of the sacraments in their territories, and to faithfully appoint the preaching chairs and necessary offices, and to put away abuses, according to our confession. But that some pretend to think of a new reformation, and to give way much, this we understand not otherwise, than that we should depart from our doctrine and confession, and mix both doctrines (Lahr), papal and other, into one. This would cause a new disruption and destruction of our churches. And perhaps some want to bring into this new reformation also many worldly things, such as the distribution of the monasteries and bishoprics 2c. With such a reformation, if one wants to expel the bishops, one will not move them to accept right doctrine. Nor do we hope that separation will occur between princes or estates of this part, that one or more will undertake such a mixed reformation and force it into the world. But if this were to happen out of God's wrath, which God would mercifully prevent, then many and various new divisions would arise in the German lands, but we do not want to advise this, nor do we hope that anyone would have the desire to do so.

But that some say against it that one cannot change everything suddenly in the papal churches, to this our answer is: The doctrine should remain pure, although one should have patience with those who are slow in abolishing abuses and establishing better order, even if inequality remains in unnecessary external things. Every man of understanding can see for himself how dreadful error is to be feared if each one should invent a new doctrine of his own. Therefore we should call upon God
to keep us in the right doctrine, neither shall we be froward to make divers doctrines and reformation.

As also report happens from the chamber court, that is completely a worldly thing, and does not belong in our council.

E. C. F. G. subservient
Martinus Luther, D.
Johannes Bugenhagen, Pomer., D.
Caspar Creutziger, D.
Philip Melanthon.

No. 3289.

Wittenberg. January 9, 1546.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther asks that Melanchthon be spared the journey to the Colloquium in Regensburg, because Dr. Georg Major was sufficient for this.

The original is in Weimar, *Reg. H, fol.* 663, X. 203. Manuscript in *Cod. chart. Goth*. 451. printed in the Leipz. supplement, p. 112, No.215; in Walch, vol. XXI, 514 (wrong 504); in De Wette, vol. V, p. 774 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 147.

Grace and peace in the Lord, and my poor *Pater noster*. Most noble, highborn prince, most gracious lord! I humbly ask E. C. F. G. to consider whether M. Philippus should be sent to the present futile and vain colloquium at Regensburg, since there is no hope; for they have no man on that side who is worth anything, and Dr. Major is more than enough for it, even if he could do nothing. Major is more than enough for it, if he could say nothing but no or yes to it. And if Schneppe and Brentius are also there, who let them take nothing; and if they wanted to let them take something, then there is still the back passage, that one must also ask us. How would one do, if M. Philippus were dead or ill, as he is truly ill, that I am glad that I have brought him home from Mansfeld. He is to be spared from now on, so he is more useful here on the bed than there in the Colloquio. He will gladly go, if one wants it, and dares his life; but who wants to advise or tell him in such danger, in which one would like to tempt God, and in the end cause ourselves a vain remorse. The young doctors must also go up, and lead the word after us; can Dr. Major and others preach, and

teach, they shall not be displeased to talk with such sophists as they hear, because without this they must daily stand and fight against the devil himself. Such things write I, as in E. C. F. G. Concerns humbly put. May the Lord Christ grant E. C. F. G. to do what is dear to his divine will, amen. Saturday after Epiphany. Cathedral. [9 Jan.] 1546. E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 3290.

Wittenberg. January 10, 1546.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

Luther recommends Nicolaus Reinhold to him for the position of State Chancellor.

The original is at Dresden in *Cod. Seidel.* Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 376 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 775. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1559.

To the reverend father in Christ and Lord, Mr. Nicolaus, the right bishop of the church at Naumburg, his superior to be highly honored in your Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Reverend Father in Christ and Lord! I remember that when I was with you in Zeitz, Dr. Pfeil, your chancellor, was about to change his position and that you would have to look for another. As I had related this here among friends, there were quite a few who were well disposed towards Ew. Gn. and were willing to promote another there, and among others M. Nicolaus Reinhold, the son-in-law of Oswald Losan, the Mayor (*Magistri Civium*) at Zwickau, was commended to me. Here I interjected that Ew. Gnaden might already have been provided with some suitable man, but I would do my duty and write to Ew. Gn. whether Ew. Gn. might be in need of such a person, so that she would have something to think or do. For this man, M. Nicolaus, is praised in many respects, so that, if Ew. Gn. were not some other. I would gladly wish that your Grace would show him her favor and that he would be especially commanded.

let. If this man is not necessary to Your Grace, let her answer me nothing, but if he is necessary, let her show me briefly and as soon as possible. Fare well in the Lord. January 10, 1546.

Ew. Gn.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 3291.

Wittenberg. January 11, 1546.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

About a Diaconus who had distributed unconsecrated hosts. About Melanchthon's journey to Torgau.

The original is at Dresden in *Cod. Seidel*. Printed by Schütze, Vol. III, p. 226 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 776. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1560. Partially again by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1585 and thereafter in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 65, p. 213, also in all editions of the Tischreden (except the St. Louiser), Cap. 19, § 27, as a concern of Luther and Bugenhagen, which seems to be correct according to No. 3309.

To the reverend Father in Christ and Lord, Mr. Nicolaus, your right bishop of the church at Naumburg, his superior who is especially to be honored in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Since Mr. Philippus, Creuziger and Major are absent, we two, Pommer and I, are compelled to answer Your Grace, most reverend Father in the Lord. First of all, it is not negligence, but malice, and indeed an extraordinary malice of this deacon, 1) who, as a despiser of God and of men, has dared to consider publicly consecrated hosts and unconsecrated hosts to be the same. Therefore he must be expelled from our churches; let him go to his Zwinglians. It is not necessary that the man who

1) Burkhardt notes the following: "A chaplain at Friesnitz (Weida), Adam Besserer, was accused of having handed an unconsecrated host to a communicant and of having dropped a consecrated one on the ground out of carelessness. By order of Bishop Nicolaus von Amsdorf, the chaplain was vocally confiscated and an investigation was instituted against him. The chaplain testified that he had done this out of embarrassment, since he had suddenly run out of blessed bread and the missing host had fallen to the ground. The bishop sat

not belonging to us, is imprisoned, to whom nothing must be believed, though he swears. Furthermore, he who received the unconsecrated host sinned nothing; his faith made him blessed, in that he believed that he was receiving the proper sacrament, and he relied on the word of God. But he is not deceived, as he is baptized who believes, even if the baptizer had played a game, or had baptized with some other liquid. But on this occasion it is not necessary to dispute so sharply, lest simple consciences be troubled or irritated. It is enough that all things are possible to him who believes. It is well done with the mixed particles that they are burned, although it would not have been necessary to burn them, since nothing is a sacrament apart from its use, just as the water of baptism is not a baptism apart from its use. In those who eat and believe, Christ works in the sacrament. But for the sake of the offense, the priest was right in burning.

Besides, I have nothing in the way of news. Yesterday, Mr. Philippus left for Torgau, summoned by the Prince, to see if he had to go to the Colloquium in Regensburg. I advised the Prince with all my strength not to send Philip, who is dangerously ill, to such a useless, futile, meaningless colloquium, in which they only ridicule us and lose time and expense. They take us for asses, who do not understand their so coarse and unrhymed suggestions and follies, which are no less foolish than the laughable wisdoms and ostrich-like cunning suggestions of your Meissner. Fare well in the Lord. January 11, 1546.

Ew. Gn.

Martin Luther, D.

Luther, who on January 11 delivered the very severe opinion that had been communicated. - The bishop, however, asked for a lighter sentence, and since Luther was unable to give a further opinion in response to the prince's request of February 10, the prince ordered the defendant's release from prison, especially since he had pledged to reform and was not found to be a follower of Zwingl's doctrine." Cf. No. 3309 (not "Luther's letter," as Burkhardt erroneously states).

No. 3292.

Wittenberg. Second half of January 1546.

Concerns about the Rathschlag of the Strasbourg theologians because of the Colloquium at Regensburg, together with the other theologians.

From the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, fol.* 663, N. 203 (by Cruciger's hand with original signatures), printed by Burkhardt, p. 487.

All the Strasbourg writing, whether to propose a new form of the Colloquium from our part, if it would be carried out unequally and unfruitfully by the Emperor and his, this is our submissive concern. First of all, after the occasion of this time, we take care that no Colloquium will be held at all, especially if we do not insist on it, as we consider it good that we keep quiet about it, if the Emperor does not do so. For this colloquium is only for a pretence, that the one of Brunswick would have room to prepare himself in the meantime. 2c. Thus the Emperor knows that ours are easily satisfied with the sweet name of Colloquii. He will also perhaps make all kinds of inquiries about the prisoner with the princes and rulers of this part. In addition, it is known that King Ferdinand is fiercely holding out for the Turk, and considers it certain that he [the Turk] will arrive the next summer. On the other hand, in the event that a colloquium is to be started immediately, if the emperor orders his theologians from Cologne and Louvain to do so, it will be a short disputation, and will soon clash in such coarse articles that we will rise from them with great gloating with an earnest Christian protest, in which their gross obstinacy against public truth will be denounced. And whoever has been in such matters before, can be sure that this will soon happen in the first articles, as of original sin and justification. For the theologians of Louvain will also dispute anew the article *de justificatione.* Again, so one comes soon in the beginning to the article of the church and authority of the concilia, there they leave nothing. On the other hand, this is not to be conceded in any way, that the churches may not err, as was also the case at Regensburg.

for eight days argued. And since we wanted to overturn the debate, and they could not pass it, they needed this rank to suspend this article, and nevertheless took up the others, in which it soon became even harder, from confession and sacrament to custom. And in sum, it is not difficult to overthrow the disputation with gusto, if one wants to show a seriousness. And then one can make a written protest, in which one shows how the opposing party wants to defend such inconsistent and crude articles. Thirdly. But that we should afterwards propose a new form of a colloquy is a vain thing, for as little as we can like them as judges, as little do they like us; so we cannot propose persons whom they consider impartial, as their persons are all suspicious to us. Whether someone at Strasbourg may be inclined to another colloquium, we know well that Ulm and other cities will be quite unwilling to do so. So our gracious lord, the Landgrave, knows which articles the counterpart disputes the most, therefore H. F. G. will not be in the mood for it. Therefore we consider that it would be good for our gracious lord, the Landgrave, to write to those of Strasbourg that H. F. G. considers it a futile thing that we should propose a form of a Colloquii, therefore it would be better to leave it at the previous concern. Nor should we be so anxious about the Concilium, for the pope himself does not suffer a Concilium about it; although a supposed Concilium would conclude something, there will be such rough articles in it that it will be too late. But all things are in the hand of God, who will guide the hearts of all rulers and teachers to his praise and the blessedness of Christendom, amen.

E. C. F. G. subject Martinus Luther, Dr. Johannes Bugenhagen, Pomer., Dr. Caspar Creutziger, D. Georgius Major, Dr. Philippus Melanthon.

(Wittenberg.) **No. 3293.** 17 January 1546.

All Jakob Probst in Bremen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2177, no. 121.

No. 3294.

Wittenberg. January 19, 1546.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburg.

At Luther's request, Melanchthon was not sent to Regensburg. Of the displeasure of the Dutch Mass ministers that the many Masses they said for the Duke of Brunswick did not prevent his defeat. Luther works on a writing Wider die Pariser und die Löwener. 1)

The original is at Dresden in *Cod. Seidel.* Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 377 and by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 779. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1562.

To the reverend Father in Christ and Lord, Mr. Nicolaus, the right bishop of the church at Naumburg, his superior who is highly honoured in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Although there was nothing I could have written, Reverend Father in Christ, since your nephew George indicated that he would send a messenger, I did not want to leave him empty, without a letter from only, and at least wish E. G. at least to wish him a happy new year.

The Lord Philip was absent, at Torgau, when your letter came. It was discussed that he should be sent to the Colloquium at Regensburg, but I interceded for him that he should remain here. So in his place go Dr. Georg Major and Dr. Laurentius Zoch, of course, so that they again lose time, expense, and trouble.

It is said that the Emperor is pressing for the Concilium of Trent and has many other things in mind. Whether this is true or not, I have no interest in it. In the Netherlands, the missal priests and the monks are unwilling and impatiently grumble against God because he has suffered Mezentius to be defeated and captured, although they have offered so many thousands of masses every day throughout their country for his welfare. They therefore quarrel with God, why He despised His faithful and holy servants and so many masses, by which they had not doubted to gain the victory against us heretics. They are surprised that the glory of the Masses

1) Luther's last pamphlet, St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1494, no. 1456.

The Son of God has done nothing, even the opposite of what used to happen in the past. But let him be lost who is lost, if he will not hear the Son of God. We pray and wait for the day of our redemption and the fall of the world with its splendor and wickedness. Let it be done, let it be done quickly, amen.

I am busy writing against the Paris and Louvain asses. I am quite well for my age, but the days are short and business delays my work. E. G. is quite well in the Lord, and prays for me. Tuesday after Antonii [19 Jan] 1546.

Ew. Gn.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 3295.

Wittenberg, January 20, 1546.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich, together with Bugenhagen.

Intercession for the orphans of Mr. Paul Knod, that the prescribed fiefs may be left undiminished to them.

The original in Canzleihand (the signature of "E. C. F. G." on is original) is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Mm, fol. 48. n. 29.* Printed by Burkhardt, p. 489.

God's grace through His only begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour, beforehand. Most noble, highborn, most gracious Prince and Lord! After Mr. Pauli Knod, 1) blessed, abandoned children's guardians reported to us how E. C. F. G., at the submissive request of the heads of the common estate at Torgau, ordered that the said heads be assigned to the fief previously held by Mr. Paul Knodt at Torgau, as has been done, and that for this reason the income of the said fief may be withdrawn from the abandoned children. E. F. G. such fief, Petri and Pauli in the parish church at Torgau, and the other at Liebenwerd on the castle on the altar Johannis Evangelistä, income on our, the

1) Paul Knod was scribe at the visitations in Meissen, whose negotiations he recorded and compiled in two large volumes, for which the visitators gave him in 1536, Wednesday St. Nicolai [Dec. 6], the fief mentioned. (Burkhardt.)

The guardians have therefore asked us to request the poor orphans against E. C. F. G. that they remain with such pardon and not be forced out of it before the time of the three years by the heads of the common caste. Since we are well aware of such matters, and have seen for ourselves E. C. F. G.'s prescription for such pardon, as well as all the assurances given by the time visitators, which copies we hereby send to E. C. F. G. to remind them of this, our humble request to E. C. F. G. is that E. C. F. G. want the poor orphans, whose father and mother have both died within a fortnight of each other and left them little else, to have the income of both fiefs for three years, as the deeds read, followed by a gracious order, so that they may remain unhindered by the rulers of the common treasury at Torgau until the end of the three years, and that such income may also be admonished and presented to the children by Johann Walter, cantor at Torgau, as in the case of Mr. Pauli's life. E. C. F. G. God the Lord, who calls himself the father of the orphans, will undoubtedly be pleased with this, so we are always willing and obligated to earn it for E. C. F. G.'s sake. Given at Wittenberg, on the day of Fabiaui and Sebastian! [Jan. 20] in the year 1546.

E. C. F. G. subject Martinus Luther, Dr. Johannes Bugenhagen, Pomer., D.

No. 3296. 21 January 1546.

Calvin to Luther.

(Regest.)

Calvin sends a message to Luther and asks him to write his judgement on Calvin's books shortly after an examination.

Printed in the Continued Collection 1722, p. 626.

The above regest in Burkhardt, p. 491.

2) Added by us.

No. 3297.

Halle. 25 January 1546.

To his housewife.

Luther reports that his journey to Eisleben was interrupted by floods and ice in the Saale.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 1005; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 578; in Walch, vol. XXI, 516 (wrong 506); in De Wette, vol. V, p. 780, and in the Erlanger, vol. 56, p. 148.

To my friendly dear Käthen Lutherin at Wittenberg to hand 2c.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Dear Käthe! We arrived in Halle today at eight o'clock, but did not go to Eisleben, because we encountered a great flood with waves of water and large ice floes that covered the land, which caused us to be baptized again. So we could not come back again because of the Mulda, so we had to lie still in Halle between the waters, not that we thirsted to drink, but we took good Torgian beer and good Rhenish wine for it, with which we refreshed and comforted ourselves in the meantime, whether the Saala wanted to go out again. For because the people and the carters, even we ourselves, were timid, we did not want to go into the water and tempt God; for the devil is disgusted with us, and dwells in the water, and is better kept than lamented, and is without need that we should make the pope and his scales a fool's delight. I would not have thought that the Saala could make such a Sodt that she should rumble over stone paths and everything like that. No more, then: Pray for us, and be ye faithful. I think that if you had been here, you would have advised us to do the same, and we would have followed your advice for once. Hereby, God be with you, amen. At Halla on St. Paul's Conversion Day [Jan. 25] Anno 1546. Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3298.

Regensburg. 28 January 1546.

Dr. George Major to Luther and the rest Theologians.

Major reports on his journey, his arrival in Regensburg and that the colloquium had been started, but that until then only preparations had taken place.

From a copy in the Wolf Collection of the Hamburg City Library, vol. 66, lol. 3, printed in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 425.

To the reverend and highly learned men, Mr. Martin Luther, Mr. Johann Bugenhagen, Mr. Caspar Cruciger, Mr. Philipp Melanchthon, Doctors of Sacred Theology, his fathers and teachers who are to be highly honored with all reverence.

Hail! We arrived in Regensburg on January 21, not without difficulty, for there was such a piercing cold and high snow everywhere. Immediately, the next day, we announced our arrival to the presidents, the Bishop of Eichstädt and Count Friedrich von Fürstenberg. After breakfast on the same day, they called some of us to them, and at first announced in a peevish manner that the Colloquium had been postponed until now because not everyone had come together, and then it was decided that the day for the beginning of the Colloquium should be January 27. 1) What the manner of the colloquium will be, and on what the disputation will take place, we do not yet know at all. But because the Concilium at Trent was again proclaimed with great pomp, many think that the disputation will be about the prestige of the Concilium and of the pope, so that if we do not want to acknowledge it, the judgment against us will be passed in the Concilium, which the emperor will then have to execute. For Veit [Dietrich] writes, who, we hope, will attend our meeting today with Hieronymus Baumgärtner, that attempts are being made on our heads, so that some think that this year will be a ruinous one for Germany. But God will still be the protector of those who hope in Him against this rage of Satan and the world, who will not allow the Church and the teachings that have been brought to light to be destroyed. There is a profound silence here about the arrival of the Emperor and the future Diet. The meeting with our theologians has greatly strengthened me, for I see that they are good, godly, and learned men. Therefore, I ask Your Honor to command us in your prayers that he may govern and guide our actions so that they may be beneficial for the church. We wanted to send the wagoner back to Torgau again, but because of the melted

1) Kolde offers: this 27. *Januarii inchoando colloquio*. *Sit quae sit ejus futura ratio etc.*. We have drawn the first *sit* to the preceding.

Because of the snow and the downpours, all the rivers everywhere were so worn out that it was not safe to make the journey. Therefore, there was no messenger that I could have sent. Yesterday, January 27, the Colloquium began. The presidents have admonished that we should deliberate on the statements of the Scriptures without any bitterness of temper. But I am sending here the form of the Colloquium which has been proposed in the name of the Emperor, and in my name and in the name of all of us who are here (for I have been instructed to ask this of Your Honor), I ask that you help us with your counsel and with your prayers. For it is said that our opponents are quite insolent and dishonest men, with whom there will be a colloquy, but no harmony. This day we have spent in choosing notaries 1) and in other preparations; what will happen hereafter I will write. May God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, preserve us and His Church. Regensburg, January 28, 1546.

Your Honour 2) most humble

George Major.

No. 3299.

Eisleben. 29 January 1546.

To Prince George of Anhalt.

About Luther's promised journey to the prince (see No. 3285) and about the Concilium.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 473, printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 379 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 781.

To the reverend Father in Christ and Lord, Lord George, the exceedingly watchful bishop of the church at Merseburg, noble Prince of Anhalt, well-born Count of Ascanien, illustrious Lord of Bernburg, to his exceedingly highly honoured Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Sublime Prince! I have received the letter of E. F. G. addressed to M. Philip and myself. But the sickliness of U. Philippus has kept him back to Hanse. I am here alone with Dr. Justus Jonas. I am fully mindful of the promise made and not yet fulfilled, but wagon and rider

1) Instead of *notoriis, notariis* will be read.
2) V. C. (*vestrae celsitudinis*) will be an oversight of the copyist.

are not in my power. The Counts of Mansfeld have summoned me and led me away with a very numerous band of horsemen, with whom I must go and return by the way and the road that they have determined. But I will make an effort, namely that I will keep my promise once in the springtime. For I hope that then everything will be safer. Therefore may E. F. G. meanwhile take up this prevention to the order.

I have no news. For I believe that E. F. G. have heard that the Concilium was opened, that is, begun, by thy Pope (as they call it). But the middle will be slow, and the end nothing, but that the Roman sirens plague the people, as is the custom, style, nature, and from of old ingrained unworthiness in this Babylon. Let the Lord arise and scatter His enemies, amen, amen. In Him E. F. G. is quite at ease, whom I commend to her godly prayers. January 29 from Eisleben, Anno 1546.

E. F. G. devoted

Martin Luther, D.

No. 3300.

Wittenberg. January 31, 1546.

Melanchthon to Luther.

He reports that they had been very worried about him because of the high water level of the rivers, wishes him a happy return and reports the death of Duke Ernst of Lüneburg.

From *Manlii farrag. p.* 337, in *Corp. ref.* vol. VI, 20.

Hail! Venerable Doctor. The very valuable lady, your wife, was very concerned about you and the dear sons, since we had heard that the river (*flumen* == the Elbe) had swollen more. For we had heard nothing of the Saale river (*amne*) before your letter. You have therefore done your valuable wife and us a great favor by sending the letter about your stay in Halle. Now we pray to God, the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus, that He may lead you all back safely, after the harmony among the Counts of Mansfeld has been happily established. Here, by God's grace, is peace, and God grant that it may be long-lasting. Even now there is silence about the Convent on the Danube. The death of the

We greatly mourn the death of the good prince, the Duke of Lüneburg, who honored God with all his heart. May God preserve and govern the other princes who love the churches of God. Be well and happy. On the last day of January.

No. 3301.

Eisleben. 1 February 1546.

To Melanchthon.

Of the negotiations at Eisleben; of his journey, and an indisposition he contracted.

The original is at the library in Stuttgart. Printed in Zopfs Reise in einige Klöster Schwabens. Erl. 1786. 4th, and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 782.

Grace and peace in the Lord. I also thank thee, my dear Philip, that thou prayest for me, and I beseech thee that thou wilt continue to pray for me. Thou knowest that I am old, and how grossly I must be credited, even in my professional work. Now I am being dragged into an arduous conflict that is quite far removed from my studies and my inclinations and quite unsuitable for old age, so that I wish that at least you could be present, if not rather the consideration for your health compelled me to think that it was well done that we left you at home. Today, by the grace of God, we killed a porcupine, not without a very violent quarrel, which was more porcupine-like than the porcupine itself, "of the new city. We hope that henceforth the fights will be milder, God willing. I have grievously vexed Dr. Melchior 1) (as I see), because I was rather unwilling on the strict rights or the tips of the law, but he would have vexed me before by his vile error, little held in rein, in which he speaks nothing but the most inflated victories, even before the fight. It behooves the lawyers the little knowledge (*scientiola*) of law, the use of which, it seems to me, they are all altogether ignorant, as it were shameful and hired tongue-thrashers, who care not for peace, commonwealth, and religion; but for these things we are concerned, as always, so now also.

1) Dr. Melchior Kling, professor of law at Wittenberg and Mansfeld councilor.

On the journey I was seized with a faintness and at the same time with the illness which you are accustomed to call *tremorem ventriculi* 2). I was walking on foot, but beyond my strength, so that I was sweating; afterwards, since the shirt in the carriage was also chilled through by the sweat, the cold injured a muscle of the left arm. Hence that trembling of the heart and, as it were, a manner of breathing; my age is to blame for that. But now I am quite well again, but I don't know how long this will last, because nothing can be trusted in old age, since even youth is not entirely safe 3).

So far, at least, God has given that all the counts, and each one among them, show an extraordinary goodwill towards each other; pray that God will maintain and increase this. Tomorrow, now that Encelades and Typhoeus 4) have been overcome, we will continue to pursue the remaining things, among which we suspect "Pucher" of doing something. But GOD lives, who also may keep the victory, Amen. Fare well in the Lord, my dear Philip, and greet all, the pastor, the Creuziger, for whose prayers we give thanks, and have no small confidence that God will protect. Eisleben, on the day before the Purification of the Virgin Mary [1 Feb].

Martin Luther, D.

No. 3302

(Eisleben.) 1. February 1546.

To his housewife.

Joking letter of his condition etc. m.

From *Cod. chart. Goth* 79. 4. in De Wette, vol. V, p. 783 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 149.

My dear housewife Katharin Lntherin, Doctorin, Zülsdorferin, Säumärkterin and what she can be more.

Grace and peace in Christo, and my old poor love, and, as I know, ineffectual, zuvorn. Dear Käthe. I am weak in heart.

2) Literally, trembling of the abdomen; here it would probably like to be given by "palpitation of the heart," for *ventriculus cordis* is the ventricle of the heart.

3) Probably instead of *tuta* another word of more than two syllables; it has suffered from a fold in the paper. (De Wette.)

4) Two giants who wanted to knock Jupiter out of the sky.

west on the way hard before Eisleben, that was my fault. But if you had been there, you would have said it was the fault of the Jews or their god. For we had to pass through a village near Eisleben, where many Jews lived; perhaps they blew me so hard. So there are now more than 50 Jews living here in the town of Eisleben. And it is true, when I was near the village, such a cold wind went in the back of the wagons on my head through my beret, as if it wanted to turn my brain to ice. This may have helped to deceive me a little; but now I am well sent in the praise of God, except that the beautiful women challenge me so hard that I have neither care nor fear of all unchastity.

When the main matters are settled, then I must set about driving out the Jews. Count Albrecht is an enemy to them and has already given them up, but no one will do anything to them yet. God willing, I will help Count Albrecht in the pulpit and also expel them.

I drink Neunburg beer almost of the jewellery you have promised me from Mansfeld. It pleases me well, makes me also in the morning well three chairs in three hours.

Your sons went to Mansfeld the day before yesterday because Hans von Jene had asked them so humbly; I don't know what they are doing there. If it were cold, they would help to freeze. Now it is warm, they could do something else or suffer as they please. Hiemit GOtt befohlen sammt alles Hause, und grüße alle Tischgesellen. *Vigilia Purificationis* [1 February] 1546. *M. L.*, your old sweetheart.

No. 3303.

(Eisleben.) 6 February 1546.

To Melanchthon.

Luther is dissatisfied with the course of the negotiations and wishes that Melanchthon with Doctor Brück bring out a written order with the prince that Luther should return.

From the original in the archives at Ansbach in Schütze, Vol. I, p. 339 and in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 784 f.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Philipp Melanchthon, the faithful servant of God, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace! Here we sit and lie idle and busy, my dear Philip
pus; idle, in that we do nothing; busy, in that we suffer infinitely, since the malice of Satan afflicts us. Among so many paths we finally came to the one that showed hope; this again Satan prevented. Then we took another, where we thought everything had already been arranged; this again Satan prevented. The third has been begun, which seems to be quite certain and cannot fail, but the outcome will prove what has been done.

I would like, and I beg you, to ask Doctor Brück and the Prince to call me back home by letter for the sake of necessary causes, whether I can perhaps in this way force them to hasten the agreement. For I hold that they cannot suffer me to go away without the matter being settled. I will therefore give them this week, after which I will threaten them with a letter from the Prince. 1) This is about the tenth day since we began to regulate (*moderari*) the new city. I believe that it is built with much easier worries than it can be regulated by us. So great is the distrust of the people on both sides, that they suspect that poison is put before them in every syllable. You may say it is a war of words, or a madness of words. This convenience is owing to the lawyers, because they have taught and still teach the whole world so many ambiguities, restrictions, and intrigues, that surely the way of speaking is more confused than any Babylon. For there none could understand another, here none will understand another. O on the schemers, O on the sophists, the pestilence of the human race! I write in anger; I know not whether I shall teach more correctly when I am sober. But the wrath of GOD looks upon our sins. The LORD will judge His people, but with His servants He will be propitiatory, Amen. "If this be jurisprudence, it were not needful that a jurist should be so proud as they all are." Isaiah Cap.3 has the rule sV.1.2.^:

1) On 14 February Luther received an order from the Elector to return. See No. 3311.

"The LORD will take from Judah and Jerusalem strong men and men of war" 2c. Fare well and pray for me. On the day of Dorothea [6 Feb.] 1546. 1) Martin Luther, D.

No. 3304.

(Eisleben.) February 6, 1546.

To his housewife.

Similar content as the previous letter.

From the original in the von Wallenrodt Library in Königsberg in Lilienthal, Erläut. Preußen, Vol. IV, p. 156, but mutilated; complete in Borowski-Faber, p. 106; in De Wette, Vol. V, p.786 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 56, p. 150.

The profoundly learned woman Katherin Lutherin, my gracious housewives at Wittenberg.

Grace and peace. Dear Kate. We sit here and let ourselves be tortured, and would gladly be rid of it, but it cannot be yet; as methinks, in eight days. You may tell M. Philipps to correct his postill, for he has not understood why the Lord calls riches thorns in the Gospel. Here is the school where one learns to understand such things. But I am afraid that in the Scriptures the thorns are always threatened with fire, therefore I have all the more patience, if I might accomplish something good with God's help. Your sons are still at Mansfeld. Otherwise [we] have enough to eat and drink, and would have good days, if the disagreeable trade would do. 2) Methinks the devil mocks us, God will mock him again, amen. Pray for us. The messenger hurried very much. On St. Dorothea's Day [6 Feb.] 1546.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 3305.

(Eisleben.) February 7, 1546.

To his housewife.

Luther reassures them about their fears for his sake. He complains about the difficulty of making a comparison. Of the many Jews in and around Eisleben.

1) The original is said to have the date 1545, which is certainly wrong.

2) "that" == would not be. See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2258 s. v. "thäte".

The original is in the Rhediger library at St. Elisabeth in Breslau. Printed by Schütze, Vol. I, p. 406; by De Wette, Vol. V, p. 786 f. and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 56, p. 151.

My dear housewife Katherin Lutherin, Doctor, self-martyr at Wittenberg, my gracious wives at her hands and feet.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Read, thou dear Käthe, the *Johannine* and the little *Catechismum,* of which thou saidst to the mark: All is said of me in the book. For you want to take care of your God, just as if he were not almighty, who could create ten *Doctor Martinus,* where some old one dies in the hall or in the furnace hole or on Wolfes Vogelheerd. Let me alone with thy care. I have a better provider than thou and all the angels. He lieth in a manger, and hangeth upon the teats of a virgin; but sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty. Therefore in peace, amen.

I think that hell and the whole world must now be free of all the devils who may all have gathered here in Eisleben for my sake: so firm and hard is the matter. Now it is said that in Rißdorf, hard before Eisleben, where I was ill when I came in, they shall ride out and in and go with four hundred Jews. Count Albrecht, who has all the borders around Eisleben, has given up the Jews who have seized his property. Still no one will do them any harm. The Countess of Mansfeld, widow of Solim, is respected as the Jews' protector. I know not if it be true. But I have let myself be heard today, where they would mark what my opinion was, gross enough, if it help otherwise. Pray, pray, pray, and help us to do it well. For I had this day in mind to grease the cart in *ira mea*; but the woe, as it was to me, of my country hath kept me. I am now become a lawyer too. But it will not prosper them. It were better they let me remain a theologian. If I come among them, if I am to live, I may become a poltergeist, who, by the grace of God, will destroy their pride.

would like to comb (kemmen) 1). They pose as if they were God, of which they would well and truly like to resign in time, before their divinity would become devilishness, as happened to Lucifer, who could not remain in heaven for hope. Well, God's will be done! You shall let M. Philipps read this letter, for I have not had time to write to him, so that you may be comforted that I would gladly love you if I could, as you know, and perhaps he also knows against his wives, and understands everything well. We live well here, and the council gives me a half-barrel of Rhine Falls with every meal, which is very good. Sometimes I drink it with my companions. So the local wine is good here, and Naumburg beer very good, but methinks it makes my chest full of *phlegmate* with its pitch. The devil has spoiled our beer all over the world with pitch, and with you the wine with sulphur. But here the wine is pure, no matter what the country gives. And know that all the letters which thou hast written are come hither, and today are come those which thou hast written next Friday, with M. Philip's letters, that thou mayest not be angry. Sunday after Dorothea's day [7 Feb.] 1546.

Your dear Lord

M. Luther.

No. 3306.

Wittenberg. February 8, 1546.

Melanchthon to Luther.

He's sending messages from Regensburg 2c.

From the *Cod. Gudian. Guelpherb*. in *Collect. Ballenst.*, *Vol.* I, p. 58 and in Corp. Ref. vol. V, 33.

To the venerable man, distinguished by learning and virtue, Mr. Martin Luther, Doctor of Theology, the restorer of the pure doctrine of the Gospel, his exceedingly dear father.

Hail! Venerable Doctor, dearest Father! As I promised, I am sending the letters from Regensburg, even though they contain only small beginnings of the event. I understand that at least there is still harmony between our people; God, the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, grant that it may be a lasting one. By the way

1) De Wette: "inhibit".

they indicate that silence reigns over Emperor Carl as well as over the Turkish affairs in Regensburg. Here, by the grace of God, there is peace, both in the church and in the city. We have great desire for you, and wish that you will return safely and happily. I had also received small sheets about the ridiculous ceremonies at the announcement of the Concilium, but I gave them to Boniceus, the chamberlain of the most illustrious prince, who happened to be present. I wish I had kept them for you, only that they might excite your laughter. Be well and happy. On the eighth day of February, 1546...

No. 3307.

(Eisleben.) February 10, 1546.

To Prince George of Anhalt.

Luther sends back a writing sent to him with his marginal notes, and comments on the increasing immorality.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 473, printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 380 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 788.

To the most reverend and illustrious Prince and Lord, Lord George, Bishop of the Church of Merseburg and Provost of the Church of Magdeburg, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien, Lord of Bernburg, the most illustrious and illustrious Lord.

Grace and peace. Reverend Father in Christ and noble Prince! I have recorded my opinion in the margins, as briefly as I was able, and am prepared to write more at another time and when I have more leisure, although with E. F. G.'s high intellect, more is not necessary. Certainly, one must counteract the ailments into which the heedless and licentious people plunge themselves, as if they had to live without all laws, lest what happened, as Moses writes, before the flood of sin, finally come to pass, namely, they took as wives whom they wished, even sisters, mothers, and those who had been stolen from their husbands. And I hear that there are certainly many similar examples going on in secret. God forbid that they should not rule publicly, as was seen in Herod and the kings of Egypt. The king of England was an unholy husband, therefore his example shall always be set forth.

because, even though he was dispensed with, conscience always had the upper hand over the dispensation, since people without any need acquire an evil conscience, which in itself gives us enough trouble, even in things that are well-intentioned. But more at another time, God willing. In Him, His Serene Highness is quite well. February 10, 1546.

E. F. Serene Highness devoted Martin Luther, D.

No. 3308.

(Eisleben.) February 10, 1546.

To his wife.

Luther jokingly dismisses her concern for him and reports on his well-being.

Handwritten in *Cod. Closs*. and in *Cod. Bos*. 24. p. Printed by Walch, vol. XXI, 1564; by De Wette, vol. V, p. 789 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 153.

To the holy, careful women, Katherin Lutherin, D[octorin], Zülsdorf§rin, at Wittenberg, my gracious", dear housewives.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most holy lady doctor! We thank you kindly for your great care, for which you cannot sleep; for since you have cared for us, we have been consumed by fire in our inn, just outside my parlour door; and yesterday, without doubt due to the strength of your care, a stone almost fell on our heads and crushed us, as in a man's trap. For in our secret chamber for two days over our head trickled lime and glue, till we took men to it, who touched the stone with two fingers, and down it fell, as big as a long pillow and two large hands wide; that had in mind your holy care to thank, where the dear holy angels did not keep huts. I care, where thou ceas'st not to care, that at the last the earth may swallow us up, and all the elements pursue. Do you then teach the catechism and the faith? Pray thou, and let God take care: for it is said, Cast thine affliction upon the Lord, and he shall take care of thee: Psalms 55:23, and many other places.

We are, praise of GOD, fresh and healthy, with no lack of desire for things, and Dr. Jonas
would gladly have a wicked thigh, that he might bump an ark about: so great is the envy in men, that he would not grant me to have a wicked thigh alone. Hereby God commanded. We would now like to be gone, and go home, if God wills it, amen, amen, amen. On the day of Scholasticä [10 February] 1546.

Your Holy Willing Servant Martinus Luther.

No. 3309.

Torgau. 10 February 1546.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Elector demands an expert opinion from Luther because of the mitigation of the sentence requested by the Bishop of Amsdorf at Naumburg in the matter of the Caplain at Friesnitz.

From *Reg. Ll, p. 77. n. 61. 1*. Printed from a copy in Burkhardt, p. 491.

Our greetings first. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have recently been informed by the also venerable Mr. Niclasen, bishop of Naumburg, our dear reverend, the same also from our office of Weida, of a case that occurred with the chaplain at Frisnitz. Although we have now been informed by the said bishop of the form in which you and Dr. Pomeranus have attributed your concern 1) to him, and have also received a copy of such concern, we have nevertheless, for moving reasons, not wished to refrain from ordering that further inquiries be made about these matters, that the chaplain be held to this, that his reply be diligently marked, and then sent to you, and that your further concern be noted therein. Since such interrogation has now taken place, and the chaplain has also submitted his responsibility in writing, and has been sent to us by the bishop, we hereby send it to you. And since we note that the bishop, after the answer of the captain has been given, intends to direct the matters of the punishment to an alleviation, as you can judge from his writing, and we do not want to procure or conclude anything in this respect without your advice and concern, our gracious request is that you open the same to us and make it known, so that we may be able to respond to it with further orders. You do our pleasing opinion, and we are graciously inclined to you. Date Torgau, Wednesday after Dorothea [10 Feb] 1546.

1) No. 3291.

No. 3310.

Regensburg. 10 February 1546.

George Major to Luther and the other theologians.

Major reports on the beginning of the Regensburg Colloquium, namely on the article of justification, on Bucer's diligence and skill, on the colloquists of the opposing party, and on the probable fruitlessness of the conversation.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H, fol.* 653, no. 203. Printed in *Corp. Ref.* vol. VI, 38.

To the highly famous and highly learned men, Mr. Martin Luther, Mr. Johann Bugenhagen, Mr. Caspar Cruciger, Mr. Philipp Melanchthon, Doctors of Theology, his exceedingly revered fathers and teachers.

Hail in Christ Jesus! What has been going on here in the past few days, venerable gentlemen and highly esteemed teachers, I believe Your Honor has sufficiently recognized from our letters. Several days were spent on the well-known preparatory, insignificant matters, such as the admission of notaries, their number, their reliability, the safekeeping of acts, and that they should not be distributed, and many other such matters. Then they came to the matter itself. Then the Spaniard Malvenda, the collocutor sent in the name of the emperor, began to dictate to the notaries from a letter the act, the brief epitome of which I send here. The next day Bucer answered in our name, and this day was spent in refuting his [Malvenda's] preface and in discussing what he had been hounding us and our princes about, after which the protestation 1) I had written, which we sent you the other day, was read out. Although nothing hard was said in it against the emperor or anyone else, yet the opponents began to cry out that it was not a protestation, but an accusation (*criminationem*). And Malvenda said: Since the Emperor is mentioned here, and I am an imperial official (*Caesareanus*), I will not suffer them to proceed before I have answered each piece. Moved by the Emperor's reputation, the

1) This protestation is printed in full in Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth.,* 630b sq. and in Corp. Ref., vol. VI, 39-43, immediately after this letter. In an objection of February 12, the Wittenberg theologians mention it.

Presidents to resign; but after the protestation had been more carefully considered, we were again called, and the Presidents requested that we should proceed.

Then, among other matters, two in particular were carefully discussed. First, since we saw that the opponents were intent on leading us away to Sorbonian sophisms by leaving out the way prescribed by the Emperor for dealing with the fourth article of the Augsburg Confession, justification, we indicated that we did not want to deal with them about this article in any other way than according to the Augsburg Confession, as commanded by the Emperor. Then it was diligently proved to them from the acts of the colloquium which had been held here before, that this article of justification had been agreed upon and accepted, also according to the testimony of the opponents themselves and of the Emperor. Then, according to the order, every detail belonging to the doctrine has been treated with the greatest fidelity and care, as you will read the epitome of this action sent by the Lord Brenz, for he also wished to earn some thanks. Bucer is very suitable for these actions, and although the rest of us carefully observe all his sayings, writings, and actions, he has truly acted this matter with the greatest fidelity up to now, as the Acts show. And to all of you he always makes honorable mention as his fathers and teachers, does nothing without first consulting us, he hears our advice and obeys it. For we consult with each other almost daily, and there is nothing more pleasant for me here than the coming together and confidential contact with the best and most learned men, who, as I see, love you all with all their hearts.

The adversaries, as the seed of the serpent, find quite unlike a man, the utmost yeast of the sophists; the two monks are exceedingly impudent men. Malvenda, after the manner of his people, is a very hopeful man, puffed up by the emperor's prestige; he endeavors to disturb everything, and even the presidents, who are otherwise quite fair to us, are nevertheless compelled to fear him, and both have made it plain to us that they hate this Spaniard; but we despise his defiance and his hopefulness, and several times we have frustrated his foolish attempts. It is pleasant for Cochleus to hang at the back of the collocutors.

What the beginnings of the Colloquium are, and what reconciliation with the adversaries can be hoped for, Your Honor will understand and recognize more fully from the letter to the most noble Prince. Therefore, you will have to advise and inform us whether it is possible to continue with the opponents in the remaining articles of our Confession as prescribed by the Emperor, since I do not see that there is any hope that they will yield in anything. For this your counsel we all ask and desire. Fare well, most reverend fathers and teachers, whom Christ may long preserve to His Church. Regensburg, February 10, 1546.

Your Honor faithful 1) George Major.

No. 3311.

(Eisleben.) February 14, 1546.

To Melanchthon.

Luther writes that, since he has now received the order of the Elector to return, he wants to leave soon. He asks that he be sent some of the etchant with which his leg wound is being kept open, and so on.

Handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 474. Printed in *Camerar. vit. Melanchth. ed. nov., p.* 451; in Ratzeberger's Geh. Gesch. edited by Strobel, p. 51; in *Strobel-Ranner, p.* 29; in Schütze, vol. I, p. 381 and in De Wette, vol. V, p. 790 f.

To Philipp Melanchthon, his very worthy brother in Christ.

Grace and peace! To-day I have received the most agreeable letter from the Prince, calling me home, my dear Philip, and I hasten to go away, for I am full of these things. But see to it, I beseech you, that at least, if I should be on my journey, a messenger comes to meet me, bringing with him a little of the herb with which my thigh is kept open. For almost the whole wound is healed, which is opened at Wittenberg; you know how dangerous that is. And here one does not have such etchants. My Käthe

1) We have resolved F. by *fidus,* since frater, the otherwise usual resolution for F., would probably not fit here, according to the high titulatures which Major attaches to his addressees, namely: *vestra praestantia* and *vestrae excellentiae*, Which we have given by "Ew. Ehrwürden".

knows in which place in my parlor this kind of so necessary herb lies.

Pope Paul the Third died and was buried on the third of January, which is written here that it is certainly the truth. The bishop of Cologne summons Count Albrecht by letter to a meeting of the counts in Nordhausen on the first of March, in order to negotiate with them about matters concerning the counts. For he thinks that the Counts should be excluded from the Bishopric of Cologne. Other things, God willing, in a short time verbally. For I will break away. Fare well in the Lord. February 14, 1546. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 3312.

Eisleben. 14 February 1546.

To his housewife.

About his soon return. Of the happy establishment of the settlement and the reconciliation of Counts Gebhard and Albrecht intended by him. Of their sons and of Luther's condition 2c.

From *Cod. chart. 79. 4th Bibl. Goth.* in De Wette, vol. V, p. 791 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 154.

To the attention of my kind, dear housewife, Katherin Lutherin von Bora at Wittenberg.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Dear Käthe! We hope to come home again this week, if God wills it. God has shown great mercy here, for the lords have settled almost everything through their counsels, except for two or three articles, among which is that the two brothers, Count Gebhard and Count Albrecht, will become brothers again, which I am to do today, and I will ask them to come to me as guests, so that they may also speak to each other; for they have been silent until now, and have embittered themselves severely with writings. Otherwise the young gentlemen are merry, ride together with the jesters-Glöcklin on sleighs, and the Fräulin too, and bring each other Mumschenz, 2) and are good things, even Count Gebhard's son. So one must grasp that God is *exauditor precum* [the hearer of prayers].

I send you trout that Countess Albrecht has given me; she is happy with her heart.

2) This is mumbo jumbo.

of unity. Your sons are still at Mansfeld. Jacob Luther will provide for them. We have food and drink here, as the lords, and they are waiting for us quite nicely, and all too nicely, that we might well forget you in Wittenberg. So the stone troubles me not. But Dr. Jonas' leg would have been almost quad 1), so it has gained holes on the shin; but God will also help.

You may report all this to M. Philipps, Dr. Pomer and Dr. Creuziger. There is a rumor that Dr. Martinus is led away, as they say in Leipzig and Magdeburg. These are the rumors of the wise men, your countrymen. Some say that the emperor is thirty miles from here at Soest in Westphalia; some that the Frenchman accepts servants, the landgrave too. But let us say and sing; we will wait and see what God will do. Hiemit GOtt befehlt. At Eisleben on Sunday Valentini [14 Feb] 1546.

M. Luther, D.

No. 3313.

(Eisleben.) February 16, 1546.

Note.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 13th Table Talks, cap. 1, § 10.

No. 3314.

Eisleben. 16 February 1546.

Concerns and contract in the Mansfeld dispute, raised by Luther and Jonas.

Printed in the Hallische Theile, p. 471; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXI, p. 689; in Walch, vol. XXI, Nachlese, 261*; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 792, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 155.

The Lord Dr. Martini and Dr. Jonä Bedenken, die Kirchen zu Mansfeld belangende.

The church on the castle.

The dean of the castle shall be accepted and paid by the common lordship, he shall govern the churches, preach on Sunday, Wednesday and Friday.

The other servants, as a capellan, a cantor, two chorales, four boys and the sexton, are to be taken on by the decanus and to

1) "quad" == bad.

have to govern. But as far as the chaplain and sexton are concerned, any person shall be accepted with the consent of the lords and in the presence of their officials.

The chaplain is to perform the sacraments and see to it that the ceremonies are performed properly. The other persons know what they are to do.

The two chorales and four boys shall live at the school and be kept there under the supervision of the schoolmaster. And the two chorales shall each help to read two hours a day in the school, for which the schoolmaster needs them.

The parish priest in the valley is to be accepted by the common lordship; and since this parish has no more than 52 florins in income, our gracious lords want to give God 100 florins annually in honor of and at the intercession of both of us, Dr. Martini and Dr. Jonä, for the maintenance of a parish priest and to serve Christ with this alms for his kingdom. Jonä, intercession annually 100 florins for the maintenance of a priest, and with such alms serve Christ for his kingdom. On the other hand, the people of Mansfeld shall lend the house in the churchyard, where the dean is now, to the deanery, and let their pastor, preacher and chaplain live in the other three houses next to it. And so that unity may be kept in both churches, the dean shall take care that, as a common church order was made by the venerable Dr. Martino, the same is kept properly. However, the dean, pastor and other servants shall be subject to the superintendent of Eisleben.

The school in the Thal Mansfeld.

For this purpose our gracious lords have given about one prebend, and now ordered for it: fifteen florins Count Gebhart, fifteen florins Count Albrecht, forty florins the young lords. And it is the request of the doctors, J. J. G. G., that such money remain with the school, and that it be ordered to be given in the quarters.

Salary of the persons, the servants in the castle.

Two hundred florins, fifteen bushels of wheat, fifteen bushels of rye, fifteen bushels of barley, five ounces of wood to the dean.

One hundred florins to the capellan, forty florins to the cantor, two and thirty florins [to each of the] two choralists, eight florins to each boy, likewise also to each a skirt on Michaelmas. Thirty florins to the sexton, forty florins to the organist.

Summa in money 506 guilders.

Summa, what now and all persons admit to maintain, makes 568 florins, 9 groschen on the castle.

Contract understood by both gentlemen doctors on previous concern, and approved and executed by all counts of Mansfeld.

I Martinus Luther, Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, declare with this open letter that the well-born and noble gentlemen, Mr. Gebhart, Mr. Albrecht, Mr. Philipps, and Mr. Hans George, brothers and cousins, Counts and Lords of Mansfeld 2c., and next reported both counts, for themselves and J. Gn. young and minor brothers, on my, also the venerable, my dear friend, Dr. Jonä, cultivated interlocution, in honor of God, and for the promotion of common benefit, the following articles, order half of the churches, schools, hospitals, matrimonial matters and the ecclesiastical ban, have finally and amicably compared with each other.

Namely, J. G. shall and want to maintain the most distinguished person in the church at Eisleben St. Andreä, who shall be pastor and superintendent, and who shall be appointed and accepted by well-reported 2) counts, I. G. heirs and descendants. The same superintendent shall be paid five hundred florins annually, so that he may be well and prosperously maintained. The house where the school of St. Andrew used to be, together with the house in which Mr. Clemen now lives, shall also be prepared and built for him, so that he may be able to maintain himself well and in good standing. What now goes to the building, Count Albrecht wants to pay two fifths and the other counts three fifths. But the other persons in the church St. Andreä,

1) Inserted by us. Without this addition, instead of: "both" it should read: "each".
2) "well-reported" put by us instead of: "well-reported" in the issues.

Outside the school persons, Count Philipps and Count Hans George shall have to appoint. Count Albrecht, however, shall appoint all persons in St. Niclas and Peter Parish Churches as patrons. The same Superattenden shall take care of all parish priests and preachers of this county, to require them, and to address and punish them in the presence of assigned persons. And in case they do not want to be obedient, they are to be reported to the lord under whom they sat and urged by him to Christian and due obedience.

Also the disputed matrimonial matters in the whole dominion shall be brought before this superintendent, who then shall require the assigned ones, as often as a matrimonial matter will arise, also to write to the count, if the matters concern the common dominion, or, however, a single competent subject, then J. G. shall write to him. G. shall then, if it concerns common subjects, send their entire council, or, if it concerns a count's subjects alone, then the same count shall send his council to such action. If, however, all the Counts, if it concerns the subjects of the common lordship, or one of them, if it concerns only one of the Counts' subjects, do not send their councillors, the Superintendent, in addition to those assigned to him, shall nevertheless dispose of the matter in accordance with divine rights and established order.

For the sake of the schools it has been agreed that the two schools which J. G. kept hard by St. Andre's churches shall be combined: so that there shall be a noble Latin school here in Eisleben, which J. G. wants to maintain in good order. want to maintain, namely give the schoolmaster 200 florins, the other after him 100 florins, the third 90 florins, the fourth 80 florins, the fifth 50 florins and the sixth 40 florins, the seventh also 40 florins, and the eighth 30 florins.

J. G. shall also have to dismiss the same school persons in case of necessity and to accept them anew.

Because now 1130 gulden will go to the superintendent and the school persons, in which sum count Albrechten will get 452 gulden on two fifths, and the other counts 678 gulden on three fifths.

The fourth part of this sum shall be distributed to each person according to his or her number by those who have been appointed for this purpose. And on all holidays, or when one is preaching, both churches, St. Andreä and Nicolai, shall be supplied with collaborators and pupils from this combined school. But the children's school at St. Peter's in the city of Eisleben shall nevertheless remain.

It is agreed that the houses which have now been brought to the churches and schools shall belong to whichever lord they please, and shall thenceforth remain with the schools and churches.

Settlement of the Dechanei on the Castle and the Parish in the Mansfeld Valley: It is agreed, negotiated and agreed by both counts that the contract, which was recently drawn up, which states that count Hoier and his young cousins are to lend the deanery, count Gebhart and Albrecht are to lend the parish in the valley from now on, is to be null and void in this point, so that from now on the deanery on the castle and the parish in the valley are to go to the fief of all counts. And after there have been five fiefs in the church in the castle outside of the deanery, which have been divided, so that each lord has been granted a fief: so now the use of these five fiefs, such as the dean, chaplain, choir master, choir pupils, organist, four boys and sexton for maintenance and reward, shall be used for the maintenance of the dean and the church people in the castle. Namely, the dean has been ordered to receive 200 florins annually from now on. The same dean is to take on a chaplain, who is also sent to preach, as well as the choirmaster, and the two choir pupils and four boys, but all with the advice of the counts, officials or commanders.

The dean shall also preach on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, where he can do so for the sake of his body; the chaplain shall perform the sacraments, and on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays he shall give a German lesson from Luther's sermons, and shall have 100 florins annually for his salary. The cantor, in addition to the two chorales, is to maintain the church and the singing diligently. And the cantor shall be paid 40 florins, and each chorister 32 florins.

The chorales, however, shall be obliged to read every day for two hours in the school in the valley and to help where the schoolmaster needs them. In addition, four boys shall be kept to help with the singing: each of them shall receive 8 florins and a skirt annually on Michaelmas. The sexton shall be paid 30 florins and the organist 40 florins annually. This means that the money that goes to the dean and the church servants of the castle amounts to 506 florins, not including the clothing of the four boys.

Now that there is no more, as recorded in the register of inheritance here above, the reported Counts want to arrange that which is lacking, namely Count Albrecht two fifths, and the other Counts, as Count Philipp and Count Hans Georg together with J. G. brothers, three fifths of certain annuities. G. brothers, will arrange three fifths of certain annuities, and thus procure that such 506 1) florins, with that which is already available, will be made payable and will certainly be payable at Easter.

And because Count Albrecht let the income of the fief, which was called the fourteen emergency helpers, and which was his responsibility, follow the council of Heckstädt for a while, he wants to make such income again valid, or assure another end. But as far as the parish is concerned, because the same, as the citizens in the valley of Mansfeld give little for its maintenance, does not have an income of more than 52 florins, 2) so it shall be discussed with the citizens to maintain the parish priest in such a way that he will have at least one and a half hundred florins. And if the counts could not provide him with such from the community, what is then lacking, the counts shall reimburse, and provide that the priest shall have one and a half hundred florins. The dean, however, shall have and keep his dwelling in the churchyard, where the present dean, Mr. Michael, is inside. And in the three houses next to it shall live the priest, the preacher and the chaplain, as they have been appointed. And so that unity may be kept in both churches, the dean shall take care that, as a common church order, made by me, Dr. Martino, the same is kept.

1) Wrong in all editions: "560".

2) "has" put by us instead of: "have".

be kept orderly. However, the dean, pastor and other servants shall be subject to the superintendent of Eisleben.

In order that the school at Mansfeld may be the more stately maintained, the counts want to give 15 florins from each fifth for the board, as it has been used until now, and to make sure that the end, when the maintenance of the others is ordered, is received and provided for.

The two hospitals at Eisleben, as the Holy Spirit and St. Catharina, are to be combined with all benefits and staffing, but the healthy are to be separated in different chambers from the unclean and infirm. And J. G. want to order eight persons of their noble citizens, who are most in service, together with a hospital master, to preside over the poor people in the most faithful way, and to provide for them, also to make the light slate, such as all that which the hospitals in Erfurt and other ends have outstanding, again workable. If it were also a matter of the hospital's adjoining grounds or anything else being stolen, J. G. would want them to be brought in again.

However, as far as matrimonial matters and degrees are concerned, also the ecclesiastical ban, J. G., together with their councilors, superintendents and guards, want to establish a Christian order in the county, and then have it established and publicized according to Christ's word and order.

In witness and constant, firm attitude, the Counts have promised for themselves, J. G. heirs, young brothers and descendants, to keep this act unbreakable to us, Dr. Martins Luthero and Dr. Justo Jonä. Justo Jonä, whereupon we now reported, and both Doctores, this contract and grant duplicated, confirmed with our attached petitions, signed with our own hand, assigned the one to Count Albrechten, and the other to the 1) other Counts. Done at Eisleben, on Tuesday, the sixteenth month of February, after the birth of Christ our Lord, in the fifteen hundred and six and fortieth year.

Martinus Luther, Dr. Justus Jonas, D.

1) "the" put by us instead of: "the".

No. 3315.

Regensburg. 17 February 1546.

Johann Brenz to Luther.

Mittheilungen über das Colloquium zu Regensburg, besonders über das gottlose Verhalten der gegnerischen Collocutoren.
From a copy in *Cod. Monac.* 90, no. VII, p. 197, in *Corp. Ref.* vol. VI, 52.

To the highly famous restorer of godly doctrine, Dr. Martin Luther, his Lord and patron who is to be highly honored in Christ.

Hail in Christ! Although, most reverend father, Dr. George Major writes to you at length what we here in our congregation in truth suffer more than we do, I have nevertheless, because we do not doubt that you unite your prayers with ours, wanted to unite with his letter also mine to your reverence.

Opinions differ about our action. But I believe that it is a clear example of the success of human counsel. For this colloquium is scheduled to be a preparation for establishing harmony in the ecclesiastical disputes. The collocutors of the opposite party seem to set themselves upon the pretence that they do not only preserve that ungodly doctrine which has a certain appearance of godliness, but also wish to restore that which has been previously rejected by the more intelligent of their own party. They hold out to us eulogies on the scholastic teachers and theologians. They teach that the ungodly may prepare themselves by good works to receive the grace by which they are justified. They say that in the church of Christ it is commanded that there should be a twofold righteousness, of faith and of works. They preach to us that they consider it no small error that God should impute to man that which he does not have, and should not impute to him the sin which he has. For it is a judgment of God against the truth. Yea, since the article of justification was simply presented in our Confession, they, being ignorant of that article, have accused us of almost more error than the article contains words. These are the sweet sermons which we are compelled to hear at this time, and I doubt not that, if you were sitting invisibly in a corner, and heard such ungodly words and sermons, you would not only pity us, but also wonder that, having feet, we do not immediately hasten from their midst. Therefore it is very wise indeed

that Philip has been kept at home by you. But we humbly beseech thee, that with thy prayers thou mayest assist us with God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that we may be delivered from these vipers and true devils. We pray that JEsus Christ may keep you unharmed for the Church for a long time, Amen. From Regensburg, February 17, 1546.

Your Brenz.

No. 3316.

Wittenberg. February 18, 1546.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Melanchthon thanks him for his letter (No. 3311); wishes that he may return safely, and sends him writings about events in Hungary. They would not have known about the death of the pope before his letter 2c.

From *Melancht. Epist. lib*. III, p. 146 (*ed. Lond. lib.* III, ep. 72) in *Corp. Ref*, vol. VI, 53.

To the venerable man who excels in learning, virtue and wisdom, Mr. Martin Luther, Doctor of Theology, the restorer of the pure doctrine of the Gospel, his exceedingly dear father.

Hail. Venerable Doctor and dearest Father! I thank you that you have written to us so often and so lovingly. Now we pray to God, the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that He may lead you all back to Haufe unharmed. I am sending you and the other friends a little book which contains small Hungarian histories, written by honourable men whose integrity and loyalty are known to us. Of the death of the Roman Pontiff and the other things you indicate, we have heard nothing here before your letter. But I hope that within three days we shall have parcels of letters from the banks of the Danube. Your honored wife sends the medicine you have asked for. Be well and happy. February 18.

No. 3317.

(Eisleben.) February 18, 1546.

Johann Aurifaber to Michael Gutt in Halle.

He reports Luther's death.

The original is in the state archives at Zerbst. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 427.

To Micheln Gutt, chamberlain at Hall in the Schmerstrasse.

Hurry, hurry to your own hands.

Oh, how sorry I am that with a saddened heart I must inform you of the great accident (vnfhal) that unfortunately, lamented to God, the venerable Doctor Martinus Luther here in Eisleben today between 2 and 3 a.m. in God's Christian departed, after he had eaten (gesse) and drunk yesterday evening, and had been very merry. But after dinner, the illness of the measure struck him, and when it came to him again today in the night at one o'clock, we tried all human help on him, but God graciously wanted to take him away from this misery. Prince Wolf von Anhalt, Count Albrecht von Mansfeld, Philips and Hans Jörg, Count, and Vollrath, Count Heinrich von Schwarzburg, Count Albrecht's husband, von Schwarzburg's husband, Doctor Ludwig and Magister Simon Wilde, Doctor Jonas, Michel Celius, and many of the nobility were present. Is Christian and well different. God, the Almighty, will be merciful and gracious to us all. He is a child of eternal blessedness, as I want to tell you at present. February 18, 1546.

E. W.

Joannes Aurifaber.

[Oh, that God would have mercy in high heaven, that I should report such a sad message to you.

No. 3318.

Aarhuus. 3 March 1546.

King Christian of Denmark to Luther.

The king rejects Luther's thanks for the money sent, thanks him for the news he has received, and expresses the hope that the enemies of the Gospel will suffer the same fate as Duke Henry of Brunswick.

Printed in Wegener, Aarsberetninger, vol. I, p. 242 and in Kolde, *Analecta,* p. 431.

Answer to Doctor Martinum Lutherum at Wittenberg, concerning the money sent over. Date Arhusen, the 3rd day of Marcii. Anno 2c. 1546.

Christian 2c. Our most gracious greetings. Venerable and highly esteemed, special dear one!

1) "gerugen" == to give rest.

We have received and graciously understood your letter 1). If the thanks for the money sent had been without necessity, for if we knew how to show you grace and a willingness with greater and other things, we would gladly do so in truth, and it is a special favor to us that such a small thing from us is acceptable to you. We hope to God that He will keep you healthy and alive for a long time for the benefit and promotion of the Christian Church and our true religion, so that you will not only receive the prescribed and small money from us this time, but (especially) for many years to come. And thank you most graciously for the attributed newspapers. We do not doubt, as we also diligently ask, that the Almighty will, as has now been graciously and mightily done to the one from Brunswick, prevent the ungodly plots and schemes against his holy church and true doctrine, make them ashes and void, and preserve and save his poor church. To the same God and Father of our Saviour JEsu Christ we commend you, and ourselves together with our beloved spouses, young lords, riches, lands and people, in your Christian prayer and Pater Noster. Datum *ut supra*.

No 3319.

Coldingen. 29 December 1546.

King Christian of Denmark to Luther's widow.

The king sends her fifty thalers for her housekeeping and promises her his future affection.
Printed in Wegener, Aarsberetninger, Vol. I, p. 248 and in Kolde, p. 432.

Inscription: To Doctor Luther's widow. Kön.

Mtt. send her fifty Thaler. Date Coldingen, the 29th Decembris Anno 1546.

Christian 2c. Our most gracious greetings to you. Honorable and much virtuous, dear special ones! After we reported that in the present dangerous times you had left Wittenberg for Magdeburg along with others, we did not want to refrain from writing to you to avoid our most gracious will and inclination. And when you changed your housekeeping in such a way and turned to

1) Burkhardt, who gives a regest of this letter, thinks the letter is lost, because it cannot be Luther's letter of Nov. 26, 1545 (No. 3274) (because of the thanks for the news). On the other hand, Kolde remarks that the letter of April 14 (No. 3203) is meant. We believe that this letter is the answer to both of Luther's letters.

2) we have a special pity, we send you by the present messenger, the old Silesian, for your housekeeping, fifty Thaler, which you want to accept as a favor, and note our most gracious inclination from it. We also want to be your gracious lord at all times and know how to show ourselves towards you. We do not want to behave such graciously and are inclined to you with grace and all good. Datum *ut supra*. 3)

Breeze without all time determination.

No. 3320.

Wittenberg. Without time determination.

To an unnamed person.

Luther speaks out his view on 1 Petr. 4, 6. and On Nonnus.

In Rebenstock's *Colloquia Lutheri, tom. II, fol.* 2196, with the superscription: *Consilium M. L. super locurn 1. Petri 4. cap.*; in Seidemann's "Lutherbriefe," p. 79, with the superscription: "An einen ungenannten Pfarrer," and in Bindseil's Colloquia, tom. II, p. 278, as attributed to: *Professori bonarum literarum in schola Chemnitia loanni Schulteto, quem supremum vocant*. Seidemann, "Lauterbach," p. XIV, says of this:"^.91, vol. II, col. 135 has only: *ad l. 8. scriptum*. He is the locksmith in Pirna, Joh. Dav. Schreber (cf. St. Louiser Ausg., vol. IX, 1813, note 1). - The text in Seidemann is at the beginning very corrupted by punctuation that is contrary to the sense, therefore we have translated according to Bindseil, but preferred some of Seidemann's readings.

What will the matter finally come to? There will never be an end to the questions. Thus it comes to pass that there is no concern that we may become godly. For this is how we are accounted, that we may be able to discourse shrewdly on grave and intricate matters. Therefore I exhort thee that thou trouble thyself no longer with the passage in the epistle of Peter, which perhaps cannot be interpreted without special revelation. I freely confess that I do not obtain it, nor do I trouble myself much with the anxiety of fully investigating such passages. Would to God that I had thought through what (as Paul says) is for edification. Fer

2) In Kolde, "that."

3) We have assigned a similar letter from the King of Denmark to Luther's widow, dated 8 Feb. 1552, to the Postscript (at the end), since we wanted to conclude Luther's collection of letters with the year of Luther's death, 1546.

ner with the Normus it stands thus: He was a poet. He wrote a paraphrase of the Gospel of John in a Greek poem. He seems to have been an eloquent and godly man, whose testimony I sometimes use in the interpretation of John, and the passage you wrote about he referred to the last judgment of Christ. Give me the credit of the brevity of my letter, and lay my sincere remembrance to my best advantage. Farewell.

To the professor of the fine sciences in the school at Chemnitz, Johann Schultetus, who is called the highest.

No. 3321.

Wittenberg. Without year and day.

To a prince.

(Fragment.)

Luther declares himself against the insolence of men who, without being preachers, set themselves up as judges of others.

Handwritten in *Cod. 451. fol. Bibl. Goth. fol. 72*. Printed in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 56, p. I^XVIII and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 416.

Now, the F. F. G. know that in the public ministry of preaching it is right and just to punish injustice, for which God has ordained it; but that each one, according to his own head, should grope and mock the other in this way, apart from the ministry of preaching, is contrary to common peace, and causes dissension, and might otherwise come about. For this reason, it is the duty of the Holy Father to take a serious look at them and to command them to believe as they wish inwardly, and at home, where they have authority to speak, or when they are ordered to preach publicly, to preach and teach according to their will, and the Holy Father, as a temporal lord, neither wants to force them nor to enforce them.

But that they break the common outward peace, and publicly punish in public, and scold or make a noise, and quarrel, since they have no right or power, that is the spirit of sedition, which E. F. G. must and will counteract, that they may learn how they are not themselves masters in the land, and make and keep peace on both sides, so that no one

He shall not touch another privately, without orders, and out of public office. For it behooves no man to judge and to touch another in this way, unless he has a command and an office, as a preacher and a prince. So the Turk also does, letting everyone believe and teach in his place as he pleases, but keeping peace on all sides so that no one has to offend or touch the other. This is also right and a noble, princely deed. This spirit is not cast out with the finger of God, but with blows.

No. 3322.

Wittenberg. Without year and day.

To a good friend.

Advice on how to marry.

Printed in all editions of the Tischreden, Cap. 43, §10 (except in the St. Louiser, where reference is made to this volume) and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 417 f.

That thou askest counsel of me to take a wife is of the opinion, as I think, that thou wouldest gladly avoid all misfortune, and that thou lackest nothing in matrimony, *ne scilicet post factum te conjugii poeniteret* [that after it is done thou mayest not be sorry for matrimony]. But see that the giving of counsel and the making of deals do not cheat thee, and that thou thereafter keep that which is cheated in thy hand. But as thou hast asked, I say unto thee for my counsel, that first of all thou must have counsel with thyself, and advise thyself in this, that thou mayest have no man to jealousy, when reproach hath taken thee, lest he that driveth the wheel, *qui est Deus* [that is, God], mock thee. This I counsel thee. But if thou needest no wife, which thou alone canst prove, take no wife. *Si ureris, id est, habes stimulos carnis, pollutiones et tentationes* [If thou sufferest rutting, that is, thou hast stings of the flesh, rivers, and temptations], what long dost thou lick, take a wife after all. However, if God gives you one who loves you and you love her, then 1) do again according to the teaching of St. Paul in 1 Corinthians 7 [v. 29]: *Tanquam non habens* [as if you had her nothing. But that thou wouldest have a beautiful, pious, and abundant

1) "so" put by us instead of: "and".

Eia, dear, yes! one shall paint thee one with red cheeks and white legs; they are also the most pious, but they do not cook well and make bad beds. You will be like the nuns, to whom they put carved Jesus. But they looked around for others who lived there and pleased them better, and saw that they might come out of the convent again. Now whether thy wife be pious or wicked, God will make it well. It is said, *Tribulationem carnis habebunt hujusmodi* [yet shall such bodily afflictions have], 1 Corinth. on the 7th [v. 28th]. Therefore experience and practice are the best counsel in this. But the market will teach thee to buy. According to this have thou to judge. Rise early and free young shall no one regret.

Dr. Martinus Luther.

No. 3323.

Without year and day.

To an unnamed person.

(Fragment.)

Good advice on getting married.

Printed in "Fortgesetzte Sammlung von alten und neuen Theolog. Sachen" 1722, p. 189, ex Msto.; in the Erlanger Ausg., vol. 56, p. LXX and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 419.

My Ketha also sends a friendly warning that you should not take a peasant's lump in marriage; for they are coarse and proud, cannot have men for good, and can neither cook nor press. *Haec Ketha, 4th hora*.

No. 3324.

Without year and day.

Think piece.

On a possible concern to be raised.

From Luther's own handwriting in the *Codex Seidel, R.* 96, of the Dresden Library, p. 311, printed by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 419.

Memorials (*Memoriale*).

Above all, they must be taught that they understand the faith and its power and custom correctly, and learn that the knowledge must be given by God and not by the people.

For they do not defend the freedom of the flesh and the rewards of good works, since faith kills the flesh and its works, and the Spirit continually fights and contends against sin, the devil, and the world.

But the power of faith is, that it justifieth us, and clotheth us with a strange righteousness, that of Christ; which is the unspeakable gift of the Lord, whereby he redeemeth us from sins, and from death, and from Satan.

From this it follows that all our efforts and works for justification and salvation have been and still are in vain, which are everywhere invented, increased, and hitherto defended by orders, ceremonies, or masses and pilgrimages.

The custom of faith is to be servants through love, and that we in turn clothe the brother with our righteousness, wisdom, and all goods, just as we are accepted by Christ and clothed and enriched with his goods.

Therefore let it follow that good works are necessary as evidences of the faith that is alive in truth and in deed.

But among the works these are the first: to obey the authorities in all things, to promote peace, to honor princes, to pray for all commonwealths, and to be anxious how we may be useful and beneficial to them.

After these come these: to be subject to parents, to assist the family, and to nourish them with words and with bread, that is, to serve them in both government, of the spirit and of the flesh.

Next, that we may be of service to our neighbors in whatever way we can. Among these, the servants of the word are to be placed first, that they may be duly cared for and held in honor. Above all, that this work of ours may be insisted upon, namely, prayer, that it may be done diligently and zealously for all the aforementioned classes, since we know that God commands it in so many ways, adds to it His rich promise, and is exceedingly pleased with it.

After the works must be taught of the cross and of love against the enemies

and any adversaries, that we should bear all evil and pray for the wicked. By this custom is obtained hope and the certainty of our faith and profession.

Finally, there remains the change of ceremonies, of those that are to be retained, removed, and reintroduced, where one must be careful that no innovation is made, unless it is something obviously ungodly, and also that the common people, out of a desire for novelty, are not left with an impetuosity to change and confuse everything.

And of the interest and income which shall be regularly collected into the [common] coffer, out of which the poor and the servants of the church shall be fed.

And of the school to be established for children of both sexes, and to be provided with good teachers.

No. 3325.

Without year and day.

To a city councilor.

Intercession for a student.

From *Cod. 402. f. Bibl. Goth*, in De Wette's Nachlasse, printed in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 4XVIII. In Walch, vol. XXI, 1568. Neither the old copy nor the text in Walch prove satisfactory. Better in the Jena edition of the Trostschriften, in Rödingers Erben, sheet e ij and from it in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 421. After the latter we give the text.

God's grace and peace in Christ. Honourable, wise, dear Sirs! I have been approached by N. N. (whom his father helped honestly and honestly for a time to his studio and cannot extend further) and asked to write to E. W. and to make an intercession for him, which I could not refuse him out of Christian love.

Because you know that it is necessary to have people who can serve in time, both in churches and schools, so that Christian doctrine may be preserved for and for and spread further, where we otherwise do not want to become Turks, and yet unfortunately lords and cities do little to help, but withdraw everything that is to be turned there, where they can. Do your best, therefore, and help that the

Let the pious journeyman N. N. continue his studies, if he has begun well and blessedly, for another year or two, and bring it so far that he may be useful and comforting to others.

Now, then, that God has provided you with daily help in your common castes, you can do such help for Him without any difficulty, let alone that you are also guilty before God and the world of promoting such people as may be necessary and useful to Christianity and our salvation.

Which also our most gracious lord, the Elector, graciously considered, and to help and promote such people everywhere seriously ordered and commanded.

Because the good fellow has skill and breath for it, I hope you will not refuse him his request for the sake of your conscience, as you will do God owed honor and service and the sovereign pleasant obedience. Date etc. 1)

Martin Luther.

No. 3326.

Without year and day.

To an unnamed person.

(Fragment.)

Lament for the contempt of the divine word.

Printed in the Jena edition (1562), vol. VIII, p. 378; in the Altenburg, vol. VIII, p. 591; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 578; in Walch, vol. XXI, 515 (wrong 505) and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 423.

I am greatly grieved at the abominable ingratitude of the good word, and the contempt of the ministers of it, which is increasing everywhere, as ye write. But the saying of Ebr. 11:37 must be fulfilled: "They went about in want, in affliction, in trouble, of which the world was not worthy. Of course the world is not worthy of such people; therefore it should starve them, where they otherwise cannot get rid of them.

1) "All of the following (Seidemann notes) is missing from the consolation writings and does not belong here," but nevertheless adds (according to Walch): "Philip said: Doctor, you make hell hot. The Doctor answers: It does no harm. - Philip: I do not give a doctorate to anyone who has not first been examined. For our teachers take the money and send the asses back to Germany."

It goes right. Men are and remain men. Ah, the whole world is in trouble, is therefore not worthy of the blessed word of the living God, but must believe the blasphemous lies of the devil. We must rejoice that Christ is our comfort and life, who strengthens us and makes our burden of sin light and easy.

No. 3327.

Without year and day.

To Unnamed.

Intercession for a student.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 1004; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 581; in Walch, vol. XXI, 517 (wrong 507); in Schütze, vol. I, p. 408 and in De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 423.

JEsus.

Grace and peace. Dear Sirs and Friends! Philippus Gluenspieß asks for support and help for a pious fellow to study, and for me to write to you together with him. Since it is well arranged, and God has given you rich lords that you may do it without harm or danger, I also ask for him, although I know that such a request is not necessary for you, for whom it is enough to show thirst; for love and the Christian mind teaches you the best at all times. Herewith in God's grace commanded, and pray also for me. Martin Luther.

No. 3328.

Without year and day.

To Marcus Crodel, schoolteacher in Torgau.

Luther sends him the Ambrosian Canticle and speaks out about the same.

Printed in litterar. Wochenblatt, II, 310; in *Strobel- Ranner*, p. 356; from the Schelhorn collection in Memmingen in Schütze, vol. III, p. 242 and in De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 425.

Grace and peace! I send you, my dear Crodel, 1) the Ambrosian Canticle,

1) *Croteli* in the other editions; *Crodeli* is Seide- man's conjecture. In the *Album Acad. Viteberg. ed. Foerstemann, pag. 98; Marcus Kradel de Vimaria Magun. dioc. 10. oct. (1520).*

translated into German, as you have requested. But in this and similar hymns I miss this one thing, namely, that they praise God only because of the works of creation, as morning, noon, and evening, whence the horae *canonicae* have their name, since the Jews, the Turks, and all the wicked do the same, and it befits us Christians, That we should continually and fervently remember the *recreation of* all things, that is, history above all history, and events above all events, which even the angels longed to behold, and now admire for ever, and cannot be satisfied, as Peter thinks, with beholding and admiring. But we sin by looking at them too little, by treating them coldly, or by forgetting them altogether.

No. 3329.

Without year and day.

To an unnamed person.

(Fragment.)

Luther instructs him how to read the Holy Scriptures and how to test Luther's and the Church Fathers' writings against them.

From the Börner collection in Leipzig in Schütze, Vol. III, p. 256 and in De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 424.

Read the Old Testament two or three times from beginning to end as carefully as possible. Stay longer with the prophets. Then you can turn to your New Testament. Consider how the New Testament agrees with the Old; see also how all the prophets testify of Christ. Then return to the epistles of Paul. The epistle to the Romans, together with that to the Galatians, make thyself fully acquainted with them, and consider them well. By these two epistles thou mayest explain all questions that may arise, or else darker passages of Scripture. Save the Epistle to the Hebrews for the explanation of the various ceremonies, allegories, models, silhouettes, and sacrificial practices of the Old Testament. Our books thou shalt read with a scripture of the adversaries, which thou hast procured, and compare both with the scripture, and try them by the scripture as by a touchstone. After thou hast read the

When you have well recognized the meaning of both, imagine that the latter is your adversary, and write against him for your own exercise, for yourself alone (*privatim*). From dialectic, rhetoric, and the other beautiful sciences you can embellish your writings. Afterwards, when thy heart is well fortified by the divine word, it will do no harm to add also the ancient fathers, and to peruse the decretals of the pope, and take heed how they (neglecting the doctrine of justification, and mingling in worldly affairs) have gradually and unnoticedly departed from the faith. Mart. Luther, D.

No. 3330.

Wittenberg. Without year and day.

To Valerius.

Luther gives him advice on how to behave in a quarrel with certain opponents. 1)

The original is in Gotha in *Cod. chart. B. N. 20,* whose facsimile Seidemann received only after the printing of the text (from De Wette's estate), vol. VI, p. 425 f.. The variants are given on p. 632, note I; we have used the same.

Luther to his dear Valerius.

Hail! I have received your letter, my most reverend husband, about your duel with which you fight against the new superstition, but which goes further than that Christ himself might finally suffer it. I praise thy faithfulness and toil, and I abhor the impudent sacrilege. But I beseech thee be wise. First of all, do not doubt that this is a very harmful error, since it teaches the hearts of men to trust in clothes, even in rags, and not in God; secondly, that these people are the most insolent of all. For though the preachers are impudent in other respects, yet they are also crafty, and know how to evade according to time and place, in that they have such

1) It seems that this is a funeral in monastic garments, performed by Dominicans (*praedicatores* == preacher monks). This is also indicated by Luther's remark (above in the margin of the original on the left): "The abbot Panormitanus *de Seoult: t c ilatum* says: Monasticism is abolished by death, therefore no one can be a monk after death. Therefore the putting on of such a habit after death avails for a certain devotion (*deuocionem*). - But what this devotion is, or how it is useful, he does not express."

have learned through their evil. But this kind of people, not yet marked by any public outrage, hardened by incredible clumsiness, take it all in, and as it is commonly said, "They are full of wine." Therefore I beseech thee, that thou wouldest not act against them with violence and noise, but with contempt and ridicule. For thou hast not to do with men, but with sticks and blocks. I too have suffered their folly to this day. But as they feel nothing, so they understand nothing. Therefore, strive with prayer and faith against God for your own (congregation,]2) to which you are set over as a teacher in the Word. For if God does not help, moved by our faith and prayer, we struggle in vain with these pebbles. Fare well and pray for me. I write under very much business, and would gladly write more if I could. Wittenberg.

No. 3331.

Without year and day.

To a good friend in Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 784. - To the locations given there should be added: De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 426 f.

No. 3332.

Without year and day.

To an unnamed person.

Of predestination, that one should not brood over it, but believe assuredly that he is predestinated.

From Cyprian's collection in Gotha at Schütze, vol. III, p. 258 and at De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 427. - Another redaction of this letter besides this one is given by Seidemann, I. c. p. 429, because of its important deviations, which is taken from: *Locorum communium collectanea etc.. Basileae, per loan- nem Oporinum (1563). 8th tom. I, p. 120*. We consider it to be a careless copy of our letter, in which there are three major omissions (so-called "corpses") and a significant number of palpably incorrect readings, and therefore do not share it.

Grace and peace! Be not anxious about predestination, neither intrude as a

2) In De Wette: *pro populo, cum perfectus, etc.*; according to the original it should be read: *pro propria, cui praefectus*.

a forward man enters into God's sanctuary, for you cannot penetrate such deep mysteries with your own ability because of the weakness (*hebetudine*) of your eyes. But hear Christ, look also to Christ, in whom the Father has made known the secret mind of His predestination, in whom is revealed once for all that which had long been hidden. For through Christ we have been made sure that everyone who believes has been predestinated by the Father. For whom he hath ordained, he hath also called through the gospel, that he should believe, and be justified by faith. Therefore let not your concern be whether you are predestinated, but rather see to it that you believe on Christ as 1) one justified by him. If you find yourself in Christ by faith, you will also find yourself chosen and predestinated by God. "The Father judges no one." Joh. 5,22. Therefore let all who are anxious and troubled because of their transfer take peace and comfort for their conscience from this passage. For it is true that God chose and ordained some of men, while others are rejected, to eternal life before the foundation of the world was laid. But because God dwells in secret, and His judgments are hidden, we are not permitted to reach so great a depth. Therefore, one must descend to Christ, to whom the Father has given all judgment, in whom He has revealed the hidden mind of His disposition. Now if thou findest thyself in Christ by faith, know that thou art predestinated. If thou findest thyself not in Christ by faith, but persecutest the word, despisest Christ, and knowest him not, thou shalt know that thou art rejected. For whatsoever thou findest thyself in Christ, the same thou art in the Lord, because the Father hath committed all judgment unto his Son. Now this is the judgment revealed in Christ, that those who believe are saved, and those who do not believe are condemned. For behold, what is that which is sung in the Psalm [Ps. 18:27], "With the pure, thou art pure" (*Cum electo electus)?*

1) Instead of *et* we have assumed *ut.* Without this change, *sis* would have to be added at the end of the sentence.

eris). By the way, if one were to speak in divine terms (as far as the immutability of God is concerned), the judgment would be certain: that he whom God has chosen before the foundation of the world cannot perish, for "no one will snatch the sheep out of the shepherd's hand"; 2) but whom he has rejected, he cannot be saved, even if he has done all the works of the saints. So unchangeable is the judgment of God. Therefore, look only to the majesty 3) of the electing Lord, that you may obtain salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ. Notwithstanding, Augustine says, "Though the displacement of GOD is nullified (*victa)* in us who are in the perils of the present life, 4) yet it remains unchangeable in Him who made that which is to come, and He does not make dark again that which He made light, nor destroy that which He built, nor uproot that which He planted. "God's gifts and calling may not repent him," Rom. 11:29, and, "The firm foundation of God is established, and hath this seal: The Lord knoweth them that are his," 2 Tim. 2:19. 5) For no manner therefore doth the transposition make some the children of God the children of devils, or the temple of the Holy Ghost the temple of devils, or the members of Christ the members of harlots, 1 Cor. 6:15, but rather the substitution makes the children of the devil become the children of God, and the temple of devils become the temple of the Holy Spirit, and the members of harlots become the members of Christ, because he binds the strong and takes away his weapons, snatching them out of the power of darkness and transferring them from dishonor to honor. But those of whom it is said [1 John 2:19.], "They went out from us," 2c., they find gone out with their will, fallen with their will. And because it was known of them beforehand that they would fall, they were not predestinated.

2) Instead of *rapit,* the Vulgate will read *rapiet.*

3) Instead of *majestatem* the other redaction offers: *misericordiam*.

4) In the other redaction: *incerta*.

5) The following words to the end are from the *Prosper Aquitanus pro Augustino responsiones*. See the Benedictine edition of the works of *Augustine, tom*. XVII, 2911.

But they would have been predestinated if they had returned and remained in holiness and truth. This behold; this predestination of GOD is to many the cause of standing, to none the cause of falling. Mart. Luther, D.

No. 3333.

Without year and day.

Concerns.

About twins with fused bodies that embraced each other.

Printed by Walch, vol. XXI, 1576 and by De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 434.

There is no doubt that such miracles do not bode well, as you yourselves [1]indicate. The child is like the love of one another, who love one another and would gladly be one body. But when it begins to come into the world, it is half-dead, dies completely. So our gospel would gladly bring faith into work and love. But it will not continue, and if love be dead, die, and remain dead, faith is sown and received in vain. Avarice and the other things of the world, which John calls the lust of the eyes, rule too strongly. And since wickedness increases, love grows cold and dies in almost everyone, but not in many alone.

No. 3334.

Without year and day.

Concerns from the dance.

From *Locorum communium a Joanne Manlio collectorum, Tom. II. (Basileae 1563. 8.), p. 207*, in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 435. Another relation is found in *G. Loesche, Analecta Lutherana et Melanthoniana,* p. 81, no. 63.

Judgement of Dr. Martin Luther about the export of line dances.

Line dances are used and permitted in order that polite behaviour may be learned among a large crowd, and that young men may learn to honour the female sex, and friendship may be established between young men and respectable girls.

1) Walch: "always".

so that afterwards they may be the safer for it. The pope has condemned the line dances because he was an opponent of legitimate marriages. That is why at the same time some respectable women and men are invited to the weddings, who are spectators, so that everything is done properly. But there is one thing that I dislike about the performance of the line dances, and I would like this to be publicly forbidden by the authorities: that the young men should not swing the girls around in circles, especially in public, since many are watching.

No. 3335[2])

Wittenberg. March 10, 1534.

To Johann Schlaginhaufen, pastor in Köthen.

Short word of comfort for the sick friend and lament about the fast flight of time.

From a copy taken *ex chirographo Lutheri* in *Cod. Dessav. B.* communicated by H. Lindner in the Theologische Studien und Kritiken 1835, Heft II, p. 345 and in De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 148.

To his exceedingly dear brother, Mr. "Johanni Schlaginhauffen", the faithful servant of Christ "in koten".

"Grace and peace" in Christ! I hear that you are suffering, dear man, for which I am very sorry, and I pray Christ to have mercy on you and restore you to health and abundant ministry. I am quite well, thank God. And I do not know how the days slip away from me without the fruit that I should and would like to bear; I live so uselessly that I hate myself exceedingly. "I do not know how (where) the time passes so, and I accomplish so little. This is the sum." Pray for me that my work may be more fruitful. The Lord be with you. Greet from me thy wife and children, and trust in the Lord, and persevere in love to me, who will never leave thee in the lurch in any brotherly service. 1534, Tuesday after Oculi [10 March].

Martin Luther, D.

2) We only discovered that this letter had been translated by us when we were preparing the register, and we are adding it here.

Postscript

to the

all parts of Walch's collection

the

Writings of Luther.

Postscript to the previous volumes.

I. Johann Aurifaber's stories about what happened to Luther from year to year.

1. Johann Aurifaber's account of what happened to Luther in 1518, to which Luther's own account of how he fared at the Diet of Augsburg in 1518 is appended.

This account is found in the Eisleben edition, Vol. I, p. 1; in the Altenburg, Vol. I, p. 149; in the Leipzig, Vol. XVII, p. 200, and in Walch, Vol. XXI, Nachlese, Col. 4*. Luther's narrative, as it occurred over tables, is also found in his table speeches, namely in the XXII volume of this collection, Col. 1370; but because this is still more detailed, it has nevertheless been brought here.

I. After Anno 1517 Doctor Martinus Luther rvider the papal indulgence at Wittenberg in *vigilia omnium sanoctorum positiones* posted and disputiret, also preached publicly against it, as then the same sermons went out in print, so that he attacked and overthrew the pope's hucksterism, fair and drudgery, on the other hand, the indulgence leader Johann Tezel, a preacher-monk, had articles written and printed by Conradum Wimpina, a papal doctor at Frankfurt on the Oder, in which he brazenly defended the indulgence, and with his followers preached against Doctor Luther everywhere, also exclaiming and condemning him as a heretic; and Silvester Prierias at Rome wrote publicly against Dr. M. Luther. M. Luther, to which he replied violently, and thus the indulgence became a great scandal: then Pope Leo X. was here, and incited the Emperor Maximilianum against Dr. Luther, also accused him vehemently to Duke Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, and thus hoped to destroy Dr. Luther and his teaching. Luther and his teachings. Thereby Dr. Luther was moved and caused to act more extensively and to eliminate indulgences and other articles of Christian doctrine, and also to discover the false and seductive teachings of the Pope.

2nd Now when the game was about to break down, Pope Leo sent a letter to Duke Frederick, Elector, Anno 1518 on the 23rd day of August written, and Dr. Luthern before the apostolic see to Rome, and requested that His Electoral Grace should place him in Rome, and hand him over to the Roman see, and gave further orders to his legate, Thomas of Cajeta, Cardinal, who was then at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg.

(3) But Duke Frederick, Elector, besides the University of Wittenberg, endeavored most vehemently to have Dr. Luther dismissed from the citation and appearance in Rome as most dangerous to him. Luther be released from the citation and appearance in Rome, as it was most dangerous to him, and on the other hand be required to appear before the Cardinal of Cajeta at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg, and there give an answer, cause, and account of his faith, doctrine, writings, and confession.

(4) His Electoral Grace has finally received this, and on Friday after Francisci of the 1518th year Dr. Luther arrived on foot and miserably, with food and a number of intercessions of the Elector of Saxony to the council and other good-hearted people there, at Augsburg.

(5) But what happened between him and Cardinal Cajetano can be heard in this following history told by him, the man of God, at Eisleben in the year 1546 over tables.

Dr. Mart. Luther's Narrative.

001 I must tell you how I fared at Augsburg in the Diet. Tezel, who led indulgences throughout the German country, said that he had greater power than St. Peter and St. Paul. He said that if someone had committed the greatest sins, he could forgive them. Against these lies of his I lay down and disputed. Then the whole world was aroused, the pope and all the priests wanted to become mad; they pressed Maximilian, the emperor, to appoint a Diet at Augsburg, and Cajetan, the cardinal, also came there. But they had bargained with Duke Frederick, the old Elector (of blessed memory), that, if the Diet should fall, he should send me out to the Cardinal; which was done.

(2) But Emperor Maximilian has read my positiones at Augsburg, and said to Pfeffinger, Duke Frederick's councillor: What is your monk doing? Verily, his positiones are not to be despised; he will begin a game with the priests!

3rd Now when I went out by order of Duke Frederick, I was very poor, and had not a penny; therefore Dr. Wenceslaus Lincus gave me his cap, and went on foot as far as three miles to Augsburg; there I sat on a chariot, and went into the Augustinian monastery for lodging. And Duke Frederick had prescribed me to the council there, that they should have good regard for me, that nothing might harm me; this they also did faithfully. But I had gone to Augsburg without an escort; I should, I think, have arrived in good order; but Langemantel said that because the Elector had written to them, I should also be obedient to them, and do what they told me, and not go soon to the Cardinal; they wanted to do with me what they knew.

004 Now the emperor was not at Augsburg, but was gone hunting, and all his counsellors lay there, among whom was Pavisius, bishop of Trent. Now when the Cardinal had heard that I was come, he sent his orator to me, with two servants, that I should come to the Cardinal; and I said, yes, I would come. But because the emperor was away, the councilors said I should not go to him, I had no escort; one must not believe the whales. And especially Doctor Aurbach of Leipzig defended me from going, and he also helped me to make the appeal. Then the Cardinal sent to me another time: I should come to him, he was waiting for me. But I said, yes, I wanted to come; but I did not come either. In the meantime, the Augsburg councillors obtained an escort for me from the emperor's council, which lasted three days, but every day the cardinal's servants came and said: "The cardinal has offered you all grace, why are you afraid? *Est mansuetissimus* pater [He is a very gentle father]. But another said to me in my ear: *Non credas* [Do not believe it], he holds no faith.

005 On the third day they came again, *Quare non venis ad Cardinalem*? [Why do you come
not to the Cardinal?] it would only be about 6 letters, *REVOCA* [Revocations],
there would have been no need; but it would have been precious letters, and would not have come to this: *Revoca, sed: OCCIDE* [Revocations, but: Deaths]; and I told the Orator freely: it was forbidden me that I should not go to the Cardinal. At last, as I would not come, the Legatus stopped: *Ecquid tu faceres, si ita in manu Cardinalem haberes, ut ipse te habet? Respondi: Omnem reverentiam et omnia bona* [What would you do if you had the Cardinal in your hand as he has you? I answered, All reverence and all good]. Then he laughed and said, Ha, ha, *nihil est* [it is nothing], and said, *Putas, quod prin- ceps Fridericus propter te suas terras perdet? Respondi: Nolo. Inquit ille: Ubi igitur ma- nebis? Respondi: Sub coelo* [Do you think that Prince Frederick will ruin his lands for your sake? I answered: I do not want that. He said: Where do you want to stay? I answered, Under heaven]. Then he was angry, and rode away from me.

006 When the cardinal told me to come to him, and the council also obtained the Emperor's secretary, the Count of Schamburg, to escort me, I went to him. But they had instructed me in detail how I should behave. First, I was to lie down on my face before him. When I did so, the Cardinal ordered me to stand up; but I still knelt before him, and then I stood. Then the Cardinal spoke to me very kindly, and said: "You have aroused the whole of Germany with your disputation on indulgences. Therefore, if thou wilt be a member of the church, and have a gracious pope, recant all; then nothing shall befall thee. For I hear that thou art a doctor, and very learned in the Scriptures, and hast much disciple; and wouldst badly that I should recant what I had written. But I said, I could not do it; but that I offered, I would be silent henceforth, and write no more; my adversaries also should be silent. This he would not do. Then I said that I could not do that either; and so I departed from him.

007 And the emperor's counsellors said unto the cardinal by the bishop of Trent, I have the emperor's escort, and they shall go against the emperor.

I did not undertake anything; then the Rhine was inflamed. When I came to him again afterwards, he wanted me to recant badly. Then I was very rude, called him without any title: *Vos* [You], said: I cannot recant, unless some one teach me something better; I cannot depart from the Scriptures. As he could take me nowhere with his Revoca, he cried out in Welsh, *O frater, frater, heri fuisti valde bonus, hodie es plane pervorsus* [O brother, brother, yesterday you were very good, today you are all wrong], laid before me *Clementinam* 6. But I said the pope was leading the Scripture falsely, and disputed against the pope. Then Cajetamis was very angry, and said, Revoca, *aut non revertere* [Revoke, or come not again]. I took the word to heart, *non revertere* [do not come back], stayed a few more days in Augsburg, wrote two letters to the Cardinal, in which I informed him of my opinion. Since he gave me no answer, Dr. Staupitz got me a horse, and the council gave me an old rider who knew the ways, and Langemantel helped me at night through a small gate in the city. There I rode without breeches, boots, spurs, and sword, and came as far as Wittenberg. The first day I rode eight miles, and when I arrived at the inn in the evening, I was so tired, I dismounted in the stable, could not stand, and fell straight into the litter.

Afterwards at Gräfenthal 1) Count Albrecht of Mansfeld caught me, he laughed at my retirement, and there I had to be his guest. So I was not longer than 8 days in Augsburg. The Cardinal would have liked to get me and send me to Rome. It grieved him much that I tore away. He thought he had me in his clutches; so he hath the eel by the tail. He thought he could not have me more surely than at Augsburg; if he got me, the pope should give him another cardinalate. But isn't it a shame that they hunt me so dear? They would give many thousands of florins to have me, since our Lord Christ was hardly sold for thirty pieces of silver.

1) "Gräfenthal" in Saxony-Meiningen-Hildburghausen, in the principality of Saatfeld.

(9) They themselves are the cause that the trade has come so far. They wanted to suppress my doctrine by force, but God could not stand the tyranny of the pope any longer, especially that which he practiced against John Hus, since he had the ashes and the earth dug up three cubits deep and poured into the Rhine, where dear John Hus was burned. An unkind trade, since the heathen spare the dead. But God, who is the Lord of the living and the dead, is now avenging the innocent blood of John Hus on the priest, which blood will still strangle them.

(10) The priests immediately feared, since the same position was at hand, and Raphael, the Cardinal, wrote to Duke Frederick, the Elector, very kindly, and among other things he indicated: I hear that Ew. churfürstl. Grace has a monk who wants to weaken the power of the Christian Church; he would have liked to see Duke Frederick burn me. But the good prince smelled that the priests were wicked.

2. Georg Spalatin's account of Luther's plot with Cardinal Cajetan.

This is connected with Aurifaber's preceding narrative. It is in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 108b; in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 36; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 121, and in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 178. A part of it is already in the 15th volume of our edition, Col. 557, No. 194; Col. 561, No. 196, and Col. 564, No. 197. The continuation, however, of Spalatin's narrative is, as follows:

Dr. Martinus made such a reply and brought it to the legate on the following Friday. Then the legate opposed it quite strangely, and threw away the answer as if he did not respect it at all. And again he fell back on his former opinion, that he should make a retraction, and at last he said to him, "Go away and do not come again, because you want to make a contradiction.

In the afternoon the legate has sent to Dr. Staupitz, and want to persuade him with Welsch sweetness to be able to contradict Doctor Martinum.

Doctor Staupitz said that he was not able to do it, because Dr. Martinus had taught him too much in the Holy Scriptures; so he had always offered, as he still does, to submit to the Christian Church if he had erred 2c.

Finally it has come to this that the legate has granted to hand over Dr. Martin's article,

what he should recant and hold. But Dr. Martin has not been given any of these articles. For it is to be feared that the legate has no well-founded articles and no just cause of which he should not be ashamed.

When the legate Dr. Martins did not send the articles, nor did he send anything else, Doctor Martinus sent to the legate Dr. Wenceslaum, and asked the legate to lay the matter again graciously and fatherly.

Then the legate offered himself again in a friendly manner, and said among other things: he no longer considered Dr. Martin a heretic, he did not want to banish him this time either, because he had received further orders from Rome, for he had sent Dr. Martin's answer to the pope by his own mail.

Item: If Martinus alone wanted to revoke the article concerning indulgences, the matter would be quite bad. For the other article, concerning faith in the sacraments, might well be interpreted and directed. From this it seems clear that Rome seeks money more than holy faith and salvation.

When this was heard by Dr. Staupitz, he said: It would be worth something that Dr. Wenceslaus would have had a notary and witness at the first reported dangerous word, spoken of faith; for it would bring the Romans a noticeable disadvantage and break, if such a proceeding were to continue.

By this it has been advised and decided by many distinguished, sensible people that Dr. Staupitz and Dr. Wenceslaus should go away again and not trust the whales in any way. For it would be likely that the legate would cause a misfortune by the aforementioned mail, that they would all be caught and put to use.

So Doctor Staupitz and Doctor Wenceslaus travelled to Nuremberg in one day, each on a special road.

After that, on Sunday, Dr. Martinus sent the prior of Pomesaw 1) to the legate, and asked in writing to resolve the matter paternally and graciously, and also to forgive him graciously, if he had thought of papal holiness with less reverence than was proper. Then the legate offered himself again in the Welsh manner 2c.

But the legate has thereafter Dr. Martinum the Sunday, Monday and Tuesday let sit, and never require or remember loads.

Therefore some highly competent, favorable friends of Doctor Martin have filed an appeal to the

1) Löscher, Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p.479, calls him "Prior Von Pomezau or Pomesan".

Pope, and have advised Dr. Martins advised that he should also go away and leave the appeal behind him.

So Dr. Martinus insinuated the appeal to the notary in the presence of several witnesses, and received *apostolos* 2) *reverentiales.*

After this, Doctor Martinus rode to Nuremberg early on Wednesday morning and, with the advice of good, understanding friends, left the prior of Pomesaw behind him, so that, two days after his departure, his appeal would be posted in the presence of the notary and witnesses at a gate in the cathedral of Augsburg. For sensible, good gentlemen and friends have considered this sufficient, and do not want to advise that the appeal be made to the legate himself.

Doctor Martinus has left Doctor Staupitz at Nuremberg, for he is now visiting there, and will then visit the monastery at Königsberg.

The legate has several times offered Doctor Martin to give him an escort to Rome. But Doctor Martinus has thought of him. For some have said that the legate himself would need an escort.

If Dr. Martinus had had the copy of the strict, sharp, unkind, and perhaps fictitious breve at Augsburg, the whales would have been considerably displeased by it; for the whales became quite unpleasant at Augsburg.

The legate has never verbally commemorated the indulgence with a few words against Dr. Martin, only through other persons, and with hidden words.

It is considered, and thus spoken of, that the Romans begin to be noticeably afraid of the German scholars.

When Doctor Martinus came to the other before the legate, the prior to the preachers 3) sat with the legate at Augsburg, but never said a word about the matter.

It has been said that the legate should have admonished the named prior to dispute with Dr. Martin about indulgences; but the prior answered that he did not want to dispute with him on the same matter. *Et fecit sapienter Prior, quia non credo, quod vicisset Dr. Martinum* [And

2) We repeat here the remark which we have already made in the 15th volume, Col. 595: The term *apostolos* is a legal one, and denotes in the Pandects: Report; here it is so much as a letter in which permission is given to bring the matter before a higher authority.

3) "Preachers" - preaching monks, Dominicans.

the prior has done wisely, because I do not believe that he would have overcome Dr. Martin].

Dr. Peutinger said that since Imperial Majesty had learned that the legate and the prior named were in agreement about Dr. Martin. Majesty had learned that the legate and the named prior were in agreement about Dr. Martin, he is said to have said: Look, this is what the boys do; they have always wanted to have me in their cause; if I had interfered, they would have become one.

Doctor Martinus has been asked many times in Augsburg to preach, but he has always refused with glee, worried that the legate would have taken it for a mockery and annoyance.

Much good has happened to Doctor Martins in Augsburg, especially and above all from his host, the prior of Our Lady's Brethren, item, from Hans Schenken, from Dr. Peutinger, from Mr. Christoph Langenmantel, from Dr. Auer, from both Adelmannen, brethren, canons of Augsburg, from Dr. Ambrosio and Ulrich Jung, brethren, who have shown Dr. Martins a great deal of friendship and have kept him good company.

Mr. Erasmus Roterodamus gives the Doctori Martins a great coincidence, likewise almost the whole University of Louvain, and many excellent people in many countries.

The pope is said to have seated seven of the most learned in Rome over Dr. Martinus' Positiones, who, after diligent inspection, are said to have said: It is true that Dr. Martinus writes, but it is vexatious, *glossa, quae tangit pecuniam* [a gloss that concerns money].

A preacher monk disputed positiones at Rome, against Dr. Martini's opinion; then a Hispanus came, decided the preacher monk in such a way that he could no longer raise an arrow.

The legate also told Dr. Martins said that the bishop of Brandenburg had given him some of his materials.

Finally Dr. Martinus has returned to Wittenberg, where he will wait to see what the eternal, merciful God will have done with him according to His divine will and pleasure. For where his opponents will let the matter rest, as it is considered by many, he will wait with diligence for his lesson.

If, however, he were to be burdened with papal excommunication, he has decided, with the advice of knowledgeable friends, to appeal to the future Council and to leave Wittenberg from that time onward to the end, where he hopes to be able to expect the following relief without any worries. For he has placed his will entirely in God's will with it.

and thinks that if he had four hundred heads, he would lose them all before he would revoke the article, which is an offence against the holy faith.

He also does not want to do anything about the unkind papal decree in honor of my most gracious lord and submissive obedience. But otherwise he wanted to explain the Romans' treachery in such a way that they should have recognized it manfully.

But his answer to the two articles and the appeal has been advised to be printed. But, as I hope, my suggestion with it, for the sake of the matter, will also stand still.

He most humbly commends himself to my most gracious lord, and thanks his C. F. G. with all subservience for so many and manifold graces and gracious prescriptions.

And now asks nothing more than, if it would be easy for his C. F. G. to prescribe him again against papal holiness, that she wants to order this matter from here in Germany.

For Dr. Martinus considers that the preacher monks are dealing with it, that they want to force him from Wittenberg; after that they will also not leave those, so Dr. Martin's will not be left unchallenged, and they will refrain from giving Wittenberg an evil name, since God is in favor of it.

The Rector of Wittenberg asks me in writing with all diligence to make every effort so that we do not lose Dr. Martinum from Wittenberg. For if he were to leave, the university would not overcome this damage in human memory, and would lose a great many students and good people.

It is said that there were discussions before the legate about how to deal with Dr. Martinus. One said that he should be urged to contradict himself. Another said he should be imprisoned. The third, that he should be put to death. The fourth, that he should be quenched with kindness and mercy.

Some think that the legate was not pleased with this matter. For after he had so badly directed his message about the tithe, and had obtained neither *Decimas* nor anything else, he would have liked to have this matter well directed.

What further happened after Dr. Martinus' departure, and how the legate has opposed the appeal, the prior of Our Lady's Brethren in Augsburg will, if God wills, report to everyone on his arrival in Wittenberg.

The *nuncius apostolicus* did not speak a word to Dr. Martins.

Stabius is ill at Augsburg, and therefore could not come to Dr. Martins could not come.

Dr. Johann Eck has come to Augsburg for the love of Dr. Martinus, has stood in friendly opposition to him, has also offered to come in and to carry out his cause with Dr. Carlstadt in a disputation in Leipzig; the people of Wittenberg are glad and willing to do so.

The Augustinian cardinal is legate in Hispania, like the preacher in Germany.

The Augustinians have little good to say about their new general, who was previously procurator of the order, and is said to be almost unsuitable for the Germans; therefore ours must take good care of themselves.

The legate is now to transfer Dr. Martini's German sermon on indulgences into Latin; what he wants to get out of it will perhaps also be known.

3. the narrative preceding the plot of Carl von Miltitz with Luther at Altenburg.

It is also included among the Aurifaberian reports, although it is not known whether Aurifaber or someone else made it. It is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1550), tom. I, fol. 234b; in the Jena (1579), *tom*. I, col. 209 d. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, fol. 64b; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, fol. 141 b; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 258; in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 222, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 18* f.

In the year after the birth of Christ 1519 he Carol of Miltitz, one of the nobility of Meissen, was sent away by Pope Leone X. in Germany to the most illustrious prince, Mr. Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c., who brought a golden rose (as they call it) from Pope Leone X., which was shown to the people on the fourth Sunday in Lent in Rome, as was customary there 2c. For although Duke Frederick did not pretend to be the one who wanted to defend what Doctor Martinus had charged against the indulgence, he did not want to be the judge of it, nor did he want to suppress Luther by force, because the matter was still unrecognized at that time, and no final judgment of the church had been passed on it.

Therefore Pope Leo endeavored, sought as he could all kinds of means, sent more than once Ern Carol and other messages to Duke Frederick, to move him against Dr. Martin, and to take a displeasure, that he would apply greater seriousness, and take the matter against Luther with the sharpness. When he presented Carol von Miltitz with the golden rose, he indicated and recounted Pope's grave complaint and serious order.

Leonis, also lamented with a sad mind the beginning of the division and discord in the church, and publicly blamed it on Dr. M. Luther. M. Luther, and secretly, with concealed words, on Duke Frederick of Saxony, desiring with the highest request and supplication that Dr. M. Luther be suppressed. This he often brought up to Carol von Miltitz at court, when he returned for a time, and diligently drove him to it.

But since they discussed what kind of answer should be given to Carol von Miltitz, the venerable Lord Dr. M. Luther repeated these five following articles (which before Carol von Miltitz had often lamented at court) at Altenburg, in Mr. Georgen Spalatini's house.

This is followed by the articles themselves, which have already been reported in our edition, Vol. X V, 691 f., No. 276.

4. Johann Aurifaber's History of the Disputation held in Leipzig in 1519.

Sich" St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1189, no. 389.

5. Johann Aurifaber's report, what happened with Dr. Martin Luther's teaching in particular in the years from 1520 to 1529.

Anno 1520.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 549; in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 289, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 20*.

In the year after the birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in 1520, Martin Luther wrote a very serious letter from Wittenberg on the 15th day of January to the Roman Emperor, Charles the Fifth, 1) requesting that his Imperial Majesty not condemn him unheard, but accept his cause, if he is right, and until the final decision. Majesty will not condemn him unheard, but will take care of his affairs, if he is right, and until the final decision. He also publicly protests and testifies that he is willing and ready to follow in all ways where he is taught and instructed something better from the Holy Scriptures. For until now violence had been done to him, because he had been condemned outright, before he had been convinced with truth and the reason of some error.

2 On the 24th day of January the bishop of Meissen issued a prohibition against a sermon by Dr. Mart. Luther, in which he advised that the sacrament of the altar should be offered to the laity in both forms. Whereupon Luther with all

1) This letter is not dated January 15, but August 30, 1520; see St. Louis ed. vol. XV, 1378.

He answered again with modesty, and indicated that he did not want to introduce such a thing for himself, by his own authority, but would give it to a common Christian council to consider.

On the 4th day of February, Martin Luther wrote to the Archbishop of Mainz, Albrecht, Cardinal, and complained about his detractors and adversaries, and earnestly asked that H. C. F. Gn. would help him in his cause. He also wrote the same day to Bishop Adolph of Merseburg. But in both their answers he was promised little comfort and help.

(4) On the 6th day of April 1) Dr. Martinus Luther sent a very humble letter to Pope Leo, the tenth of that name, and sent him the booklet of Christian liberty, so that it might be seen that he sought nothing else, but only to bring to light the truth of the holy divine Scriptures, and to teach and instruct the erring consciences.

(5) In this year the Romanists made a rude remark against the Elector of Saxony, Duke Frederick, about how detestable his Elector was in Rome. Gn., on account of Luther, is in Rome. That also therefore S. churfürstl. Grace has had to apologize in particular for this. How then from S. churfürstl. Grace. Responsibility, and the Pope's reply, which was printed from it, can be understood sufficiently.

6) On the 8th day of July 2) Pope Leo issued a special bull against Dr. Mart. Luthern, in which his inhuman tyranny, as well as his terrible hatred and envy against the truth of the divine word, is spouted. The same bull was expracticed by Dr. Eck in Rome and brought against Leipzig, and he supposed to dampen Dr. Mart. Luther with it. Therefore Dr. Luther was caused to answer. He revealed the abomination of the Pope and publicly defended his doctrine on the basis of the Holy Scriptures.

(7) And this bull, and such senseless raving and tyrannical raging of his opponents, the papists, gave Luther cause to write all the more vehemently and with more angry words than he had done before against the papacy, as the kingdom of Antichrist.

8th In the month of November a Diet was held at Cologne, to which the pope sent two envoys, named Marinus Caracciola and Hieronymus Aleander, who were summoned by the emperor Carol.

1) Rather, soon after October 13, 1520. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 783.

2) Rather, June 15, 1520; see St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1425, no. 444.

and Duke Frederick, Elector, have diligently solicited and urged that he would burn Luther's books, and either punish Luther himself with imprisonment, or deliver him to the Pope in Rome.

9th Now that Dr. Luther has been pressed to the utmost by his enemies everywhere, and has been diminished with various mandates, he has also this year sent out a public appeal and a completely Christian offer of inheritance against everyone in print.

(10) And whereas before the two high schools, Louvain and Cologne, had shamefully burned Dr. Martin Luther's books as being heretical, Dr. Martin Luther, in this 1520th year, as the tenth day of Christ month, also burned Luther's books. Luther's books, as being heretical, shamefully burned, then Dr. Martin Luther in this 1520th year, as on the 10th day of the Christian month, also the Pope's Decret, Decretal, *Sext,. Clementine, Extravagant.* Together with the Bull of Leonis X., which was recently issued against him, item, the *Summa Angelica,* also *Eccii, Emseri,* and other books of Pope's disciples, burned at Wittenberg in front of the Elsterthor, behind the hospital, and let the causes of such fire go out in print.

In this year also Emser, Dr. Hieronymus Ochsenfart and Dr. Murner at Leipzig wrote vehemently against Martin Luther.

Anno 1521.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 43; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 929; in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 561, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 23*.

(1) In this 1521st year Jerome Emser at Leipzig wrote vehemently against Luther in German, and this out of incitement of Duke George of Saxony, who was greatly annoyed that Luther had written publicly against the bishop of Meissen. Luther had written publicly against the bishop of Meissen; item, that he attacked the pope so vehemently in the book to the Christian nobility, and for the sake of Dr. Carlstadt's book about the images?)

(2) Murner also wrote such things against him. But Luther despised the same scribe and enemy, and did not answer him much to his three books.

The bishop of Meissen and Merseburg bought up many of Martin Luther's books and had them burned.

(4) Ambrosius Catharinus in Italy, a Thomist, has also written a book against Luther, protecting the primacy and majesty of the pope, and has answered Luther again.

3) Meant is Carlstadt's Bach wider Eck, in which two Fnhrwagen were depicted. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 807 s., no. 355 ff.

(5) And after Duke Frederick, Elector, had dealt much with M. Luther before the Diet of Worms, for the sake of some articles, which he should revoke, he did not want to do it, as then his reasons in a letter to Elector Frederick, in the first Jenische *Tomo sub* 1) an. 1521
and offered to appear willingly before the estates of the realm at the Imperial Diet at Worms, and to give answer and account for his doctrine. Which then Prince Frederick finally worked out with Emperor Carln that his imperial majesty granted to take the matters into her. Majesty's hands and to interrogate them publicly there.

6th And thereupon Dr. Martin Luthern the escort letters of the imperial majesty, Elector Frederick and Duke John, also Duke George of Saxony, likewise of the Landgrave of Hesse against Wittenberg were sent, by Caspar Sturm, Ehrenhold.

(7) On Tuesday after Misericordias Domini Luther arrived in Worms, and the historia of this whole action can be found in the first German Jenische Tomo. Also M. Luther left Worms with Nicolao von Amsdorf on the Friday after Jubilate, and wrote letters from Friedberg to the Emperor and to all states of the Empire.2)

(8) On the eighth day of May Emperor Carl issued a terrible and serious mandate or edict against Martin Luther and his teachings, books, and writings, and against all who took up his person and adhered to his teachings, and with such a serious mandate against Luther he obtained so much thanks from the Pope in Rome that the Pope broke away from the French and entered into an alliance with Her Majesty.

9th Since such a mandate was publicly proclaimed and publicized, Duke Frederick of Saxony, Elector, procured that by some confidants of the nobility, not far from Waltershausen, on his journey from Worms to Wittenberg, Dr. Martin Luther was caught, and secretly led to the castle Wartburg, 3) situated above Eisenach, and there nearly

1) *sub* added by us, because the first volume of the Jena edition appeared only in 1555. - The letter, however, does not belong to the year 1521, but is to be assigned to January 1519. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1726, no. 536. - This letter has nothing to do with the Diet of Worms. It was not until January 25, 1521, that Luther offered to go to Worms against the Churfürst. See Vol. XV, 1887, No. 575.

2) See St. Louis ed. vol. XV, 1893 ff, nos. 580 and 581.

3) Aurifaber: "Wardberg".

was kept hidden for a whole year, so that his adversaries' ravings might be somewhat relieved.

(10) In this Patmo, or wasteland, he wrote many beautiful books, such as on confession, whether the pope had power to command it, on the monastic vows, on the corner mass, on praying the 119th psalm for the exaltation of the divine word against the great enemy of it, the pope, and all the doctrines of men; item, the interpretation of the 37th psalm with beautiful consolation. Psalm for the exaltation of the divine word, against the great enemy of the same, the pope, and all the doctrines of men; item, the interpretation of the 37th Psalm with a beautiful consolation and pampering to the poor little group of Christ at Wittenberg; item, a postill on the Evangelia and Epistles of the whole year there begun to write.

(11) In the meantime, the theologians of the high school of Paris have set themselves up as judges of Luther's books, and have condemned them in a public print on the 15th day of April in this 1521st year by listing several articles that were supposed to be wrong.

(12) To which writing not only Dr. Luther answered quite sharply and scornfully, but also Philip Melanchthon expansively, and indicated at length what the reason and foundation of Luther's teaching primarily consisted of.

13 Latomus also wrote in this year against Dr. Mart. Luthern, to whom Luther also answered.

14. this year also Dr. Mart. Luther sent a sharp but Christian letter to the Cardinal and Archbishop of Mainz on the Sunday after Catharine, concerning indulgences and the marriage of priests.

15th In the end of this year the imperial majesty sent an earnest letter, the date of which is: in Worms the 25th of November, to the university of Vienna in Austria, in which he earnestly declared that they wanted to burn M. Luther's outgoing writings and books with fire according to the usual order.

Anno 1522.

See St. Louis ed. vol. XV, 1946 et seq.

Anno 1523.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 180; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 491; in the Leipzig, vol. XVIII, p. 473, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 26*. The piece, which is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2192, no. 726, is reprinted here.

1. in the year 1523, the imperial envoys, together with others of the empire, met in Nuremberg. Maj. envoys, together with others of the imperial estates, assembled on the day at Nuremberg, decided, and

publicly issue an edict, in which a council was appointed for the following year, and all authorities were commanded to prevent all innovation and change of religion here, according to the content and expulsion of all articles, which are properly recorded and understood in the same edict; as this edict is then printed in the following.

(2) On the basis of such an edict, because it was interpreted differently, M. Luther had his declaration to the assembled estates of the empire printed.

3. in this year Dr. Martinus Luther, with much reading and constant preaching, has vigorously pushed his doctrine and spread it far and wide.

(4) Thus also the priest's marriage this year has come again into pregnancy. For the provost of Kemberg, M. Bartholomäus Feldkirch, who was the first to take a wife, followed Dr. Andreas Carlstadt, canon of Wittenberg, and held a matrimonial wedding in Wittenberg. Again, the pastor of Cranach, He Johann Grau, also held a wedding in Wittenberg, who soon after became pastor of Weimar.

5 So also to the German orders, that they should enter into matrimony, Dr. Mart. Luther sent out a special admonition in print this year.

(6) The canons of the monastery of Wittenberg have also changed their ungodly ceremonies with mass, holy services, vigils, etc. in response to Luther's many letters. Luther's manifold letter, instruction, admonition, and exhortation, they changed and dropped their ungodly ceremonies with the mass, holy services, vigils, and others, and instead arranged Christian, useful ceremonies with sermons, Christian lectionaries, and useful hymns, and others.

(7) Doctor Johann Faber and Emser of Leipzig wrote vehemently against Martin Luther. When Pope Adrian, the sixth of this name, died in Rome in the autumn of this 1523rd year, and Clement VII was elected pope, he and his cardinals sent a legate to Nuremberg in Germany as a campaigner. But when the legate did not find the Elector of Saxony there, to whom he had sent a special advertisement, the Pope reminded the Elector of Saxony in writing for the second time that he wanted to arrive at Nuremberg in person and help his legate to settle the disputed religious matter and to maintain peace and unity in the Church of Germany.

(8) In the meantime, some have also thought of means by which the division of religion between Dr. Mart. Luther, also his adversary, could be put down, as then worldly

People always in matters of religion, as if they were matters of the world, are wont to mean that a comparison should be made, that Christ and the devil should be put together in one bed.

9th And this was the proposal: one should appoint a place 1) as Zerbst or Naumburg, since about Michaelmas the Cardinal and Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, and the Bishop of Merseburg, also Dr. Martinus Luther should come. Martinus Luther should come and appear. There, each party was to draw four or five persons to and next to them for such an action, and to speak and act in the most amicable manner about Dr. Martini's doctrine, matters, and articles, to hear his answer and instruction, and to try whether one would like to unite and compare the same articles, in whole or in part, according to reasons and indications from Holy Scripture introduced by both sides.

(10) For such an amicable action, two secular princes, if they were able, were to be called in to hear how this action would go. So Duke John and Duke George of Saxony were proposed for this purpose. And since they are not able to do so, other secular princes, or at least two counts, should be used.

(11) In the meantime, however, Martin Luther should refrain from sharp writing, and especially from harsh writing against the authorities. Martin Luther should also be provided with sufficient escort to and from such a trading day. And what was then acted upon on this day, and not decided by the two ecclesiastical princes and princes, together with the two secular princes or counts, should be disclosed, so that such would remain undisclosed, and would be kept secret.

12) Thereupon Dr. Martin Luther also made his reply, at the request of Elector Frederick of Saxony, 2) and excused his harsh letter, also complaining about Dr. Johann Fabri, the bishop's vicar of Costnitz, and Emser's blasphemy books, which had gone out against him, and indicating "that he was not afraid of his things, nor ashamed of them, but wanted to preserve them against all devils. But nothing came of this trading day.

(13) Otherwise, Martin Luther had many useful, good little books printed in this 1523rd year; as, to the council of Prague, how one should choose church servants, item, avoid human doctrine.

1) "Malstatt" set by us instead of: "Wahlstadt".

2) This is incorrect. See the note St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2193. Luther's answer of May 29, 1523, refers to the Diet of Nuremberg.

Also how to say Christian mass, item, of godly ceremonies. He also wrote a magnificent book against the canon or private mass, saying that it was a terrible abomination.

Anno 1524.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 197; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 864; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 301, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 30*.

1. in this 1524th year a new imperial edict against Dr. Mart. Edict against Dr. Mart. Luther's teaching and person, dated April 18 at Nuremberg. Such edict let Dr. Mart. Luther himself printed it, next to the mandate that had gone out against him at Worms in 1521, made a preface to it, and indicated in it that these two imperial mandates were in disagreement and against each other. He is undaunted and consistent in his teaching, and admonishes the princes and sovereigns that they should not offend him and his teaching.

(2) The University of Ingolstadt also condemned Dr. Martin Luther's teaching, against which he wrote; as otherwise the papal bulls and other of his adversaries attacked him severely in this year with writings. But he resisted, and against the elevation of Bishop Benno of Meissen, 1) item, against the Romanist in Leipzig, the like against the whole papacy and abomination of the still mass or the canon fiercely written.

(3) Besides this, he also sent out comforting writings for the acceptors and confessors of the gospel, as to the Christians of Augsburg, to the people of Miltenberg, to those of Riga in Liefland; item, admonition to the German princes and cities to establish and appoint schools for the youth.

(4) He also sent out a warning to Duke Frederick of Saxony, Elector, and to Duke John, his brother. Again, to the city of Mühlhausen, against the rebellious spirit of Thomas Münzer, as a testimony that his heart was not inclined to any outrage, unrest "or rebellion.

5th And after having heard above in the 22nd year, how Dr. Andreas Carlstadt (when Dr. Luther was in his patronage) had caused change and innovation in the church at Wittenberg out of ambition, against which Doctor Luther with reading, preaching, and

1) Meant is the writing against the new idol and old devil, who shall be exalted in Meissen". See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 2323, No. 750.

The devil aroused great enmity in Dr. Carlstadt against Dr. Luther. Carlstadt against Dr. Luther, about which he became deadly hostile to his person and doctrine, and left his preaching and lecturing at Wittenberg, to which he was appointed as an archidiacon by electoral foundation. In 1523 he moved to a village called Segren 2) to lead a private or farmer's life there; drove the horses at the plow himself, no longer wanted to be called Doctor Andreas Carlstadt, but Brother Andres.

(6) Although Luther made every effort to bring him back on the right track by teaching, pleading, and admonishing him, it was in vain. The University of Wittenberg also punished him for this, and Philippus Melanchthon, Dr. Jonas, and Mr. Dieterich von Biela acted in the matter, but all in vain; for even though he offered to remain silent, he still secretly practiced against it.

(7) Finally, he said that everyone should be a layman, condemned the magisterial and doctoral professions, which were common in universities, and discouraged many people from studying who were engaged in the trades. Nevertheless, he pretended great holiness and heavenly revelation, and taught how one should listen in the corner to the heavenly revelation and voice, and be assured of the Spirit, and led people away from oral words, through which God alone deals with us.

8th And since he could not accomplish anything in Saxony and Wittenberg, he found himself in this 1524th year around Michaelmas in Thuringia towards Orlamünda; for there around the Saale many heavenly prophets were behaving and transcribing, and there he bit out the priest Magister Conradum 3) and also caused the iconoclasm there.

9th Now V. Martin Luther, out of the command of the Prince of Saxony, went to Carlstadt against Jena and Orlamünda, and acted to set him right again; but his hopeful spirit did not let him come to any humility, improvement, nor revocation. And Martin Luther in Orlamünda was almost thrown out with stones and mud and chased out.

010 Now when, after a long, manifold, cultivated action, which extended into the third year, no change was spouted at Carlstadten, he was finally commanded by a princely edict to move out of the country; about this he was very enraged, has himself

2) Aurifaber: "Pergwitz". See St. Louis edition, Vol. XX, Eint., p. 18 d. Cf. also Fröschel's report in Jäger, "Carlstadt", p. 301. - In July 1526 (see No. 1010 in this volume) Luther wrote to Hausmann that Carlstadt was farming in "Bergwitz".

3) Conrad Glitzsch.

in Friesland and afterwards in Switzerland, became and remained a public enemy of Luther's teaching.

011 And denies the abominable error of Berengarii concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, that there only bread and wine, and not the true body and blood of Christ, are administered and received; which error has grown longer and longer, and has done great harm, and even to this day has not been put to rest.

12th In this year on the 20th Sunday after Trinity, Doctor Martin Luther first took off his monk's cap, and began to wear a black preacher's skirt, for which skirt Duke Frederick, Elector, gave him the cloth beforehand, with these words: he shall let him make of it a preacher's skirt, or monk's caps, or if it pleased him, a Hispanic cap, so that the Elector of the monks secretly mocked.

(13) Erasmus Roterodamus also opposed Martin Luther in this year, and had the book of the free will of man in his conversion printed; King Henry of England (to whom Pope Clement had sent the Golden Rose of Rome in England in this year) provoked and urged him to do so, as Erasmus himself testifies in an epistle *ad Cardinalem Eboracensem*. But Martin Luther, in the following twenty-fifth year, refuted the same book tremendously.

Anno 1525.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 277; in the Altenburg, vol. III, p. 303; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 302, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 33." The beginning of this account is already printed in the St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 158, no. 792.

001 In this twenty-fifth year there is a new fire kindled, and a great noise ariseth, which the devil hath stirred up against Luther's doctrine, namely, the peasants' revolt. For in Alsace and Swabia, also in Franconia and Thuringia, the peasants have risen up, stormed the monasteries, burned and destroyed the castles and residences of many noblemen, wanted to withdraw obedience from princes, counts, and other authorities, and even proposed to abolish them and put them to death. And especially in Thuringia there was such an uproar and game beginner and leader Thomas Münzer, pastor of Allstädt, who camped with the peasants towards Frankenhausen.

2 Against this spirit of murder lay down with earnest writings Dort. Martin Luther and warned the City of Mühlhausen before the mint, wrote also to other estates to beware of outrages and riots. In the same way, Philippus Melanchthon had several splendid writings printed in order to extinguish this fire. But God, as a founder and protector of sovereignty, soon controlled this spirit of murder. For on the Rhine River, many thousands of the rebellious peasants were slain by Duke Anthoni of Lorraine at Alsace-Zabern; but the Swabian peasants were put down by the Swabian League. Thus Prince John, Duke George of Saxony, Landgrave Philip of Hesse, and Duke Henry of Brunswick also defeated the rebellious peasants at Frankenhausen, and had Thomas Muenzer captured and beheaded before Mulhouse, together with one of his companions, called Pfeiffer.

On Easter Day, when Luther had preached early in Wittenberg, he left after noon for Mansfeld, and visited Eisleben, Stolberg, Nordhausen, Erfurt, Weimar, Orlamünde, Kahla, and Jena, there to control the uprising with preaching and exhortation; but in his absence Duke Frederick, Elector, died in Lochau, and was buried in Wittenberg on Wednesday after Jubilate. Therefore M. Luther hurriedly returned to Wittenberg on the Saturday after *Misericordias Domini*, and preached there on Sunday Jubilate.

(4) On the Sunday of Cantata, M. Luther restored the ordination of preachers in the apostolic manner, after the early sermon at Wittenberg, and M. Georg Rörer was the first ordainer.

5th In this year Dr. M. Luther entered into matrimony, and on the Tuesday after St. John the Baptist's Day he married Catharina von Bore, a noblewoman who had been a convent virgin, at Wittenberg, whose matrimony he had previously praised and defended to the highest degree from God's Word with sermons and several beautiful writings, and also advised and helped many people in the spiritual and secular classes.

(6) When Carlstadt was hostile to M. Luther and his teachings, and the Sacramentarian error was renewed, therefore the principality of Saxony forbade him (which made Carlstadt very angry and put all the blame for his exile on Dr. Luther; but that Dr. Luther was not to be blamed for his exile). Luther; of which, however, Dr. Luther apologized sufficiently, and indicated that there were other reasons why the princes of Saxony did not want him to suffer in their principality), and Carlstadt saw that the peasants' revolt was subdued, he also feared that he would come into danger of his life, limb, and goods.

He therefore wrote an apology that he had no part nor fellowship with the rebels, that he wanted to purging himself sufficiently.

(7) He also sent out a booklet of the same kind, in which he confessed that he had not given his doctrine of the Lord's Supper *definiiendi, sed disputundi causa,* and did not want to be a sacramentarian. He wrote to Luther and asked him to write prefaces for these two books of his, so that he might come out of the people's suspicion and suspicion.

(8) Luther did so, as he would have liked to have won and restored Carlstadt, and had both booklets printed with his prefaces at Wittenberg, as they are found in the 3rd Tomo Jenensi. But Doct. Luther was deceived by Carlstadt, and Carlstadt remained a sacramentarian afterward as before. For heretics and red spirits are seldom converted or brought to rights again.

(9) About this time Ulrichus Zwinglius, preacher at Zurich, together with Johanne Oecolampadio, preacher at Basle, who hitherto 1) in [Switzerland] stood fast by Luther's doctrine, brought the erroneous doctrine of the Lord's Supper back on the track, as if the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper were only a mere sign and meaning of the body and blood of Christ; these have defended and protected their opinion by many writings and books. Luther opposed this with great earnestness, and protected and preserved the doctrine of the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper from God's Word, which gave rise to a great controversy and struggle in the church. And the devil again aroused great vexation, so that those who were otherwise at one with each other in all articles of Christian doctrine should fall into each other's hair in this matter of the Lord's Supper.

(10) In this year Doctor Martinus Luther also wrote humble and gentle Christian letters to King Henry of England and to Duke George of Saxony, trying to win them both by kindness, as he was persuaded to do by some of his lords and good friends; but he ran into trouble in both places, and received vile blasphemies in reply. So it must often be lacking in worldly men who want to regulate matters of faith according to worldly wisdom and reason.

(11) On the twentieth Sunday after Trinity of this year the German Mass began to be held in Wittenberg for the very first time.

1) "so far" put by us instead of: "both".

Anno 1526.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 190 ff.

Anno 1527.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. 1, p. 415; in the Altenburg, vol. III, p. 810; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 560, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 37."

(1) After Martin Luther wrote a Christian and humble writing to King Henry of England in 1526, out of concern and advice from the exiled King of Denmark, Christian! (who for a time was in exile at the castle in Wittenberg, was a lover of Luther's teachings, and listened diligently to his sermons), King Henry of England wrote a poisonous blasphemy book against Luther, and interpreted his letter to him in the worst possible way. Erasmus Roterodamus is said to have been the writer and master of the same book. But Luther had another booklet published, the name of which is: "Auf des Königs von Engelland Lästerschrift Titel, Antwort Doctor Martini Luthers" ("On the King of England's Blasphemy Title, Answer Doctor Martin Luther"), as found in the XIX. 2) part of this collection.

The city of Halle in Saxony had a Christian, learned preacher, Mr. Georg Winkler of Bischofwerde, who began to preach the gospel and to serve the Lord's Supper in both forms. Since this fire wanted to rise in the monastery of Magdeburg, and Archbishop Albrecht, Cardinal, had just stopped in the monastery of Mainz, this Georg Winkler was demanded by episcopal letters from Hall to Aschaffenburg 3), and when he was let go again from there out of an assassin-like attack and was ordered to ride to Halle, his horse was taken from him, his journeyman who had travelled with him before was also taken away, and he was put on the archbishop's fool's (who was called pastor) horse, and another beireuter was assigned to him, so that he would be led in the woods to a halt where Strauchmörder was waiting for him.

3) When he came from Aschaffenbürg 3) two miles away, reapers attacked him in the woods and stabbed him to death. So Georg Winkler became a martyr for the sake of the teaching of the divine word. And Doctor Martin Luther has printed a letter of consolation to the Christians of Halle about such a death of their preacher,

2) In Walch, probably by misprint: "XXI". See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 410.
3) Aurifaber: "Aschenburg".

which is found below in the X. 1) For this man's death, this portentous event happened in Magdeburg, that in the high monastery, on the day of *Cirvumcisionis Domini, at matins*, all lights were extinguished and went out, except for the few lights that hung in front of the Sacramental House (as it was customary to call it). This may have been caused by a wind, but it certainly meant that the light of the Gospel, which Georg Winkler had begun to teach, should go out again, as it did after his death.

In this year, Emperor Carl's army, whose leader was Duke Carl of Barbon, went to the Kingdom of Naples and attacked the city of Rome on the way, besieged it, and on the 6th day captured and plundered Maji. Then Pope Clement and the Cardinals were chased into the Engelburg and besieged there for seven months, and a serious visitation was carried out by God on the Pope and his clergy.

On the Saturday after the *Visitation of the Virgin Mary*, Doctor Martin Luther fell into a great weakness of body and illness in Wittenberg. In addition, great spiritual temptations struck him, and the spirit of sadness plagued him badly; such weakness of body and spirit tortured and mortified him so, 2) that he could not regain his strength in three months.

(6) In this 27th year there was another glorious confessor of the Gospel and martyr, Leonhard Kaiser, who was imprisoned by the bishop of Passau for teaching that there were only two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper of Christ. Again, that the mass is not a sacrifice, item, the monastic vows and purgatory are nothing, and that man has no free will in matters of God. For these articles he was condemned as a heretic by the bishop and Doctor Ecken, who sat in court with him, and burned by Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria on the 16th day of August. Duke John, Elector of Saxony, wrote an intercession for this man to the Bishop of Passau, but it did not help. However, Doctor Martin Luther sent him a beautiful letter of comfort in his prison.

007 Erasmus Roterodamus also wrote vehemently against Luther in this year; but Luther answered nothing to it, therefore that

1) St. Louis ed. vol. X, 1960.

2) "mortared" will probably be as much as: emaciated.

his book of the *Servo Arbitrio* remained unrefuted and unbitten by Erasmum.

(8) Against the Sacramentarians, as the Zwinglium and Oecolampadium (who were also joined by Urbanus Regius and Martinus Bucerus, who two later abandoned such error), Dr. Martin Luther wrote this witty book in this year. Martin Luther wrote in this year the witty book, whose title is: "That the words of Christ, that is my loan, still stand firm." By which book many people were strengthened in the pure doctrine of the Lord's Supper. But the sacramentarians began to become quite senseless and furious, especially Zwinglius, who answered vehemently against it. But Luther was sorry that the devil caused such strife and contention among those who all professed the doctrine of the gospel, and Luther had to engage and fight with these false brethren.

(9) After the devil had stormed against Luther and his teachings in all kinds of ways, with tyranny and persecution, also through false teachings and the spirits of the red, but had not received anything from God's grace, he thought about how he destroyed and devastated the university and high school in Wittenberg (from which great damage and destruction had been done to him and his kingdom). Therefore, by God's decree, he awakened a pestilence there, in which few people were strong; thus a horror, fear and terror arose in Wittenberg, so that the students suddenly left, and the university had to be moved to Jena in Thuringia.

(10) Thither traveled Philip Melanchthon with all the doctors and professors; and Luther and Pommer remained alone in Wittenberg. There came also the pestilence into Dr. Luther's house, that several persons lay sick from it; but none died of it, and IX Luther did not leave his house, for he feared nothing at all for this plague. Afterwards he sent out a writing in print, "Whether one may flee from dying." On the tenth day of Decembris a daughter, called Elisabeth, was born to Doctor Martin Luthern.

Anno 1528.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 427; in the Altenburg, vol. I V, p. 462; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 599 and in Walch, vol. XXI, 41X

I. At the beginning of this year, the university, which had been moved from Wittenberg to Jena 3) for the sake of the death marches, returned to Wittenberg, and the pestilence stopped there.

3) In Walch: "them", read from "Ihenen".

2 Dr. Mart. Luther also attacked the Sacramentarians anew and harshly, and had his great confession of the Lord's Supper printed, in order to shut the mouths of the blasphemers and contradictors, according to St. Paul's teaching and command, and to defend and protect the truth of the divine word by such a fight and dispute with the Sacramentarians.

003 From this those might well take an example, how one should seriously stand against the false spirits and false teachers, who otherwise not only do not want to argue or write against them any more, but also do not suffer that one remembers the journeymen.

(4) He also sent out an earnest admonition to beware of the doctrine of the Sacramentans, and in this year Urbanus Regius fell away from the Sacramentans.

(5) In this year the devil kindled a new fire with mobs and souls, so that the Anabaptists first arose 1) and came on the scene; against whom M. Luther had a glorious letter printed (in which their error was laid bare), and thus the holy man closed up and fenced in all the gaps that the devil otherwise tore open with false teachings to harm the church of God.

(6) The city of Brunswick also accepted the doctrine of the gospel, and wrote to Wittenberg for preachers; thither Johann Bugenhagen, otherwise called Pomeranian, was sent, who established the church there with doctrine and ceremonies. Which Christian example the city of Hamburg and also Goslar followed in the month of October, revealed themselves to the teaching of the Gospel through Dr. Martin Luther. Martin Luther, and the people of Hamburg have also required Pomerania to join them, and have had their churches reformed and made Christian. Thus the teachings of Luther have also come to the seaside cities.

(7) In this year, Martin Luther also began to translate the Bible and to begin the translation of the prophets, which was an arduous and difficult task for him. But such work took several years, for the sake of his great business, until it was completely finished.

(8) There is also the armament of Elector John of Saxony and of Landgrave Philip of Hesse against the allies of the Mainz, as revealed by Otto Pack, as King Ferdinand, the Elector of Brandenburg, Duke George of Saxony, the Dukes of Bavaria, and the Bishops of Saxony.

1) ereugeten == to show themselves, to come before eyes.

Mainz, Würzburg and Bamberg, and by negotiation of Archbishop Richard of Trier and Count Palatine Ludwig, both Electors, this discord has been settled, as reported above in the 26th year.

(9) In this year also the disagreement of Duke George of Saxony with Dr. Martin Luther arose, which arose because of this Mainzian alliance, of which Dr. Martin Luther wrote to Wenceslaum Linken, which letter Duke George received and Dr. Martin Luther attacked in public print. Martin Luther has attacked in public print, in a burdensome way, as can actually be seen from his letter below. Therefore, several books and writings went out afterwards for the counter-response of Dr. Martin Luther.

(10) In the month of March, Elizabeth, née Queen of Denmark, Elector Joachim's wife in Brandenburg, the first of that name, became attached to the doctrine of the Gospel, and received the Lord's Supper of Christ in both forms, wherefore she came into great danger with her lord the Elector. But their brother, King Christian of Denmark, has secretly helped their elector out of the Mark. G. secretly out of the Mark, and brought her to Duke Johannsen, Elector of Saxony; there her churfl. G. remained there until the year 1546, and was a Christian princess and lover of Luther's teachings, so that her Electorate was often in Germany. G. was often in Dr. Mart. Luther's dwelling for a quarter of a year and longer, but otherwise stayed at Lichtenberg's house.

In the month of July a nobleman, named Nicket von Minkwitz, fell in the land of the Elector of Brandenburg, as in the city of Fürstenwalde, in the jurisdiction of the bishop of Lebus, with some knights, and plundered the priests in the cathedral, as well as the citizens of the same place, and went away with the booty.

In the month of August, as on the 5th day, Dr. M. Luther's daughter Elisabeth, born to him before the year, died.

This year, too, in the month of September, the antinomy began, albeit secretly, that one should preach the knowledge of sin from the Gospel and point the law to the town hall. Which error beginner M. Johannes Agricola, at that time schoolmaster at Eisleben, was. But this fire has been extinguished by Dr. M. Luther's epistle and an act held at Torgau before Prince John, it was damped and extinguished until Anno 1538, when such a fire of the Antinomians, again made smoldering and burning by M. Agricola, spread to the door and windows. But through Dr. Martin Luther's several

Disputationes and several letters to the editor it has again been dampened and depressed, and M. Agricola has had to recognize his error, revoke it, and deny it.

Elector John of Saxony also had the churches of his principality visited in this 28th year.

Miss Ursula, Duchess of Münsterberg, has secretly escaped with two nuns from the convent at Freiberg, and come to Wittenberg, and thereafter let her apology go out in print, why her princely gods have left this spiritual life. G. left this spiritual life.

Margrave George of Brandenburg and the city of Nuremberg have also reformed their churches this year and planted the teachings of the Gospel in them.

Anno 1529.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 567; in the Altenburg, vol. IV, p. 800; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 1, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 45*.

In the beginning of this 1529th year the papal mass in Strasbourg was abolished by the council, against which the clergy and also the bishop of Strasbourg were vehemently opposed, and Emperor Carl had his envoys earnestly deal with the council to avert it; but he was unable to obtain anything.

(2) Also in the month of January Luther had the German Catechismum printed for the first time, in which the main points of Christian doctrine with their interpretations are usefully compiled and summarized for the youth and the common man.

(3) After there had been concern about the Turkish invasion of Austria and Germany this year, Dr. M. Luther had a booklet about the war against the Turks printed in public in the month of March. M. Luther let a booklet about the war against the Turk go out in public print in the month of March.

4th At Speier also around Easter of the same year the Imperial Diet began, where in place of Emperor Carl the King of Bohemia and Hungary, Ferdinandus 2c., with Prince John of Saxony, Landgrave Philip of Hesse, Margrave George of Brandenburg, Duke Franzen of Lüneburg, and Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, and the imperial cities that professed the Gospel, all kinds of serious actions were taken for the sake of religion; and accordingly great pains were taken to establish separation between the Protestant princes and imperial cities.

5. but the imperial cities, as Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Costnitz, Reutlingen, Winsheim, Mem
mingen, Lindau, Heilbrunn, and others, came to the princes. And at the same Imperial Diet, against King Ferdinand and the other Papal princes and chieftains, both ecclesiastical and secular, acting cunningly and earnestly, seeking and requesting, a magnificent protest was handed over by the Protestant princes and chieftains, also imperial cities. Therefore, these Protestant estates have been called the protesting estates throughout the world.

6th On the 5th day of May a daughter, called Magdalena, was born to Dr. M. Luther.

In the month of September, Solimannus, the Turkish emperor, fell in Austria with a great army, and besieged the city of Vienna, fired on it, broke down a large section of the wall, and stormed the city in the same open place. But God helped with mercy that the Turks did not succeed with the storm. Therefore, the Turkish emperor left in haste and departed from the siege to Hungary. So that God granted His Christian Church in the German land air and peace from the cruel enemy, the Turk, for a time, so that the teachings of the Gospel might continue to run and spread; for the devil would have gladly dealt a blow to the Gospel through the Turk.

(8) About this time Dr. M. Luther also printed a sermon against the Turk, to comfort the Christians who were in great terror, fear and trembling before the Turk.

9th At the same time also a new swift disease appeared in the German country, so one called the English addiction or sweating sickness, since the people arrived a sweating, and in 24 hours were alive and 1) dead, at it everywhere many thousand people strong.

010 In Cologne on the Rhine two were burned this year for the doctrine of the gospel, Peter Flistedius and Adolphus von Clarenbach.

On the third day of October, the Colloquium began at Marburg in Hesse. For after Huldericus Zwinglius and Oecolampadius had raised an erroneous doctrine and opinion of the Lord's Supper of Christ, against which M. Luther had violently opposed, and on both sides many books and vehement pamphlets had gone out against each other, as if the noble, highborn prince and lord, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, had gladly settled such a dispute (which had brought great annoyance and harm to Christ's church) in a Christian manner, would gladly have settled such a dispute (which brought great annoyance and harm to the Church of Christ) in a Christian manner; therefore he negotiated with the Elector of Saxony and the other protesting estates.

1) "and" put by us instead of: "or".

The same with the Swiss, that they sent their theologians to Marburg, there to talk and dispute with each other in a friendly and amicable manner, whether one would finally come to a Christian unity and settlement, and the written bitterness would remain.

Twelfth, Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchthon, Justus Jonas, Justus Menius, and Fridericus Myconius arrived from Wittenberg. From Switzerland Huldericus Zwinglius and Johannes Oecolampadius have appeared. The city of Strasbourg sent Martinum Bucerum and Caspar Hedio. The city of Nuremberg sent Osiandrum, the city of Augsburg Stephanum Agricolam; then Johannes Brentius, and the landgrave also required his theologians, as Dr. Erhard Schnepf, Dionysium N. 1) 2c.

013 Now when Luther and Zwinglius, and Philip Melanchthon and Oecolampadius, had two days' colloquy one after another, they compared themselves with one accord in the principal points of Christian doctrine. But that the true body and blood of the Lord Christ is in the Lord's Supper, Zwinglius and Oecolampadius did not want to be instructed in this; they also did not allow themselves to be instructed in front of their churches, in which they planted the error of Berengarius, and thus, out of fear of man, denied the truth and did not want to confess it.

Fourteenth Thus the colloquy was dissolved, and the theologians parted amicably with the presentation of hands. But the theologians at Wittenberg did not want to take the Swiss theologians for their brethren and accept them, lest they be regarded as approving their false doctrine. And Luther's constancy is to be especially praised, who did not pretend, collude, or lie in cahoots with the sects and the sectarians (as many of them did at that time). In this year, M. Luther and Duke George of Saxony came into hard contact with each other due to public pressure; Dr. Luther had the booklet of the stolen letters published against him.

(15) At the end of the month of November, the protesting estates held a meeting at Schmalkalden, and wanted to discuss an alliance and resistance, whether it would be true that they would be attacked with a painting for the sake of religion. And the occasion of this meeting was that their legates, whom they had sent to Italy to the Emperor Caroln for their protestation, were to be summoned to Schmalkalden.

1) Perhaps: Dionysius Melander. Cf. no. 2681 in this volume.

half, handed over at the Imperial Diet at Speier, had been sent by the Emperor's Majesty. Majest. had been knitted 2).

(16) Finally, Dr. Martinus Luther has had a beautiful confession of his faith, in which he desires and intends to remain steadfastly, against all sects, mobs, and tyrants, printed in this 1529th edition.

Anno 1530.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1736, no. 1161.

6 Georg Spalatin's account of what happened at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 413; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 33; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 156; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 206, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 49." Some pieces of this narrative are already found in our edition, vol. XVI, 878 ff, no. 963, col. 887, no. 967, and col. 888, no. 968.

1st Duke William of Bavaria, when he heard the confession of my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, and of the other princes of his electoral grace, adhering to the 3) Gospel, he spoke kindly to my most gracious lord, and when he came home, he is said to have said: so he was not told before about this matter and doctrine.

2nd Sunday after St. John the Baptist, the princes and lords of the other part were together to make answer to the confession.

On the 3rd Monday after St. John the Baptist, the mayor, city council, and common city of Augsburg have paid homage to the Roman imperial majesty on the square in front of the city hall. Roman imperial majesty stood in the oriel on top of the town hall, and next to his imperial majesty the three princes of Mainz, Cologne and Brandenburg, also the marching lord of Pappenheim with the bare sword, and Caspar Sturm, herald. And the homage was done, with fingers stretched out, between ten and eleven o'clock at noon; there were some thousand men.

4th The same morning the princes concerned, and also the archbishops, princes, and bishops, who were not attached to the gospel, were together, and for the sake of the gospel, that it might be respected, they talked together.

2) "Stricken" - a vow has been taken from them not to depart from the place.

3) "the" put by us instead of: "in".

After that, the same day, Imperial Majesty rode to Wellenburg Castle, of the Cardinal of Salzburg. Majesty rode to the castle of Wellenburg, of the Cardinal of Salzburg, which Emperor Maximilian, of laudable memory, gave him.

6th Now thirty-five years, as our host here at Augsburg, Wilhelm Arzt, has told us, the people of Augsburg have also paid homage to Emperor Maximilian.

Erasmus Roterdam is said to be still alive, but almost ill; his Imperial Majesty has written to him. It is thought that she would like to have him here at the Diet; but whether he can or will come is not known.

8 The Queen of Hungary and Behemoth, Mary, sister of the Roman Emperor and King Ferdinand, has not hitherto refused to preach her sermon, but has told and warned the Imperial Majesty to take care that she is not deceived by the priests, as her husband King Louis and her brother King Ferdinand were deceived by them. Majesty should have told and warned her to be careful, lest she also be deceived by the priests, as her husband King Louis, and her brother King Ferdinandus, were deceived by them.

(9) One of the imperial majesty's secretaries, Alexander Schweiß, has brought our confession in French; another secretary has brought it in Welsh. They say that the clergy both give wine and other things in great quantity to Cardinal Campegius. Many people want to have the same confession, and they strive for it with diligence. So it is a thing that he who is not Lutheran cannot spoil it, whatever he may do. Again, he that is Lutheran, though he be one of the most pious, hath utterly perverted it.

010 A prince is said to have said the other day before some other princes and lords: The Lutherans have handed over a document written with ink; if I were emperor, I would again give them a document written with rubrics, that is, with red ink. To this another prince is said to have answered immediately: nevertheless the emperor must pay attention if he wants to write with rubrics, as you, sir, say, so that the presilges do not 1) spy under his eyes.

(11) Duke George of Saxony is sometimes very friendly towards my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, but in the matter concerning God's word he is still to be very hard and quick.

012 This is a great defect in the imperial court, that even some of his highly learned servants say that there is not one man who understands the things of the gospel; so much so that they know not the things of the gospel.

1) "not" is missing from Walch.

she has nothing of these things, and yet has many priests and monks about her.

013 There are some bishops who are much better, kinder, and more lenient in the Lutheran cause than some secular princes; therefore let us pray God that he may ward off the devil, amen.

(14) The Cardinal Campegius shall have our confession translated into the French language and sent to the pope, for the pope does not understand Latin very well. The same cardinal shall also have orders from the pope to stop some abuses.

(15) The imperial cities are very divided, for the fewest part are righteous; the rest are either Zwinglian or papist.

16th Thursday after St. Peter's and St. Paul's Day my gracious lords, Margrave George of Brandenburg and Duke John Frederick of Saxony, have been with the two queens 2) of Hungern and Behem after noon for several hours, and the queens have both behaved almost honestly, chastely, and milderly toward their princely graces.

(17) On the Thursday after St. Peter's and St. Paul's, the Imperial Majesty graciously requested that my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, should come to his Imperial Majesty on the following Friday. Majesty 2c.

018 The queen Mary preacher is said to have many good things, especially that she is well versed in Latin, and always has a Latin book with her, even when hunting; and if a preacher does not read the Scriptures, she looks for them, and speaks about them. Neither heare she the great cryer and barefooted Medardus, the king's preacher, but she must.

19. the Queen Preacher, an honest, friendly man, has sent us the following list of twenty Doctores 2c. who are against the Lutherans here in Augsburg.

First the title: The Christian Doctores at the Diet of Augsburg; just as if the others were original ones.

Doctor Johann Eck.

Doctor Johann Schmid or Faber, at Ofen Probst, Coadjutor.

Doctor Augustin Marius, Bishop at Salon, or Suffragan Bishop at Wuerzburg.

Doctor Conrad Wimpina.

Doctor Johann Cocleus.

Doctor Paul Haug, Preacher Order Provincial.

2) Jenaer and Walch: "kings"; Wittenberger: "queens" [== queens]; namely, in the case of Mary, Queen of Hungary, and in the case of the wife of Ferdinand, King of Bohemia.

Doctor Andres Stoß, of the Order of Our Lady Brothers Provincial.

Doctor Conrad Colli, Prior of the Preacher's Monastery at Cologne, who has written against Doctor Martinus Ehestand.

Doctor Conrad Tho[man], 1) preacher at Regensburg.

Doctor Bartholomew Using.

Doctor Johann Mensing.

Doctor Johann Dietenberger, 2) Prior, preacher at Coblenz.

Doctor Johann Burckhard, Predig erordensVicari.

Doctor Petms Speiser, of the Bishop of Costentz Vicari.

Doctor Arnold von Wesel.

Medardus, King Ferdinandus Preacher, Order of the Barefoot.

Augustine of Cottelin of Bremen.

Doctor Wolfgang Redörfer, provost at Stendal. 3) Doctor Hieronymus Montinus, Vicar of the Bishop of Passau.

Doctor Matthias Kretz, preacher at Augsburg.

20. Friday, the evening of 4) Our Lady's Visitation, my gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, is at the gracious request of His Imperial Majesty. Majesty.

021 Our opposers, the learned, have become much more silent and conscientious than they were before, because of the confession which was presented.

22. Majesty has a monk of the Order of the Barefoot for a confessor, a Spaniard, who is said to be almost sympathetic to our cause, kind and inclined, and probably also preaches; King Ferdinand's preacher, also of the Order of the Barefoot, Medardum, the great shrieker, who was also at Speier, cannot stand around him.

023 There are other things going on beside the gospel.

024 Some of the cardinals themselves confess that our cause and doctrine are right, but that they have not done it without the help of others; they do not see how they can be compared, and they do not want to have done wrong in any way.

25th Saturday Visitationis of Mary, the pure virgins.

26 Yesterday the Emperor's Majesty met with the Landgrave of Hesse. Majesty with the Landgrave of Hesse, besides the Bishop of Hildesheim.

1) According to Spalatin's Annals added by us.

2) This name is inadvertently omitted from Spalatin's annals, hence his list has; only nineteen combatants of the Lutherans.

3) Walch offers "Rödörfer" and "Stands!".

4) That is: *in vigilia*, therefore on July 1. With Walch wrongly interpungirt: "of the evening,". The Visitation of the Virgin Mary fell on Saturday.

home, acted, by reason of the gospel, on a back passage.

27 The people of Strasbourg have traded with many imperial cities. However, neither Costnitz, nor Ulm, nor Heilbrunn, nor Memmingen, nor Frankfurt, nor others have signed their confession and adhered to their doctrine; therefore, Strasbourg stands alone with its doctrine and confession.

28 On the day of the Visitation, my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, visited the Emperor before noon. Majesty before noon, and asked for the fiefs.

29 Imperial Majesty and yours confess that we do not err in articles of faith, but could suffer that in external things, before in some, we compared and united ourselves with the others up to a concilium.

30. Majesty's confessor said to Magister Philippo Melanchthon: "I am surprised that in German lands some scholars dispute this speech that one becomes justified and pious by faith, for I have long believed it to be so and have also spoken of it with many scholars.

031 Some princes are very much opposed to the gospel, but their counsellors are very kind and inclined. Some counsellors have also said to their lords in plain sight, with other warnings, that if there should be war, God would be for it, and they would not have the consequence of their own people.

On the 32nd Sunday after the Visitation of Our Lady the Imperial Majesty had with him my most gracious Lord, the Elector of Saxony, Margrave George of Brandenburg and the Landgrave of Hesse.

There is further talk that Imperial Majesty does not have a single person at her court who understands Protestant matters. Majesty did not have a single person at her court who understood the Protestant teachings. Majesty sent our confession to the University of Louvain, even though it was eighty miles away from here.

034 It is said that the bishops cannot unite in this matter of the Gospel.

(35) The people of Frankfort have also let themselves be heard publicly that they want to remain with the confession of my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony.

Our confession has been requested to be rewritten for the King of England, for the King of Portugal, for the Duke of Jülich, for the Duke of Lorraine, and for other great princes. We want to bring it, if God wills, in Latin and German.

37. on the Sunday after the Visitation of Our Lady, here in Augsburg, between six and seven o'clock in the evening, there is an exceedingly cruel

The weather has come, hailing, thundering, lightning and raining, almost frightening, and has made such a pond several rooms 1) wide and long on the corn market, almost in the middle of the city, that the people have had to wade in the water up to their knees, but hope it has gone off without damage.

38 Our landlord, Wilhelm Arzt, tells us that a year ago hail destroyed so many windows that three thousand guilders were glazed here in Augsburg. And that he walked in the house in hailstones up to his knees.

It often has weather out here, as I hear, three days in a row. It can't be any different even in such great heat. Under the weather I often thought of you in Altenburg.

40. imperial. Majesty. Confessor has allowed himself to be heard in such a Christian manner against Ecken, Faber, Wimpina, Cocleo and other opponents of the Gospel that they have thrown him out of their synagogue and no longer use him in their council.

41 They also took Doctor Mensing, the preacher-monk of Margrave Joachim, with them; for he returned with his son, half with the margrave's displeasure. And Doctor Mensing is said to have said to the other doctors: If you will not do otherwise, it is the same to me, I will also soon throw off my cap; for no one is valid there but he who is most against Doctor Martinus and God's teaching.

042 The archbishop of Cologne is said to have said last year: I am a bishop, and I am to govern my church, and to preach; now I cannot; but only I would go from my bishopric, that this matter might be judged to good peace.

043 Faber and Cocleus are especially evil-souled before others, because they lie and deceive quickly, and speak and act otherwise before the man than behind him.

44 It is said again, even by some Bavarians themselves, that Duke William of Bavaria said to Doctor Ecken: I have been told much differently of Luther's doctrine than I have heard in their confession. You have also put me off, that their doctrine is to be mislaid. Then said Doctor Eck: With the fathers I would dare to dispense, but not with the Scriptures. Then Duke William turned from him.

45) With the emperor's confessor lies a Spanish captain, with whom a Spaniard said to Melanchthon, whether Luther would come?

1) "Stuben" == Ruthen (Walch).

He was a monk, and had taken a nun, therefore they would beget the Antichrist with one another. Then the Spanish captain said in Latin: Be silent, for Luther is not such an evil man as he is made out to be; I have read Eck's four hundred final speeches, but I do not think it is his fault that he writes this, as Eck blames him.

46 On the Sunday after the Visitation of the Virgin Mary, the emperor sent word to the princes that he wished to hear mass at St. Ulrich's on Monday, St. Ulrich's Day; whoever had the opportunity would ride there with him.

47 He rode to mass at St. Ulrich's on Monday, St. Ulrich's Day, and almost all the princes with him, except my most gracious lord, his fellow princes, and the Hessian, who stayed at home.

48 Mr. Johann Pommer has written to us here that the gospel is rising up quickly in Lübeck and Lüneburg.

49. Again, that Christ has almost taken over the whole sea and lake. May God continue to have mercy, amen. So it is in the world, the pope and bishops and princes want to drive out the word of God in the Roman Empire, and in foreign kingdoms they accept it with joy. O let us ever pray that the word of God may remain with us.

050 The people of Augsburg are almost evil in the word of God, and in their preachers; for the noble seed cannot spring up among the thorns: they fear very much that they shall lose all their best and purest preachers for this cause, for some princes already seek after some of them.

51) Queen Mary Preacher is forbidden to preach even now, although the pious queen has faithfully asked for it.

52. Tuesday after the Visitation of Our Lady, the bishops and princes, our retinue, were all together in the town hall.

53) On the same day the imperial cities have informed the imperial majesty in a written supplement of the reasons why they did not sign the imperial edict against the Lutheran doctrine at the last imperial diet at Speier, and in it they all confess, in addition to those of Strasbourg, that they are dependent on our next confession; but it is to be taken for granted that those of Strasbourg have appended two articles in which they do not agree with us, perhaps concerning the sacrament.

054 The bishops and princes, depending on them, have had such unseemly and unfriendly attacks from and against the gospel, that two bishops, some of them want to believe it, have

have said: if they do not want to do it differently, then they also want to do away with them, and no longer be there.

55 The king of Poland's message here, Dantiscus, bishop of Culm, is well disposed to the gospel, and is very well disposed to our people.

056 Where the bishops and princes know a prince whom they condemn and respect for being Lutheran, they do not draw him to their assaults.

57 For this reason, when they have spoken of the gospel, they have sometimes excluded Duke Henry of Mechelburg, brother-in-law of my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony. Summa, the world is blind, mad and foolish.

58. on St. Margaret's Wednesday, our opponents, doctors, priests and monks, have handed over their transfer to the Emperor. Majesty their transfer, with these titles and heaps of books, as follows, so that they, the insolent people, may plague and embitter Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty and embitter them.

[1] *Anno a Christo nato 1530. die 13. Mensis Iulii Sacratissimae & Catholicae Majestati, Imperatori, oblati sunt Libri per aliquot Catholicos Doctores in imperialibus comitiis Augustae habitis sub sequentibus Titulis:*

Catholica & quasi extemporanea Responsio super nonnullis Articulis catholicae Caesareae Majestati hisce diebus in dieta Imperiali Augusten. per Illustrissimum Electorem Saxoniae, & alios quosdam Principes, & duas Civitates oblatis.

Antilogiarum, hoc est, Contradictionum M. Lutheri babyIonica, ex ejusdem Apostatae libris, per Doctorem Johannem Fabri excerpta.

Haereses & errores ex diversis M. Lutheri libris in unum collecti.

Haereses in sacris Conciliis antea damnatae per Lutheranos iterum ab inferis reductae.

Haereses & errores Martini Lutheri per Leonem Pontificem ante decennium damnati.

Haereses & errores M. Lutheri ante septennium per Universitatem Parisiensem condemnati.

Condemnatio facultatis Theologicae Lovania,

Epitomae aliquot haeresium & errorum M. Lutheri.

Monstra sectarum ex Luthero & Lutheranis enata.

Lutherani Evangelii abominabiles & perniciosi & damnatissimi fructus.

1) The German translation of this Latin piece is found below in § 81.

Wednesday after Visitationis.

059 It is said that the papist princes and bishops cannot make up their minds and agree to any answer, and that four princes have gone out of their councils, because they were so displeased with their undertaking: for they wanted to make it dull and bad, and to bring about an eight, to cool their little temper.

60 Doctor Urbanus Regius, the most learned and best preacher here in Augsburg, comes to Duke Ernsten of Lüneburg and Brunswick, Duke Franzen's brother.

(61) Some of the princes' chancellors and councillors on the other side have let themselves be heard in councils in such a Christian way that they can no longer suffer their lords in this matter in the council, for they have quickly complied with their prince. 2)

62. thursday after Visitationis kais. Majesty rode on the hunt, shortly thereafter, when many imperial cities handed over their writings to her, in which they, although at the request of my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, 2c., signed their confession and fell to it 3), as was partly said. Some say that it was done by all the imperial cities, except Strasbourg, which should have a note with them, perhaps to indicate their faith in the sacrament. Some say otherwise, and so it is mixed up.

(63) The papists here have been divided into two sects at this Diet, for some good men might suffer peace, but some seek only war and bloodshed; God forbid them, amen.

64 Thursday after the Visitation of Our Lady, our counterpart, the Papal Princes, Bishops, and Doctors, delivered their answer to our confession, apology, and petition to Imperial Majesty at nine o'clock in the afternoon. Majesty at nine o'clock at noon. Whereupon the Emperor. Majesty let herself be heard: she wants to take it into consideration. Some would have advised that it should be brought to the attention of the Emperor by impartial means. Majesty by impartial doctors. But some high potentates, who make themselves crepuscular and hostile in all matters, have prevented it.

65 A Spaniard was beheaded here two days ago because he had stabbed another Spaniard the night before. When he knelt down, he asked them to say the Lord's Prayer for his comfort, and whoever would do so should lift up a finger. All the servants who were present would have done this. After that, he also asked that several masses be said for him,

2) "Kept" will be as much as: Stopped.

3) Walch: "to please."

no one wanted to lift a finger, but some said aloud: "Measurement is no longer valid.

66 Our counterpart also undertook to let the embassy of the Duke of Jülich, a count, leave their council, but he found himself. Mainz sometimes did not want to be present, because they had arranged it through each other, as one says in a stately way.

67 On the Friday of St. Kilian's Day my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, visited King Ferdinand before noon, and helped to ask for the fiefs for Margrave Georgen of Brandenburg.

68 The legend is that Imperial Majesty also required the Swiss. Majesty also required the Swiss, and it says that Zwinge, Oecolampad, Capito, Hedio, Butzer are also of origin.

I cannot write how stiff-necked, mad, and foolish the devotees of the sacraments are, both man and woman, young and old, and all that is tainted with this poison. Yesterday, Friday after the Visitationis Mariä, a rich citizen here in Augsburg told me in private that more than half the city, indeed three parts of rich and poor, man and woman, maids and servants, are attached to Master Michel, 1) that is, to the Zwinglian doctrine, and where something should happen to him or to the doctrine, that nothing good will come of it.

(70) On Friday of St. Ciliar's Day, here at Augsburg, this following opinion was written in Latin in our inn, in the evening. The twenty doctors reported above have today decided their answer and say that the Lutheran princes in the twenty-one articles almost all hold Christian, but their doctors have taught differently than they presented to the imperial majesty. The aforementioned doctors do not contest both forms much; the priests' marriage and the mass are more vehement. It is not all written on a book of paper. Tomorrow they will begin to rewrite, for it is gathered from many. They almost boast that they want to preserve the Roman see and church very well. The Emperor... Majesty has requested that they do not want to delay Her Imperial Majesty any longer. Majesty with it any longer, and to hand it over; which they promised they would do in three days.

This is what a pious, well-known man wrote to our inn. Wherefore, therefore, our antagonist hath not yet delivered his articles; therefore the Imperial Majesty hath not yet been able to give us an answer. Majesty has not yet been able to give us an answer. Thus it leaks from one house to another. Therefore it is no wonder that these matters are talked about unequally and strangely among you and everywhere.

1) Michael Keller.

Seventy-two: One asked the legate and Cardinal Campegium here to help the cause of the Gospel to peace, when he answered: because the Pope's power was suspicious of us, the cause was in the will of the emperor and the German princes; what they would do, it would turn with them.

On Saturday after St. Kilian's Day, the ninth of July, 2) early before noon, at the City Hall, Duke Frederick of Bavaria, in addition to Count Hoyer of Mansfeld and Count von Helfenstein, on behalf of Imperial Majesty, 3) requested my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, and the other princes who are adherents of the Gospel, to indicate whether they wished to remain with the articles presented, or to introduce more articles, so that, where they will take action, there will be no hindrance. A request has also been made that the cities that are dependent on them, namely Nuremberg and Reutlingen, not be present.

The answer, given to it, was Christian, and thus put (praise to God) that one did not give anything to the cause, presented in writings on Sundays after Kiliani, with diligent request to promote the things; God grant the prosperity to it, amen.

75 The Imperial Majesty has consulted his Spanish lords about how his Majesty should show himself against the Lutheran doctrine. To this they have given to Emperor. Maj. in the French language this answer: Where His Imperial Majesty Majesty finds such pieces in it that are contrary to the articles of faith, then his Majesty shall use all her power to exterminate these souls. If, however, the disputed articles concern only the removal of certain ceremonies and external matters, His Majesty shall not oppose them vehemently. But to know this, his Majesty shall submit the matters to some little pious people who are not related to any part. This is a fine, prudent, wise council, the like of which we would certainly have found hard to find in all German lands.

76 Cardinal Campegius said to one: "I have often thought that the innumerable multitude of monks will one day cause great misfortune to the Church.

77. doctor Paulus Ricener, King Ferdinand's physician, speaks most honestly and best of our cause, concerning God's word, and can't be

2) Walch wrong: "Junii".

3) "to" added by us. The opinion is: they have made request to my most gracious lord 2c. that they should indicate, 2c.

The fact that he is so hard on the other hand is not surprising enough.

78 Count Felix of Werdenberg, such a great adversary of Doctor Martin Luther that he is said to have allowed himself to be heard: if it came to war against the Lutherans, that he would allow himself to be used for it in vain, panketted with the Abbot of Weingarten on Monday after St. Kilian's Day, and went away drunk, and was found dead in bed, and buried on Tuesday after St. Kilian's Day. God forgive him his sin. And so one after the other passes away. Nor do we act as if we wanted to push Christ out of heaven.

79 Tuesday after Cilians, the twelfth of the month, our adversary answered the Emperor's Majesty with their answer to our faith and doctrine. 1) The monks wanted to kiss the feet of the emperor; he did not want that. Now we want to know and hear, if God wills, how it will sound; God grant everywhere with grace, amen. Let us only pray and ask faithfully, and stand in the fear of God and in faith, amen.

80) How highly the opposite embittered the matter, appears in part from these Germanized articles:

81) In the year after Christ's birth, fifteen hundred and thirty, on the thirteenth of July, the Emperor's Majesty delivered up some Christian doctors' books. Majesty, at the Diet of Augsburg, some Christian doctors delivered books, as their titles are hereafter:

A Christian and sheer urgent answer to the articles brought [at this Imperial Diet in Augsburg] by the Elector of Saxony and several other princes and two cities.

The repugnant articles in which the apostate Luther writes against himself in his Babylonica, extracted by Doctor Johann Faber.

The heresy and error from various Luther's books pulled together.

The heresy in the holy Conciliar condemned before, but again aroused by the Lutherans.

The heresy and error of Luther, condemned by Pope Leo the Tenth ten years ago.

The heresy and error of Luther, condemned seven years ago by the University of Paris.

The Faculty of the Holy Scriptures at Louvain condemnation.

An excerpt of some of Martin Luther's heresies and errors.

1) "answered" == answered over:

2) Completed by us according to your Latin in §58.

Several much incorrect sects grew out of Luther and the Lutherans.

The abominable, corrupt, and most damnable fruits of the Lutheran gospel.

Summa.

Some count it at 260 sheets.

82 It is said, when Count Felix of Werdenberg was carried to his grave, that an honest citizen here in Augsburg stood before a prince's council, and when he saw the corpse, with more pomp than usual, he asked: who the dead man was? When he heard that it was Count Felix, he was terrified, and said: "God is a strange judge; yesterday I heard from his mouth that he had spoken with dire words: he did not want to live, he wanted to put his life and property into eradicating the Lutheran doctrine; then he went away so shortly. Now it is said that he was not drunk either.

(83) Another count experienced this, who also opposed God's word so much, even with such defiance, that he was also said to be so frightened that he became ill from it.

The suffragan bishop of Würzburg, Marius, often said in a collation: he wanted to stay with the mother, he meant the papal church. Then Brentius, as a pious, learned man, once said: "Well, dear sir, you must not forget the Father, the dear God, besides; then the suffragan bishop wanted to fly off the handle.

85. praise god, we have daily much good company of highly respected, pious, learned people, from all lands almost.

The committee of this Diet are Duke George of Saxony, Duke William of Bavaria, Duke Albrecht of Mechelburg, Chancellor of the Margrave of Baden, Doctor Vehus, the Bishop of Wuerzburg, Augsburg, Speier.

(87) They had expelled some preaching monks, who were in charge of Mainz, from the churches because they were suspicious of God's word, but they had to allow them to do so again. They are making a mess of the dear Lord Christ and his tender gospel.

88. on Thursday after Margaret, Imperial Majesty had the princes, princes and estates of the empire asked: what they thought, how the matters, concerning God's word, should be carried out and dealt with? on which the estates let themselves be heard honestly, praise God.

89. praise god, the things can be seen in part by the grace of god, that some great things can be seen.

Lords show themselves lighter than a woman. Therefore, let us only continue to pray and ask, and not let up, for surely God can still make children of Abraham out of vain stony hearts.

90) That same Thursday I also had, among other writings, an almost Christian letter from von Stauffen 1) who writes, among other things, thus: Fear not, the cause is God's, who has begun it in us, without us, who knows and will well protect us; he does not sleep, who guards Israel; the cause is his, will well quiet the dispute, and lead it out 2c.

Today, Friday after Margaret, the princes and bishops of our counterpart are to meet again at seven o'clock before noon, for the sake of God's word. God grant them a good mind and heart, amen.

92) On the other hand, the doctors are all poisoned and pretend to be clumsy; God forbid them, amen.

(93) For our part, doctors, priests, and monks delivered to the emperor last Wednesday after Ciliar a whole heap of books against Doctor Martinus, with almost shameful names, all in the opinion of embittering the kind heart of the pious emperor and causing misfortune, so that a great gentleman of the nobility is said to have said: These knaves will not have rest until we lie in a heap; they make the Emperor quite mad, who is otherwise kind and pious; God forbid the devil, amen.

94 They say that our opponents, the doctors, have made their transfer to our confession so dubious, violent, and ugly that the Emperor himself said it was too ugly and ordered them to make their transfer more gentle. Majesty himself said that it was too ugly, and ordered them to make their transfer more gentle.

95. on Saturday, the day of the division of the apostles. Majesty with my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony 2c., who was Duke Frederick of Bavaria, Count Palatine, Count Henry of Nassau 2c. with several notices.

96) In the same way, several lords, also from the Imperial Majesty, have been before Margrave Georgen of Brandenburg, and the Landgrave of Hesse. Majesty, to Margrave George of Brandenburg, to the Landgrave of Hesse 2c., to which the same princes have again given a Christian answer.

97 Yesterday Magist. Philippus had a letter from Erasmo Roterodam, given at Freiburg in Breisgau on the seventh day of this month, in which he writes that he is now ill in the fourth month, but he does not come here, for he writes among other things that he does not dare to do any good in it,

1) Argula von Staufen.

For as soon as any man speaketh the like, he is reproached for being Lutheran 2c.

98 It is said that there were six of the Counts and Lords who conspired together to eradicate the Lutheran doctrine, of which Count Felix of Werdenberg has so graciously passed away; so one of these Counts now lies, even hardly; stand on it that he also does not arise. God help them to notice it.

99 Tomorrow, Saturday after the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene, it will be four whole weeks since my most gracious lord and the other princes, lords, and cities, pending before him, have delivered their confession to the imperial majesty: nor has the other's confession been read or delivered to them. Many, however, believe that when this matter comes to action, it will be dealt with swiftly, amen.

100 On St. Magdalene's Eve my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, once again delivered to imperial majesty a Christian honest writing in French, German and Latin; may well be called a Christian, gloriously free confession of faith and Christian doctrine, for his electoral grace keep, praise to God, firm and well by God's word.

101st Friday, St. Magdalene's Day, the forty Latin concluding speeches of Doctor Martin Luther, on the power of the Church of God, are printed; likewise his letter to the Cardinal of Mainz, to help make Fried.

Doctor Faber and Eck handle things so immodestly that their own people on their side blatantly call them knaves.

(103) There are no princes, bishops, or lords of the court here, how much they oppose Luther; he has some among his officials, nobles, chaplains, and other servants, who are well versed in Doctor Martinus' teachings, even in the Gospel, and their lords know this well. I have heard this myself from several trustworthy people, some of whom speak freely, well, and Christianly of it.

104 I have heard that Erasmus of Rotterdam has written to the Emperor's Majesty. Among other things, he wrote to His Majesty that the cause of the Gospel should not be hurried, but that much time should be allowed for it, and that he believed that no reformation could be established, but that it should first begin with the pope himself.

105 One hears more of evil than of good. For yesterday the schoolmaster of Friedberg, a little town of the Bavarians, a mile from here, wanted to go home again with his wife, when an imperial traitor told him that he had to leave.

The schoolmaster did not want to suffer this, and they disagreed about it, so hard that they hit each other, so that the schoolmaster was beaten to death underneath; and when the boy was very wounded, he turned back to Augsburg. The schoolmaster's wife followed him and made so much noise that the boy was taken to prison, and of course he will not be in prison long; this boy is said to be a nobleman.

106 Recently some pontiffs, learned counsellors of great princes, before great enemies of the gospel, have become so lenient that they begin to speak honestly and well even of the marriage of priests.

107. Maj. deals with the cause of the Gospel slowly and with great counsel and deliberation, and holds her opinion quite quietly and secretly.

108. margrave George of Brandenburg writes this rhyme:

God's word would not be hard, if only self-interest were not.

7th Joh. Aurifaber's report, what happened with Luther and his doctrine, Anno 1531 until 1545. Anno 1531.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 316; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 805; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 297, and in Walch, vol. XXI, p. 72*.

(1) On the fifth day of January all the princes of the empire, with the exception of Saxony, elected Ferdinand, King of Bohemia and Hungary, at Cologne, and proclaimed him King of Rome. And is Emperor Carl, together with her Imperial Maj. Maj. brother, King Ferdinand, and all the Princes and Princes, departed from Cologne, and went to Aach; there, on the 11th day of January, King Ferdinand was proclaimed Roman King. King Ferdinandus was crowned King of Rome, and their royal dignity, election and coronation by Emperor Carol, was published and announced in writing to all the Estates of the Empire.

2nd In the month of March, on the 29th day, a day is again appointed at Schmalkalden, when the protesting estates are to meet together, to take counsel with one another of the opposition and protection, if, for the sake of the doctrine of the Gospel, they should be overrun by the papists.

(3) In this year, Martin Luther printed a gloss on the imperial edict issued after the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1530. Again, a beautiful, Christian warning to his dear Germans, placed on the

Case, if the enemies of the divine word and church wanted to overtake the evangelical estates by war; with which two books the papists are very enraged.

4th In the month of June the protesting estates held a day at Frankfort on the Main; on the same day Prince Palatine Ludwig and the Archbishop of Mainz, Albrecht, Cardinal, offered to take a peaceful action between the Imperial Majesty and the Catholic or Papist estates, and after that also the protesting estates, and to be mediators that neither part of 1) the other should do anything violent to the other. Maj. and the catholic or papist estates, and thereafter also the protesting estates, and to be mediators, that neither part should have to do anything wrong to the other, and on a special day last Augusti at Schmalkalden action was taken for this purpose, but little fruitful was achieved and received.

5th In the month of March the Elector of Trier, Richard Bärnklau, a wise and peaceful prince, died to the sorrow of many.

6th After there had long been great disagreement between the thirteen nations in the Swiss country because of religion, a war broke out in Switzerland in the month of October, so that the five papist places, Lucerne, Uri and others, declared themselves hostile to those of Bern and Zurich. For the Protestant places did not want to give them either salt or grain, and immediately went into battle against them, and on the 11th day of October attacked and assaulted the Zurichers, and also put them to flight at a monastery called Capell [Kappel], and strangled them in the 1500s. In this skirmish or battle, Huldricus Zwinglius, chief preacher at Zurich, perished in the 44th year of his age, since he had gone out with the Zurichers as their field preacher and was found in the attack. After this defeat of the Zurichers, they again armed themselves, and sought help from the city of Bern, and brought together thirty thousand men, divided their warband into two groups, and marched the Zurichers on Zug, but the Berners on Lucerne; since the Confederates attacked the Berners with a force of eighteen thousand men, and on the eighteenth day of October drove them back again, and cut off a thousand and two hundred men, and drowned a thousand men in water.

007 Now when the people of Zurich and Bern were again gathered together, and received more help than from Basle and Schafhausen, they again attacked their enemies on the 24th of October, and were again beaten, and lost six thousand men.

1) "of" put by us instead of: "for".

8th After these defeats peace was made, by many imperial cities, as Strasbourg, Basel and other envoys, and the war on the 16th day of November was suspended and settled.

9th Johannes Oecolampadius, the most distinguished preacher of the church in Basel, also died in this year.

(10) In this year also Dr. M. Luther's mother blessedly passed away in Christ, as the dear man of God wrote a wonderful letter of comfort to her shortly before her departure, which is also printed in the fifth German Jenische Theile.

(11) Thus also died Margaret, sister of Emperor Carolus, regent of the Netherlands, and the queen of Hungary, Mary, widow, took the government of the Netherlands in her stead. This queen was first of all very fond of the doctrine of the Gospel, so that even Dr. Martin Luther wrote four psalms of consolation to her; but afterwards she became papist again in the Netherlands.

Anno 1532.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 317; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 1281; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 353, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 75*.

In the month of April, the protesting estates have been scheduled a trading day at Schweinfurt by the Archbishop of Mainz and the Electors, Palatine, on the Imperial Majesty's order. Both Electors have personally disposed of it, and Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony has also been dispatched there by his father, Elector Hansen, together with Duke Franzen of Lüneburg and Prince Wölfen of Anhalt, as well as other princes and imperial city envoys and councillors, and a peace has been concluded there.

In this year Michael Servetus, a Hispanic, had several books printed in which error was taught against the Holy Trinity in the Godhead; which Servetus was burned in Switzerland after several years.

Johannes Campamus, born in Jülich, taught the same error against the Holy Trinity.

In this year Georgius Wicelius von Fach, pastor at Niemeck near Wittenberg (who had been devoted to the teachings of the Gospel, preached them himself and made them known), fell away from them again and became a pope, and stayed for a while at Fach, then in Eisleben with Count Hoyer at Mansfeld, and with many writings and books contested the recognized doctrine of the Gospel, and became a worst enemy of the Lutheran Gospel, *sicuti omnis Apostata est persecutor sui ordinis* [just as every apostate is a persecutor of his order].

After the two Electors of Mainz and Palatinate were unable to come to a complete agreement with the protesting envoys on the peace treaty on the day at Schweinfurt, another day was set aside for the peace treaty at Nuremberg and was also held, where several articles were united which had been presented to Emperor Carln at the Imperial Diet at Regensburg and accepted by Her Imperial Majesty. Maj.

Emperor Carl also held an Imperial Diet in Regensburg this year to quell the division, schism and dissension among the imperial estates, which had risen up on account of religion, and also to undertake a campaign against the Turks. King Ferdinand, the Archbishop of Mainz, the Count Palatine, the Elector, Margrave Joachim of Brandenburg, the Elector, the Princes of Bavaria, Duke George of Saxony, and other princes, as well as many bishops, appeared in person. And there, a peaceful order in matters of faith and religion was established and publicized in the empire by imperial mandate; thereupon, the protesting estates sent their Turkish aid to Austria.

During this Imperial Diet, Solimannus, the Turkish emperor, arrived in Hungary in August with a large army and took his march on Austria to Vienna, also sending out several roving troops that came as far as Linz and Grätz in Styria, and did great damage everywhere. As the Imperial Maj. As the imperial majesty has hurriedly demanded the help of the Turks, which was granted at the imperial diet in Augsburg in 1530, and has gathered a large army from the German lands and Italy, and has also raised an excellent army of travellers from the Netherlands, and has sent an excellent, powerful army to Austria to fight back, and her imperial majesty has himself followed in his own person. Maj. himself followed in his own person. When the Turkish emperor realized this, he left the siege of the city of Gunz [Güns], which lies nine miles from Vienna (which he stormed thirteen times, but could not win) and fled to Hungary. Twelve thousand Turks, however, had lingered on the spoils and in the strip in Austria, and all of them were slain by the imperial army. Margrave Joachim, now Elector of Brandenburg, was present in this Turkish campaign as a commander of the Lower Saxon district.

King Christian of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, who had been driven out of his kingdoms by his own subjects and had wandered in misery until his tenth year, brought together a war party and a mighty shipping this year and wanted to retake his kingdoms; but he lay down on the shipping and was captured by his cousin, King Frederick, and was imprisoned in the castle of Sonderburg in Denmark for several and twenty years until his death. In the same year, King Christian of Denmark's son, who was educated at Emperor Carl's court as his cousin, died at Regensburg during the Imperial Diet and was buried there in the cathedral.

In the month of August, the noble, Christian and pious Prince, Duke John, Elector of Saxony, died and was buried in Wittenberg, as two funeral sermons by Dr. Mart. Luther's two funeral sermons were printed, and his son, Duke John Frederick, became Elector in his place in the 28th year of his age.

After the Turkish invasion, Emperor Carl went to Italy and made an alliance with the Pope Elements at Bononia [Bologna] and negotiated how a concilium could be held so that unity, peace and tranquillity could be established in the Empire of the German Nation, and Emperor Carl then sailed from Italy in Hispania.

In the month of September a comet stood in the sky for several weeks towards the morning, as one then saw a comet of the same shape in the 1531st year on the 6th day of August until the 3rd day of September.

In October King Francis of France and King Henry of England met at Cales [Calais] and Bolonien [Boulogne], and established and made an alliance with each other.

Anno 1533.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 927; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 160; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 1, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 78*.

In this 1533rd year the great quarrel and discord arose between Duke Georgen of Saxony and Dr. Mart. Luther. And the occasion of it was: Because the city of Leipzig was deprived of the preaching of the Gospel, and in a village, lying near Leipzig, with the name Holzhausen, the Elector of Saxony had jurisdiction,
When the Lutheran sermon was preached, the citizens of Leipzig ran out to the sermon every Sunday and received the Lord's Supper in both forms. When Duke George of Saxony learned of this, he issued a serious edict, forbidding his subjects to go to the Lutheran sermon in Holzhausen, but that everyone in Leipzig should take the Lord's Supper in one form on Easter Day. Then some citizens wrote to Dr. Mart. Luthern, and asked him for advice whether they should obediently follow the princely mandate or not? When now Dr. Mart. Luther wrote again to the citizens, and recanted it, the same letter was circulated among the citizens, until the council got a copy of it, and sent it to Duke Georgen of Saxony in Dresden. And because Dr. Luther called Duke Georgen an apostle of the devil, His Sürstl. His Grace wrote to the Elector of Saxony, Duke John Frederick, and complained greatly about Luther's such iniquities, indicating that he was inciting and strengthening his subjects to rebellion, and requested that the Elector control and defend him. When the Elector of Saxony wrote to Luther that he should apologize for the complaint that had been brought against him, and Duke George of Saxony had expelled and driven out of Leipzig about 70 citizens who had not received the Lord's Supper of Christ in the same form at Easter, M. Luther wrote a letter of responsibility for the charges that had been brought against him. M. Luther wrote a responsibility of the rebellion of Duke George, and let it go out in public print, together with a letter of consolation to the Christians, innocently chased out of Leipzig by His Grace.

(2) After that, when Johannes Cochläus wanted to defend his prince, Duke Georgen, and had a book printed in Dresden against Dr. Mart. Luther a book was printed in Dresden, by Dr. Benedictum Pauli, a lawyer at Wittenberg, who had just been at Dresden, six sheets of the same copy of Cochlaeus' book were obtained from the printer, and brought to Dr. M. Luther. M. Luthern, who immediately wrote another booklet against it and had it printed, with this title: "Auf Herzog Georgen nähestes Buch Dr. M. Luthers kleine Antwort. M. Luther's Little Answer."

003 And when Duke George drove out of the city of Oschatz some of the citizens for the sake of the gospel, Dr. M. Luther wrote them a beautiful letter of comfort. M. Luther also wrote a beautiful letter of comfort to them.

(4) A great disagreement arose between the Elector of Saxony and Duke George about this. But councillors on both sides have come together and resolved this disagreement, and Dr. Luther and Cochläo have been commanded to

that they should not put the names of princes in their books and writings.

In this 1533rd year, Emperor Carol's and Pope Clement's message was also sent to Germany to the Elector of Saxony and the protesting estates for the sake of the Council. For after the Turk had fled from Austria in the thirty-second year, Emperor Carol went to Italy toward winter, and held deliberations with Pope Clement at Bononia, as to how a concilium might be held in the German country, and how the division of religion might thereby be abolished. Thereupon the same legates departed, met the Elector of Saxony, Duke John Frederick, at Weimar, and announced the Council of His Lordship there, which was to be held perhaps at Placenza, Bononia, or Mantua.

6th Thereupon the Elector described the protesting estates to Schmalkalden at the end of the fallow month, and advised them of an answer to be given to the legates.

7th In this year King Henry of England put away his wife, Queen Catharine, Emperor Carol's wife, and took another queen, called Anna Boleyn?) who in this 1533rd year bore him a daughter in the month of September, who was called Elizabeth.

(8) So also from the month of Julio to the moons of August, at 11 days, one comet has been seen.

Anno 1534 to 1537.

The narratives for these four years can be found in the locations indicated immediately before.

Anno 1534.

(1) In this year 2) King Henry of England put away his wife Catharina, King Ferdinand's daughter in Hispania, who had previously married his brother King Arthurum, and Pope Julius dispensed that King Henry might have his deceased brother's wife in marriage. Since she now had only one daughter, called Mary, the king wished to have another free one, called Anne Boleyn, and sought for this Pope Clement's permission and succession.

1) Walch: "Bolonia".

2) In contradiction with § 7 of the preceding section. In 1533 Henry VIII was married to Anne Boleyn when she was already pregnant by him, but without being divorced from his first wife Catharina.

The king sent to all the universities in France, Italy, and the German lands, and sent for judicatories and censuras in this matter of marriage. Then the king sent to all the universities in France, Italy, and German lands, and sent for the learned people's judicia and censuras in this matter of marriage. And the English legates, a bishop and Doctor Antonius Barns, were also for this reason at Wittenberg with Doctor Martin Luther, Philippo Melanchthon, and the other theologians.

002 And when king Henry of England was hostile to Clement the pope for this cause, he deprived the pope of his yearly revenue, which was the penny of St Peter; for every house in the kingdom of England was required to give the pope one silver penny. This year the pope was robbed of several tons of gold, and his regiment was driven out of England. And the king called himself the head of the church in England, and would no longer let the pope be the head of the churches on earth.

3. Martin Luther let go out in print in this year also a booklet of the Mass of the Angles, about which the papists were very angry.

(4) Thus also in this year a new noise arose between Dr. M. Luthero and Erasmo Roterodamo about the doctrine of free will; which caused a letter Lutheri wrote to Nie. Amsdorf, which went out in print; on which Erasmus again had a hard little book printed.

5) Landgrave Philip of Hesse has gone into great armor this year and [has] gone to the Würtemberg country, and Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg (who was driven out by the Swabian League, and had been in exile for 11 years) was reinstated in his country by the financial help of King Francisci of France, and King Ferdinand! The army, which was 12,000 strong, was put to flight, and this army's commander, 3) Count Palatine Philip, had a heel (Fersche) shot off his leg in the battle.

006 And when a great noise was about to be made in the German country, the archbishop of Mainz, Elector, and Duke George of Saxony, the landgrave's brother-in-law, entered into negotiation between King Ferdinand and the landgrave, and agreed on this war at Caden in Bohemia.

3) "Obersten" put by us instead of: "ob er ein" in Walch.

007 The Anabaptists also did great harm with their false doctrine in the Netherlands, and especially in Westphalia, and especially took the city of Münster, where a tailor, named John of Leyden, set himself up as king. When the king of Leyden held a strange stay in the city and sent out twelve prophets to seduce other cities in the vicinity, and there was great violence with much taking of women, rioting, plundering, and the chasing away of pious people, the bishop of Münster besieged the very strong and rich city and built blockhouses in front of it. But when he could not bear this heavy cost of war for a long time, he appealed to the estates of the Roman Empire for help, which came together at Worms, and granted the help, and besieged the city for longer than a whole year, and finally entered it by treachery, and strangled all that was male and able to defend it. The king, however, with two of his most distinguished princes, called Krechting and Knipperdolling, was kept in prison, and in the following 36th year torn apart with fiery pincers, and hung out in three iron pawns at the top of the gate, and thus hung there in eternal memory of all rebels.

8th In this 1534th year Pope Clement died in September, and Paul III became pope, and though he was very old when he became pope, yet he reigned fifteen years.

009 In this year also King Frederick died in Denmark, and Christianus, his eldest son, became king in his father's stead, and won the kingdom with the sword, and for this reason made a great war with the imperial city of Lübeck.

10th Also, Andreas Criti became in this year Duke of Venice.

011 The Turk also hath this year taken great damage of Sophi in Persia, called Thamas; for he hath twice smitten him hard, and hath laid fifteen thousand on horseback, thirty thousand on foot, and in the eighteen thousand camels.

Anno 1535.

1st In this 1535th year Peter Paulus Vergerius was sent by the pope Paulo III to the German country for the sake of the Concilii, to announce a general, free Concilium, which should be held in Mantua; has come therefore only to the Roman king Ferdinandi court, and because just there landgrave Philip of Hesse was in the Würtemberg matter, so the papal legate has announced his advertisement to the landgrave of Hesse at that time.

2nd And after Duke John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, travelled towards Vienna in Austria to the Roman King Ferdinand, and there received the fiefs, and performed other things more, and on the return journey to his Electorate, he was able to take up the fiefs. Gn. Peter Paulus Vergerius came to Prague in Bohemia to his electoral grace. Grace, and by his Electoral Grace his advertisement and order of the Concord. He then presented his petition to his electoral graces and issued the order for the council. And afterwards this Petrus Paulus Vergerius also travelled to Wittenberg, and lay in the castle, and Dr. Martinum Luther and Philippum Luther. Martinum Luthern and Philippum Melanchthonem himself.

(3) The protesting estates then held a meeting in Schmalkalden, where in the month of December all the churals and princes, as well as the imperial cities of the same consensus, met and discussed and acted on behalf of the council. On this Schmalkaldic Day, King Francis of France sent his legate, as Guilielmum Bellajum Langäum, to the protesting estates. This legate conversed a great deal with the theologians of the protesting estates about the most important articles and main points of Christian doctrine, and indicated what his king's opinion and that of many of his followers in France would be, as they would also like to know how to control even the Pope's presumed great power and many abuses; and that the king of France desired nothing better than that the protesting estates send some of their followers in France to confer and converse with his theologians about doctrine. In particular, the king wrote to Philipp Melanchthon that he should come to him in France. But the Elector of Saxony, Duke John Frederick, would not permit him to do so. In addition, the King of France sought and desired that the protesting estates would not consent to any place where a council might be held without the King of France and the King of England being aware of it. And it may well have been sought there that the protesting estates should take the king of France into their union of kinship; but this was refused to the legate.

(4) King Henry VIII of England also sent his legates to this Schmalkaldic Day, and charged the Estates with how he had eradicated the Antichrist, the Pope's, regiment from his kingdom, and was well disposed towards the Christian doctrine of the Gospel, and warned them against the Pope's practices of the Concilii, and offered to stand beside the protesting Estates in the Concilio.

(5) On this Schmalkaldic Day the princes of Pomerania, Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, Count Palatine Ruprecht, the city of Augsburg, Frankfurt, Compodunum [Kempten], Hamburg, and Hanover entered into the protesting agreement; item, Count Wilhelm of Nassau was also accepted into the agreement.

6th And after there had been great division in Augsburg for some time concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, the same was settled, and the council of Augsburg sent to Dr. Mart. Luthern against Wittenberg a legate, as Dr. Gereon, 1) and asked in writing that they might have Urbanum Regium again as their preacher. But Dr. Luther did not obtain him from Duke Ernsten of Lüneburg (over whose principality he was a superintendent).

(7) In this 1535th year, in the month of June, Emperor Carol, with a mighty armament, sailed from Hispania from Barchinon 2) to Africa, and won the kingdom of Tunis, wherein lay the ancient famous city of Carthage. And this kingdom was taken by force from the Turkish emperor Solimanno, and the king Altzachens 3) (whom the Turk had driven out and expelled) was reinstated in the kingdom of Tunis by the emperor Carln; was again shipped from Africa into Italy, and was introduced to Rome with great triumph.

8th In this year Christianus, King of Denmark, reigned after the death of his father, King Frederick, and against the imperial city of Lübeck, which made fierce war for this kingdom, he conquered the kingdom with the sword and won the city of Copenhagen by force. In this year, after the death of his father, King Frederick, Christianus reigned, and against the imperial city of Lübeck, which had waged a fierce war over this kingdom, he conquered the kingdom with the sword, and won the city of Copenhagen by force, which Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg had held. After his coronation, King Christian began to plant the Christian religion of the Augsburg Confession throughout his kingdom.

9th At the end of this 35th year the last Duke of Milan, Franciscus Sfortia, died without heirs, who had Miss Christierna, King Christierna of Denmark's daughter, in marriage, who was subsequently married to Duke Francisco of Lorraine. The King of France wanted to inherit this principality, over which great wars arose between Emperor Carol and King Francisco of France.

1) Gereon Seiler.

2) This is: *Barcinio* == Barcelona.

3) Perhaps: "Muley Hassan", Bey of Tunis, whom Carl V reinstated.

10th Duke Carl of Sophoy [Savoy] is also overrun by the king of France, and the city of Bern in Switzerland, and taken from him by force Piedmont and almost all his lands.

(11) So also the dolphin [dauphin] in France, Franciscus, died, and as it is thought, fo was forgiven him with poison.

012 All this year the Anabaptists have been besieged in the city of Münster, and have also been conquered and taken.

Anno 1536.

001 In the month of January, Catharine, queen of England, whom King Henry had cast off, died. So in the month of May the other new queen, Anna Bolena, was beheaded with other her friends, who were noble English lords. And in a few days after that, King Henry married the third wife, Jane Seymour. 4) Thereupon a war ensued in England by the subjects against the king, that the English rose to the number of 50,000, and no longer wished to tolerate the great assessment and other harassment, but by deceit and a sham treaty this uproar was quelled, and many great lords who had been in the subjects' camps were afterwards beheaded by the king.

In the month of February, the bishop of Münster came to the city of Münster with the prince of Cologne and the duke of Jülich, and had the king of Münster and his two princes judged. And the king turned to the Lord Christ, and when he was torn with fiery tongs, he died a Christian death. But the other two princes, Knipperdolling and Krechting, remained obdurate, and were hung out of the gate in three iron baskets.

3rd Thus also a great war arose between the Emperor Carolo and King Francisco of France, and the Emperor attacked the French hard in Gallia Narbonensi and in Picardia, but did little.

(4) King Henry of England also sent his embassy, as a bishop and Doctor Antonium Barns, to Wittenberg, and discussed and acted with the theologians there, as Dr. Martin Luther, Philippo Melanchthon, and others, on the main points of Christian doctrine, and especially on the mass, priestly marriage, and the Lord's Supper, and the vows of the monks, and remained there for some months. They have also heard about the divorcement of the first queen with the first monk.

4) Walch: "Sanam Semeriam".

the theologians, and also with the Elector of Saxony, Duke John Frederick, he has taken great pains to have their king admitted to the Schmalkaldic League.

(5) Thereupon the protesting estates called a meeting for the 24th day of April at Frankfurt on the Main, where they dealt with the allies of these English matters. On this day Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, Duke Barnim and Duke Philipp of Pomerania, Prince Georg and Joachim of Anhalt, brothers, the city of Augsburg, Frankfurt, Hamburg and Hanover were accepted into the Schmalkaldic League.

6th On the 11th day of June Pope Paul III sent a letter to Emperor Charles and all the imperial estates, announcing a council to be held in Mantua on the 3rd day of May in the 37th year.

(7) The Archbishop of Cologne, Hermann, a Count of Wied, 1) began in this year to propose how the idolatry and ungodly ceremonies in the Abbey of Cologne might be abolished; as then in the following years their Electoral Grace took much and great action for this reason, and adopted the Augsburg Confession, and also brought about a Reformation; but in the end the Archbishopric was deprived of it.

In the month of July, the highly respected man Erasmus Roterodamus died in Basel.

9th In this 1536th year, on the 21st day of May, some of the preachers of the cities of the upper country came to Luther in Wittenberg. M. Luther to Wittenberg, as Martinus Bucerus, Wolfgangus Capito, Martinus Frecht, and others, and in the doctrine of Holy Communion they hastened to establish concordia and comparison, and of other articles of doctrine they also conversed and compared, and in the doctrine of Holy Communion they united the church at Strasbourg, Ulm, Augsburg, Frankfurt, Memmingen, and Reutlingen with the Wittenberg church.

Anno 1537.

S? 2 to 5 of this section have already been included in our edition, Vol. XVI, 1970.

1st Anno 1537 the daughter of King Francisci of France, Magdalena, was married to the King of Scotland, Jacobs V., and this king died in the month of May in this 1537th year.

2nd On the 15th day of February a day has been set aside at Schmalkalden, to which the protesting

1) Walch: "Widz".

All the states have been described for the sake of the Concilii, and the sovereigns and princes, also the cities, have brought their most distinguished theologians with them, as Dr. Mart. Luthern, Philippum Melanchthonem, Dr. Pomeranum, Martinum Bucerum, Andream Osiandrum, and others in great numbers more. On this day, Emperor Carln sent Matthias Held, Vice Chancellor, to the protesting Estates, who, on account of the Imperial Majesty, took great action with the Estates; the Pope also sent his legation there for the sake of the Concilii.

3. at this day were in their own persons: Duke Johannes Friedrich, Elector, Landgrave Philipp of Hesse, Duke Ernst and Franz, Princes of Lüneburg, Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, Duke Philipp of Pomerania, Prince Wolf, Georg and Joachim of Anhalt, Count Gebhard and Count Albrecht of Mansfeld, and a large number of envoys of the imperial cities, and on the 6th day of March the electors and princes, as well as the envoys of the imperial cities, departed from this day.

(4) The theologians at this day also conferred with the greatest earnestness and diligence, on which one finally wanted to rest and persevere in the Concilio, and a number of articles, as a summary of Christian doctrine, were drawn up by Dr. Martin Luther, and approved by all the theologians assembled there, and signed with his own hand; which booklet afterwards went out in public print in the 38th year, and was called the Schmalkaldic Articles.

5th It was also ordered by the sovereigns and princes on this day to the theologians that they should read through the Augsburg Confession and Apology (delivered by Emperor Carln at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1530) again with diligence, and if anything was found in it that was not in accordance with holy divine Scripture, or if they did not teach such things in their churches, that it should be changed, and they, the theologians, signed the Confession and Apology anew with their own hand. This signature took place on the 24th day of Februarii. Martinus Bucerus in particular signed the Augsburg Confession and Apology on behalf of the preaching ministry and churches in Strasbourg.

6th On this day Dr. Mart. Luther was deathly ill at the stone in Schmalkalden, and so they had to lead him sick from there to Gotha; and as he was brought to the Thuringian Forest in the village of Tambach, the urine (to speak with breeding) left him again, which he otherwise could not let go in many days,

and immediately got better with his weakness of body. This caused great joy on the day in Schmalkalden; otherwise, all the princes and sovereigns, as well as the envoys of the cities and theologians, would have been in great distress and grief over Luther's weakness. All the sovereigns and princes visited him in person and comforted him, because they were very worried that he would die there.

(7) There was also a recusantation against the council in Mantua, in which causes were raised by the princes and chieftains why they could not attend the council. And after Duke Frederick of Mantua occupied the city with troops, the pope wrote to the imperial estates and postponed the council until the month of November; the king of England also had a document printed against the council and apologized why he did not want to send his envoys to the council in Mantua.

(8) This year a great war has again begun between the Emperor and the King of France, and although the Imperial Maj. Although the Imperial Maj. has remained in Hispania all this year, his warlords, Count Henry of Nassau, the Lord of Boers, and others, have attacked the King of France in Picardia, and have also won the city and castle of St. Paul, and have finally obtained peace and peace there for ten months. But the war in Piedmont has continued with all violence, and the King of France has dispatched his eldest son Henricum with a great army of the end, and has relieved and saved the city of Morin from the imperial siege, and has also won Susa (Zuza) and Moncallir [Moncalieri], and has prevented that in this year Emperor Carl's army has accomplished little in Piedmont. It is also Antoni de Leva, the imperial. Maj.'s chief of war, died in this campaign.

(9) The city of Augsburg also abolished the mass and other papal abominations and idolatries this year, and planted the doctrine of the Gospel in its churches. A dispute arose in the city, and many of the nobility and families left Augsburg and sued the city council before the Emperor and King Ferdinand.

(10) The Turkish emperor Solimanns also sent a war party into Croatia this year, and besieged a city therein; on the other hand, the Roman king Ferdinandus raised a war party of Austrians, Bohemians, Meisseners, Saxons, Franks, and other countries, and sent them to the besieged city to relieve it. But the same German army is badly led. and were abandoned by their colonel, the Catianus (Catzianer), who rode away, and was slain and captured in large numbers and sent to Constantinople, together with 60 pieces of rifles, field guns; this Catianus (Catzianer) was subsequently stabbed to death by the Count of Serin.

11th In the month of October the queen in England, Jane Seymour, gave birth to a young gentleman called Edward, who died the 12th day after.

(12) So also Pope Paul III of Rome, through the Cardinals, advised a reformation of the Roman court, which afterwards went forth in public pressure, and Dr. Martius, in the same way, advised a reformation of the Roman court. Mart. Luther made a preface to it in the 1538th year, and scholiiret this reformation. And on the same booklet was printed this figure and picture: that the pope sits on a chair, and the cardinals had made besem of fox tails, with which they sweep the cobwebs out of the church.

In this 1537th year, King Christian of Denmark wrote to Wittenberg, requesting V. Johann Bugenhagen, Pomeranian, to be sent to Denmark to plant the doctrine of the divine word there and to reform the churches. With the permission of the Elector of Saxony, Duke John Frederick, Pomeranus departed in the month of June and remained in Denmark until his thirty-ninth year. Luther preached in his place at Wittenberg on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. On Wednesdays he interpreted several chapters of Matthew, from the eighteenth to the twenty-fourth, and on Saturdays he preached the Gospel of John, beginning with the first chapter and ending with the fourth chapter.

Anno 1538.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VII, p. 234; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 79, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 95*.

In this year a book arrived in Germany from Italy about the reformation that the pope wanted to carry out in the church. Before it Luther made a preface, and sketched the contents of the book by means of a painting. For there were several cardinals around the pope, who sat on a high throne, sweeping everything above and below with fox tails tied to long poles, as if with brooms.

At Brunswick the protesters held a meeting, and there the king was arrested in

Denmark, who in. Person also came there, excluded into the covenant. This king Christianus, Friderici's son, accepted the evangelical doctrine, and received from Wittenberg Dr. Johannem Bugenhagen Pomeranum, who traveled in Denmark, established churches and schools there, and also ordained the king to the government.

In France they continued to persecute the Protestants, as in Paris a noble youth of Tolosa [Toulouse], a student, was burned for eating meat, after he had first been choked with a rope.

The school at Strasbourg increased greatly, as many Germans and foreigners went there, and Sturmius gave instructions on how to arrange the lectures. The persecuted from France and the Netherlands settled there, and the council gave them a church there, and John Calvin was the exiled preacher for a time.

There also arose the sect of the lawbreakers, who would not admit that repentance should be taught from the Ten Commandments. Their most prominent author was Johannes Agricola, Islebius, who recognized his error upon Luther's reminder.

So also the archbishops of Mainz and Salzburg, the dukes of Bavaria, William and Louis, Duke George of Saxony, the dukes of Brunswick, Erich and Henry, made a covenant at Nuremberg, which they called the holy covenant, to protect and defend the old religion, as they said. Lutherus continued in explanation of the first book of Moses, and wrote to good friends, as his letters in Tomo III Epistol. Lutheri 1) in this year.

Anno 1539.

This report, as well as the stories that belong to the following years until your death of Luther, has made Joh. Christfried Sagittarius, the editor of the Alteuburgische edition of the works of Luther. Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VII, p. 401; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXI, p. 44I and in Walch, vol. XXI, 97".

In February of this year, a meeting was held at Frankfurt, and among other things, a colloquium was held among scholars about the religious dispute. The Elector of Saxony was there in person, and had with him Philippum Melanchthonem, as his letter from Frankfurt to Lutherum and Dr. Justum Jonam. Justum Jonam,

1) This is the unprinted collection of Luther's letters by Aurifaber, which can be found as *Cod. Helmst.* 108 in the library at Wolfenbüttel.

which are described in Tom. III. Epistol. Lutheri. Finally, a peace or standstill was made, and it was decreed that, for the sake of religion, no state should be overreached or denied justice in the courts. On April 24, Duke George of Saxony, a very zealous advocate of the papal doctrine and Luther's worst enemy, died. He made a will and appointed his brother Heinricum and his sons Mauricium and Augustum as his heirs; but with this condition, that in the lands which they would receive, they should not change anything in religion; and as far as they would do so, the Emperor Carolus and Ferdinandus, the Roman king, should have the lands until his brother, his sons, or a close relative liked such a condition. He presented this will to the knighthood and the estates, and requested that they take an oath that they would not cede it. They, on the other hand, asked that their Princely Grace would allow an envoy to be sent to their brother, hoping that their Princely Grace would agree that nothing should be changed in the old religion. When the ambassadors arrived, and had many reasons to persuade their princely graces, they were not able to do so. Especially that there was a lot of cash, a lot of supplies, and a lot of silver. All this would come to their princely graces Graces, if they would only have served their lord brother. Whereupon their princely graces Without taking any time for reflection, their princely grace, Duke Henry, immediately said: "Truly, your legation is doing to me the very thing of which we read in the Holy Scriptures, when Satan promised Christ kingdoms to the whole world if he would only fall down and worship him. Do you think that I should esteem some wealth and fortune so highly that I would for the sake of it renounce the known truth and pure religion? In this you are far mistaken. Now after the sent ones had gone away again without having achieved anything, Duke George died before they came home again. But Duke Henry immediately made Dresden and the other cities pay homage to him. And so Duke George had an heir, against his will; and Luther, whom Duke George fiercely opposed, was summoned to Leipzig by Duke Henry, who preached there, and made a beginning in the Reformation. The sermon is in this Hallische Sammlung in the XII. Th., p. 1832. 2) In this year Luthe went

2) In the St. Louis edition, vol. XII, 1408.

rus continued in explanation of the first book of Moses, wrote the wonderful book of the Conciliis and churches, also against the bishop of Magdeburg, Albrechten, Cardinal, a serious writing. How also Philippus Melanchthon was deathly ill from great sorrow and grief at Weimar, and through Luther was again requested by God, the favorable reader will find in the historical report of the following 1540th year.

Anno 1540.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VII, p. 427; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p.364, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 99*.

In this year, Prince John Frederick required Philippus Melanchthon from Wittenberg to Weimar because of the aforementioned Colloquii at Hagenau. At someone's request, this Philippus had agreed that a well-known prince from the protesting estates of that time could have two wives at once. Afterwards, Melanchthon was very angry about this, and because he noted that he would fall into a serious and fatal illness, he made a will in Wittenberg before his departure, which can be found in the Consiliis Philippi compiled by Dr. Christophorus Pezelius. When Philippus traveled to Weimar, he fell into a great illness there because of his own temper. I will tell this, as it is distinguished in the written life of Luther, which is held in the hand of His Serene Highness, Duke Ernst of Gotha, my most gracious Prince and Lord, Bibliotheca, and for Spalatini. It was by the Churfürst zu Sachsen Anno 1539 *(videtur esse error in anno, apud Pezelium vero in consiliis Philippi patet, fuisse annum 1540, in quem quoque refert Mathesius conc. XII. de Luthero, pag. m. 167* [there seems to be an error in the year, but from Pezel in the "Bedenken Melanchthons" it is evident that it was the year 1540, whither Mathesius also places it in the 12. 1) sermon on Luther, p. in. 167]) called Philippus to Weimar in matters of the theological Colloqqui, which was to be instituted at Hagenau. There Philippus was very dangerously, and almost fatally down, and the same happened out of the highest grief of the mind, because of the L. to N. 2) at once doubled marriage status, which Philippus, persuaded by someone, should have approved of, and him

1) It is the 13th sermon. See Mathesius, "Dr. Martin Luther's Life", St. Louis edition, p. 235.
2) Landgraves of Hesse.

have regretted it after that beyond measure. Then the Elector sent for Luther from Wittenberg as soon as possible. When he arrived, he found the matter as it had been told, and found Philippum in his last moments. His eyes were broken, his mind gone, his speech lost, his hearing gone, his face and temples sunken, and he knew no one, neither ate nor drank anything. At this sight Lutherus was violently frightened, turned to the companions of his journey, and said: "God beware, how the devil has defiled this organon for me. He turned to the window, turned his back on the others, and called upon God very devoutly. There, said Luther afterwards, our Lord God had to serve me. For I threw the sack at his door, and rubbed his ears with all the promises of prayer that should be heard, which I knew to be told in the holy Scriptures, that he should hear me, where I should otherwise trust in his promises. After this he took Philippe by the hand (for he knew well the sorrow of his heart and conscience), and said, "Be of good cheer, Philippe, you shall not die. Even though God has cause to die, he does not want the sinner to die, but to turn and live. He desires life and not death. Because God called and accepted into His grace the greatest sinners who ever lived on earth, namely Adam and Evam, much less does He want to reject you, Philip, or admit that you perish in your sin and melancholy. Therefore do not give place to the spirit of sorrow, and do not become your own murderer, but rely on the Lord, who is able to kill and to make alive. When Luther spoke this, Philip came back to life, as it were, and began to draw breath, regained his strength, and regained his former health.

This illness of his, and what he encounters in it, is commemorated by Philip himself in a letter to Joachimum Camerarium. The Latin words are to be read in the Consiliis Philippi, which Dr. Pezelius published, which in German read approximately thus: I cannot express it, what terrible afflictions I felt, which at times find themselves again. I noticed that Doctor Luther was also very anxious about it; but he did not let his grief be noticed so that it would not increase mine. He made an effort to lift me up with great heartiness of mind, not only by comforting me,

3) *Corp. Ref,* vol. III, 1077.

but also often severely punished. If he had not come to me, I would have died. In a letter to Burcardum Mithobium 1) Philip writes of this: "I received your letters, which you sent this summer: the first in Schmalkalden; the other in Thuringia, since I was afflicted with a terrible illness, which only originated from a sorrow and grief, which a foreign trade had brought to me, about which you also complain. I would have died if I had not been snatched from the midst of death by Luther's arrival.

Mr. Mathesius writes of this: 2) This summer, Mr. Melanchthon went to Weimar, where he falls into a great illness that everyone despairs of his life. Our doctor is then hurriedly summoned, who comforts him and raises him up, as he says afterwards: "I have begged our Philippum, and my Käthe, and the Ern Myconium from death. Which Mecum also finally asked the doctor, he wanted to stop crying for him. 3)

In March a meeting was held at Schmalkalden, where Granvellanus sent the two Counts Dietrichen of Manderscheid 4) and Wilhelmen de Nova Aquila [of Neuenaar] as negotiators. The talk was very much inclined to peace and unity, however, they thought besides, kaiserl. Majesty Carolus V. was in these thoughts, as if the protesters had no desire for unity, and were only anxious how they might acquire the ecclesiastical estates. But the protesters answered this in a special writing. What else happened, Philip reported to Luther. Who then beautifully") answered: one had to take recourse to prayer, that would be alone, as he writes, *omnipotens imperatrix* [the almighty empress].

On June 25, the Convention of Hagenau began, where the theologians Justus Menius, Urbanus Regius, Brentius, Osiander, Snepfius, and many others came. Philip has been kept away because of his illness. Ferdinand, the Roman king, called another meeting at Worms because of the absence of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, and so nothing special happened at Hagenau. The protesters remained with the Confession, presented at Augsburg in 1530, and its Apologia.

1) *Corp. Ref*, Vol. III, 1081, No. 1999.
2) In the St. Louis edition of "Mathesius, Luther's Life," p. 235.
3) Walch: "write" instead of: "shout".
4) Walch: "Manderschilt".
5) Walch: "already".

In October of this year, the Convention of Worms began, and on January 13, 1541, it was finally decided that each part should select a learned man who could publicly discuss the disputed articles of the Augsburg Confession with the other. The protesters chose Philippum. The opposing party proposed Dr. Ecken. On the part of the protesters, Dr. Caspar Cruciger and Wolfgangus Musculus were appointed notaries and scribes, who were to record everything faithfully and diligently at the colloquium. In several of Luther's letters, Philip attributed what happened in Worms that year, to which Luther also replied. This is memorable, that at Worms the protesting theologians divided the old church teachers among themselves and read through them, so that they could confront the papists in all ways. Luther meanwhile continued with the explanation of the first book of Moses, and had the Jobum, Psalter, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon, Esaiam, and Jeremiam printed in German, as he commemorates in a letter to Philippum in Worms: *Speramus te et Caeparum (Crucigerum) percurrisse Novum Testamentum. Nos sine vobis ausi sumus Iob, Psalterium, Proverbia, Ecclesiasten, Cantica, Esaiam, Ieremiam tradere typis* [I hope that you and Caspar (Cruciger) have read through the New Testament. We have ventured to put into print without you Job, the Psalter, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Isaiah, and Jeremiah].

Anno 1541.

In the same locations as the previous section.

The colloquium held last year at Worms finally began on January 13, and before January 2 the papal authorities proposed new and unusual conditions, namely, that only two theologians should be chosen from all of them to discuss religious matters with each other; the notaries should take notes and hand them over to the presidents; the lesser part should not be required to accept the opinion of the greater or greater part, unless the emperor and the estates decided that it should be done. Not all speeches of the Collocutorum should be written out by the Notaries, but only the mere opinions; they should be settled or remain in dispute. What was decided at Augsburg and elsewhere should not apply. The protesters, however, objected: Because on both sides to the Colloquio two-and

twenty, let each and all of them also open their thoughts; and asked that not mere opinions, but also at the same time the reasons and rations with their explanations, be written out. They also proved that it would be unreasonable to follow a man's opinion in this most holy matter, and not rather to follow what is prescribed in the words of God, or to force someone to teach and preach otherwise. The theologians present, Melanchthon, Capito, Bucerus, Osiander, Brentius, Calvinus, Alesius, Scotus, Simon Grynäus, and others, implored that the colloquium be begun. So on January 13, Johannes Eccius was appointed to speak on the side of the papists, and Philippus Melanchthon on the side of the protesters. The beginning was made by the original sin, and these both spoke alternately in public assembly. Mr. Granvellanus is said to have said, as Mathesius relates: The protesters have a scribe, Doctor Creutzigern he meant, who is more learned than all the papists, for he reaches all the words in the postscript that Philip speaks, and reminds him besides what of Eck's plea is still to be refuted. Mathesius also reports at the place mentioned how Dr. Martinus Luther once thought: Eck had come on the track with a pointed argument, and when Philippus thought about it and said: Tomorrow I will answer, Eck then said: It would not be praiseworthy if one could not answer soon and *extempore.* Doctor, Philip answered again: I seek not honor in this business, but truth. Tomorrow, God willing, you shall hear me. But on the third day of this colloquy, letters came from the emperor to Granvellanum and the other envoys, postponing the whole deal until the Diet of Regensburg, asking the protesters to come there, and calling Granvellanus away. When this was publicly read on January 15, the protesters said that it was a great pity to them that the colloquium had been started so late, and that they were not allowed to continue with it, but because it was thus ordered by the Emperor's Majesty, it was necessary for them to come to Regensburg. Majesty commands, they must follow. So this Colloquium has been knowingly delayed by the opposite party, and afterwards completely prevented.

About this time Mauritius, son of the Duke of Saxony, held camp with Miss Agnesen, daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse.

In the month of March many potentates and estates came to Regensburg, and the Diet began on April 5. The Elector of Saxony sent

Envoys there, as well as Philippum Melanchthonem. Martin Luther's book against Duke Henry of Brunswick, whose title is "Against Hans Wurst," was also brought to this Diet. Among other things, the emperor had it proclaimed that the estates wanted to think of ways to unite in matters of faith and religion. He also received from the Estates that His Imperial Majesty himself would appoint certain persons to the office. This was done on April 13, when Julius Pflug, Johannes Eccius, Johannes Gropperus, Philippus Melanchthon, Martinus Bucerus and Johannes Pistorius were appointed by Count Palatine Frederick to hear the disputed doctrines. On April 22, they were summoned before the Emperor's Majesty. Majesty, and before the same in their own person they were movably admonished not to look to affectations, but only to God's honor. All of these have humbly excused themselves, and asked to choose other men more skilled for this, except Eccius, who said he would be ready and willing for this. But since Your Imperial Majesty Majesty graciously persisted, they took it upon themselves and asked that several presidents, as well as witnesses and listeners, be granted to them, since Frederick, Elector in the Palatinate, and Granvellanus, as presidents; Dietrich, Count of Manderscheid, Eberhard Rudenus, Heinrich Hasa, Franciscus Burkhard, Johannes Figius, and Jacobus Sturmius were granted to them as witnesses. When on April 27 they assembled, the Count Palatine exhorted them to attack the matter with earnestness, and to converse amiably. Granvellanus presented them with a written book, which, according to his pretence, had been sent to the emperor by some pious and learned people, which would serve for the intended conciliation. And this book is the reason for that which was afterwards called the Interim. The protesters also pledged their supposed co-religionists in France, and asked the king in France not to let them be so miserably persecuted on account of religion. But the Zwinglians deceived the so-called Lutherans with ambiguous speeches, so that they thought they were in complete agreement with them. They did the same in the year of Christ 1557 at Worms; but when they were afterwards called to account for having spoken another thing, and meant another thing, they said, *Opus sibi fuisse bono dolo ad liberandos Fratres, they* would have needed a good deception to get rid of their brethren, as may be read of this in the Historik Conf. August, fol. 389. et seqq.

The Council of Princes, consisting mostly of bishops, rejected the book given by Granvellano and the whole action of the Colloquy. The protesters presented the Emperor with a document, and declared that they would remain with the Augsburg Confession, and recalled the extent to which the state of the church could be destroyed again. The emperor consulted with Contareno, the pope's envoy, who said that because the protesters were leaving the church in some doctrines, and there was still hope that they would consider another, he thought it advisable to stand and bring the whole matter to the pope, who would then observe by a public concilium or in some other way what would be useful to the whole church, especially to Germany. The papal princes also agreed to this proposal, and the religious settlement was thus postponed until a general or national council in Germany.

In this year Capito died at Strasbourg, Simon Grynäus at Basel.

On December 13, King Ferdinand held a meeting at Prague, where the Austrian nobility, ten cities, among which was also Vienna, and the neighboring cities in Styria and Carinthia, humbly requested that His Royal Majesty grant them the free exercise of religion. However, they have been ordered to be patient until the aforementioned Council.

Lutherus also wrote to Fridericum Myconium, pastor and superintendent at Gotha, who was fatally ill with consumption, as Myconius made Luther know: *decumbere se quidem, non autem letaliter, sed vitaliter aegrotare (Dominica post Epiphanias)* [he was indeed lying down, but he was not sick to death, but to life (on Sunday after Epiphaniä)], among other things these thoughtful words: *Vale, mi Friderice, et Dominus non sinat me audire tuum transitum, me vivo. Te superstitem faciat mihi hoc peto, hoc volo, et fiat mea voluntas, Arnen. Quia haec voluntas gloriam nominis Dei, certe non meam voluptatem, nec gloriam, quaerit*. Which words are questionable, thus translated: The Lord will not let me hear, as long as I live, that you have died, but create that you survive me. This I earnestly pray, and it shall be granted, and it shall be so; and my will be done in this, amen. For this my will seeks the honor of the divine name, not my honor nor pleasure. When Myconius read this letter of Luther, he felt as if he were hearing the voice of Christ.

heard: "Lazare, come out." Has also come to his health, as he remembers it extensively in two letters to M. Georgium Rorarium, then Diaconum at Wittenberg. God also heard Luther's prayer, for he died on February 18, Myconius on April 7, 1546, and thus the latter 7 weeks later.

Anno 1542.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 207; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 411; and in Walch, vol. XXI, 109-.

In January of this year, an Imperial Diet was held at Speier by Ferdinandum, the Roman king, to whom the Emperor Carolus V had assigned it. In this Imperial Diet, the war against the Turks was primarily discussed, which the French envoys, Franciscus Oliverius and the Chancellor Alenconius, did not completely revoke, but considered it necessary that the estates of the Roman Empire meet in good confidence beforehand. But since the war against the Turks had been decided, and the envoys noticed that they were not very agreeable, they departed in displeasure before the end of the Diet. The papal envoy, Johannes Moronus, argued that the pope, because of his age, could not hold the council in Germany, where he wanted and needed to be in person, and suggested the cities of Mantua, Ferrara, Bonomen, Placentiam, or, if none were acceptable, Trent. Which place the Romanists finally liked, but the protesters rejected completely. The Elector of Brandenburg, Margrave Joachim, was, with the unanimous advice of the estates, also by Imperial will, appointed General or Field Marshal. Maj.'s will, he was appointed general or commander for the forthcoming Turkish war. Such a move in Hungary was announced by the Elector Luthero, who then sent a beautiful letter to His Electorate. Durchl. in a beautiful letter, which never before came into print. wished him luck. Because of this move, the Turkish tax has also been raised, and every local authority throughout Germany has been permitted to impose a tax on its subjects. When some Protestants also wanted to burden the church servants with the Turkish tax, Luther wrote a serious letter to a court preacher about it, which can be found below. The king in France announced war to Emperor Carln; prescribed a sharp form to his clergy, according to which those suspected in the Roman Catholic religion must be questioned. In this summer an exceedingly great multitude of locusts of uncommon

They were of a 'size' which, where they settled, devoured the field and the arable land.

When Mauritius, Duke of Saxony, a gentleman of about twenty-one years of age, who had gone to Hungary to fight the Turks at his own expense, rode out of the camp with only one servant before the city of Pesth, and encountered several Turks, who had crossed with him and pierced his horse, so that he had to fall down in the cuirass, his servant, one of the nobility, Hans Neidisch, otherwise called Schnauber, fell on the gentleman with a fine whole body, and so covered him, and caught the stabs and blows with his body and limbs, until Melchior von Wangenheim, a Thüringer, came to his aid, fell with his whole body upon the lord, and so covered him, and absorbed the stabs and blows with his body and limbs, until Melchior von Wangenheim, a Thuringian of nobility, with his valiant servant, Andrea Kochen, otherwise called Kappus, who was soon followed by other routers, joined them, and drove off the Turks, who were very fond of the duke's head. The servant, who had received many wounds, was brought to the camp, but soon died. When this story was first mentioned to Emperor Ferdinand I., her imperial maj. Oh, it is a noble and precious treasure for a faithful servant and subject, who jumps to his master's aid in times of need, and risks life and limb over him.

In this year Lic. Nicolaus von Amsdorf became bishop of Naumburg, and Luther himself consecrated him at Zeitz, as can be seen from the printed sermon. Pflug, who was proposed as bishop, had to stand back at that time, but was subsequently raised to these honors when the battle before Mühlberg was lost in 1547, and von Amsdorf went to Jena, attended the inauguration of the Gymnasium in 1548, and was commissioned by the Dukes of Saxony, along with M. Georgio Rorario, who was required from Denmark, to collect Luther's writings, from which the Jenische Tomi have their origin.

Luther also translated the refutation of the Alcöran, which a brother named Nichardus, of the Order of Preachers, wrote about the year of Christ 1300. He also wrote a warning to beware of the abominable teachings of Mahomet or the Turks, and that not Mahomet but the pope was the Antichrist.

There was also in this year between Elector John Frederick and Duke Moritz a flat war, as Mathesius calls it, because of spices. Because of this disagreement, Luther wrote a serious and thoughtful exhortation to peace to both commanders and the same estates.

Anno 1544.

Printed in the Altenburger Ausg., vol. VIII, p.413; in the Leipziger, vol. XXI, p. 437 and in Walch, vol. XXI, 112*.

1. In this year an Imperial Diet is held at Speier, to which the Emperor Carolus V, King Ferdinand, and all the princes of the empire are present, which rarely happens, as well as almost all the princes of the empire. The Emperor told them how careful he was about the Turks, and complained very much about the King in France, that he had a secret understanding with the Turks. Ferdinand told how the Turks had invaded Hungary and asked for help. The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and other confederates did not want to suffer Duke Henry of Brunswick in the Assembly of the Empire, nor did they want to recognize him as a member of the Empire. The duke, on the other hand, did not want to recognize them for it either. When the princes were seated, it happened that the Landgrave came to sit close to the Duke of Brunswick. In order that no further ill will might arise between them, John, the Count Palatine, stood up, stipulated that it should not be detrimental to them or to his house, and sat down between them. The king of France also sent a distinguished delegation to this Diet. When the envoys to Nanci lay quietly, and dispatched a herald to Speier to bring a safe escort, the herald had to remain in the house, and he was diligently guarded, so that no one could speak with him, and was rejected the fourth day thereafter with very harsh words: he had acted unwise, and had put himself in the greatest danger of his life, that he dared to come to Speier; his king was an enemy of the empire, and had nothing to do in the empire. He should go and tell his king this, and neither he nor anyone else should return. The king's letters to the emperor would not and could not be accepted by the imperial majesty in this state. Maj. would not and could not accept them in this state. Therefore, they were left to the herald, and he had to take them back with him. All this, however, took place without the prior knowledge of the Imperial Estates.

(2) The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the other confederates publicly and in the sitting Imperial Council vehemently accused Duke Henry of Brunswick of the damage he had done to the cities of Brunswick and Goslar; how shamefully he had written of Emperor Carolo V. that Granvellanus was only passing around the Emperor's name for show and fright, as the bird-catchers sometimes used to show a dead goshawk to frighten the birds with it; how he had accused the

The Emperor admonished Duke Georgen of Saxony to take the land from his brothers, Duke Heinrich, because he had adopted the Protestant religion. They also reported how much he thought of the papal religion, whose protector he wanted to be respected, was evident from his dealings with Even von der Trotte, with whom he had become involved in unseemly love, who had to pretend that she wanted to travel to her parents, and had gone to one of his castles, since she had fallen ill, and afterwards it was said that she had died of the plague. Which he had publicly buried in the same castle's chapel, and described the neighboring priests to the funeral procession; As he also ordered a funeral in Wolfenbüttel, to which his wife, Frau Maria, Duke Ulrich's sister in Würtemberg, attended in her own person with her maid with mourning clothes, to which many priests were also summoned, and a funeral banquet was given to them, and the Franciscans were publicly requested for the deceased for a whole year, and he persuaded the pious wife to make the death of Trott known to her close relatives. Eva, however, would be fresh and healthy in the castle of Stauffenburg, since she visited Duke Heinrich from time to time, and fathered seven children with her.

(3) The emperor Carolus V also made peace with the king of France in this year, against his own presumption.

(4) Pope Paul III also wrote two letters to the emperor, complaining of him that he wanted to interfere in spiritual matters. He compared the emperor to the high priest Eli, who also yielded too much to his sons. To these letters Luther answered by the tract, "Against the Papacy at Rome, founded by the devil." Luther also issued the "Brief Confession of Holy Communion" against the Sacramentarians, because they were spreading their poison further and further, and claimed that Luther would have agreed with them and would have established a concordiam and unity with them. As he writes of this in his confession: It is true that it has often been suggested to me before that the fervent ones should boast that I am one with them; which I have not wanted to believe, because no one has wanted to write it publicly about himself. But in this way faith should come into my hands before I miss it.

(5) The clergy of Cologne also continued to hinder the reformation begun by Archbishop Hermann, and to petition him to abolish Bucerum and other preachers. They also met at Cologne, and appealed to the pope at
Rome, and to the emperor, as patron of the church. To this the archbishop replied that he had nothing to do with Luther and Bucero, but that he considered their doctrine, which was in accordance with the holy Scriptures, to be quite apostolic, and such a doctrine as would be well worthy of acceptance by all men. But when the clergy saw that they could not accomplish much in this way, they called the other religious together again in Cologne in November, and asked that they also sign the appeal; but those who refused to do so, they stripped of their honors, and sued the archbishop most vehemently before the emperor and the pope.

6. the letters which Lutherus wrote to private persons are in *Tom. III. epistolar. Lutheri* in this year, since they can be read at will.

Anno 1545.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 303; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p.452, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 116*.

(1) The theologians of Paris had drawn several conclusions about religion. The theologians at Louvain followed these, and wrote mere theses, numbering XXXII, but did not prove them by the Scriptures. Luther opposed them with others, and taught that they were heretics and bloodhounds who prescribed doctrines without Scripture, and incited the authorities to persecute with fire and sword those who would not subscribe to them. In France, the Waldenses, who did not recognize the pope as their head, and who had come to more knowledge through Luther's teachings, were persecuted bitterly and miserably, strangled without mercy, their cities, towns, and villages burned, their women and virgins violated, and their little children rebaptized, as can be read in Sleidano. Cardinal Farnesius came from Rome to the Diet of Worms to provoke a war against the Lutherans, and the pope promised twelve thousand on foot and five hundred on horseback against them. So also at Worms, on the next day of Pentecost, a Franciscan monk, an Italian, preached a sermon in the presence of the emperor, Ferdinandi the Roman king, Farnesii the bishop of Augsburg, Granvellani, and others, and finally addressed the emperor thus: It is time, most great emperor, that you at last do your office. Truly, one has delayed long enough. The bargain should have been concluded long ago. God has graced your Imperial Majesty Majesty with exceedingly great favors, and has made her the

patron of the churches. For this reason, His Imperial Majesty... Maj. will use his powers to exterminate the shameful people, the Lutherans. For it is a great sin that they should longer look upon heaven, who thus defile and confuse everything. Let not Your Imperial Majesty say. Maj. not say, We will do it yet. For it should be done now, now, I say, and no delay should intervene. How many thousands of people do Your Imperial Majesty think... Maj. to be in danger of their eternal blessedness every day because of the Lutherans' folly? God will demand all of them from Your Imperial Majesty. Maj. if she does not remedy the matter. Granvellanus is said to have become very unwilling because of this incitement, either because he outwardly presented himself in this way, or because he realized that this would be a good warning to the protesters.

(2) About this time Luther's book "Against the Papacy at Rome, Founded by the Devil" was published, in which he first answered Pope Paul III's letter to Carolum V, in which he admonishes the emperor from the care of religion, which belongs to him, the pope. He then refutes the spurious reasons that are usually put forward to support the pope's sovereignty or primacy. How Duke Henry of Brunswick, a fierce enemy of the Lutherans, started a war against the Emperor's prohibition, and the Emperor took his land from him, but in spite of this, by the King's encouragement in France, he again recruited peoples, and thus did great harm in the lands of Bremen, Lüneburg, and Brunswick, and finally had to surrender to the Landgrave of Hesse, Philippo, not far from Calfeld, with his son, Carolo Victore, can be read in Sleidano. Duke Mauritius and others asked for the release of this captive prince, but Lutherus revoked this in a special letter to the Elector John Frederick and the Landgrave of Hesse, Philippum.

(3) Because it happened in Wittenberg that Luther could not like it, he decided to stay with the pious and learned prince of Anhalt, Mr. Georgio, provost of the cathedral of Merseburg, and not to come to Wittenberg again. However, he was asked by the Elector of Saxony's envoy and by those sent to the University of Wittenberg, turned back there, and concluded his last work in Genesin, on which he had worked for ten years with the greatest diligence, on November 17 of this year with the following words: I can no longer, I am weak, orale vsniri pro ine, pray God for me that he may grant me a good blessed hour. The letters which he wrote also in this year to learned men are in *Tom. III. epistolar. Luth*.

II. Dr. M. Luther's writing against Jakob Hochstaten, July 13 Anno 1519.

This writing has its occasion in the thirteenth thesis of Luther for the Leipzig Disputation (see St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 721). The heresiarch Jacob Hoogstraten, prior of the Dominicans, professor at Cologne, had described it in a dedicatory letter to his *Destructio Cabalae seu Cabalisticae perfidiae, etc.,* to Pope Leo X., April 7, 1519, as pernicious to the church; if it were true, no one could clear the popes of the accusation that they were heretics, and for this reason calls upon the pope to execute a bloody judgment against Luther. To this Luther replies in a short, sharp way by this document, which Luther probably made known (in poster form) by posting it before the conclusion of the Leipzig disputation. - Walch, both in his introduction to the eighteenth volume, p. 59 a, and in the preface to the twenty-first, § XVII, II §. E., has already pointed out that this document belongs to the year 1519, but has nevertheless (like all other editions) placed it here in the year 1518. Among the newer ones, first Köstlin, M. Luther, Vol. I, p. 151, has declared with all certainty that the writing, in spite of the wrong year in all editions up to his time, belongs to the year 1519. The first and only edition of Luther's works with a correct date is the Weimar edition (Vol. II, p. 384).

A single print of this note is not known. The first impression we have is in the Wittenberg edition (1545), *tom. I, fol. CXCVb*, also in the 1550 edition, with the caption: *Martinus Lutherus pio lectori*; in the Jena (1579), tom, I, koi. 116; in the Erlangen, *opp. var. arg., tom*. II, p. 294 *sqq*; in the. Weimarschen, vol. II, p. 384 and in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 323. Translated into German in the German Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 25; in the Jenaer (1564), vol. I, p. 61; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 70; in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 140 and in Walch, vol. XXI, 118". - The old translation is good.

1. God has awakened another enemy for me, and a new one from an old vain one, namely, the dear, and with leave to speak, venerable father, M. Jakob Hochstrecken, whom everyone commonly, and rightly, calls a heretic. The same, since he punishes my thirteenth proposition in the preface of his useless drivel, which he calls a protective speech, he speaks thus: If this proposition be true, the Roman bishops must be heretics.

(2) After this he exhorts (as one who thirsts for the destruction and blood of the brethren) with a bloodthirsty tongue the pious, kind pope Leonem X., that he should not rise up against the heretics with a gentle and Christian, but with a lionish and tenfold spirit. Such filth is worthy of all.

That he should denounce the heretics (pious Christians), admonish the pope and bishops to shed innocent blood, that he should make of bishops, as men, unreasonable, even cruel beasts, and of Christians heretics. This is the way of this new heretic to afflict Christians.

3. But take heed of him, as of him that hath spent and lost all his days in Dialectica, how many fine apostolic arguments he teacheth us in the same book, called the "Protective Address," 1) from which thou canst understand how excellently he is exercised and experienced in Dialectica. This is one of his consequences: This is contrary to Scripture, therefore it is heretical.

4. Thanks be to thee, O high priest, and let us conclude according to thy wisdom: David's adultery is contrary to the scriptures, yea, contrary to the ten commandments; therefore his adultery is heresy. In short, every sin, however small, is against the Scriptures. Therefore, according to Hochstraten's opinion, the whole world is heretical; even the church itself, because it is not without sin, is a heretic. And because we are all wicked and sinners, which is contrary to the Scriptures, it follows that we are all heretics; with the exception of Hochstraten, who is not like other men, that he may make all heretics, that the ministry of his heresy, that is, of his honor and profit, may only extend far.

5. Who is a heretic, if you, Hochstraten, are not a heretic, who, after your wonderful, outrageous Dialectica, make a good beginning 2) and yet conclude from it a heretical conclusion, namely, that the church is heretical? [I] therefore say that the sun has never seen a poisonous nor impudent heretic, except Jakob Hochstraten. Therefore, arise, O Leo X, most gracious shepherd and father, and seek after this heresiarch by other heresiarchs. Now you see with what opinion they are pursuing the heretics, namely, that they also want to make you and the whole church heretics.

1) Thus (*Apologia*) Luther calls the above-mentioned book, because he presumably only received a detailed note about it during the Leipzig Disputation (Weim. Ausg.). This designation caused the editors to place our writing in the year 1518, because this was considered to be Hoogstraten's Apology against Reuchlin.

2) *praemissas* == antecedent clauses.

6. Hear, then, thou wretched high priest, who knowest not, nor understandest, what is neither for nor against the Scriptures, and therefore art a heresiarch with the highest shame and dishonor of the church; hear, I say, I will teach thee, 3) a rule of St. Thomas, of whom thou hast thought much and great, which is thus: If a word, when it hath more than one interpretation, be not discerned, mixture and confusion follow therefrom.

7. It is true in the first place, that heresy is contrary to the scriptures; after that every error, and every sin, even daily, and even a vain word, is contrary to the scriptures: but more to say, that sin also (which no man can avoid, nor shun, however holy he may be) is contrary to the scriptures, concerning which St. Paul himself complaineth in Romans 7:23. Paul himself laments Rom. 7:23, when he says, "I see another law in my members, which is contrary to the law in my mind, and taketh me captive to the law of sin. "2c.

8. Therefore, if the notaries of the popes, or they themselves, set anything, or from human infirmities interpret the Scriptures wrongly, they do indeed act contrary to the Scriptures, but for this reason they are not heretics, because only after the manner in which you would like all men to be heretics, and you are sorry that you are not permitted to be satisfied with the murder and blood of Christians.

9. But I must confess that an error, however great it may be, cannot be called or be heretical, unless it be stiff-neckedly held to be right and defended. Both of which the Roman bishop has hitherto declared, that is, that he is found neither defiled nor contaminated with great nor small error, which he stubbornly defends.

10. Therefore go, thou foolish, bloodthirsty murderer, that canst not be satisfied with the blood of the Christian brethren, search out and seek horseflies (not pious Christians) in their dung, until thou learn what sin, error, heresy, (and what more pertaineth to the art of a heresiarch) is. For I have not seen a grosser ass than thou, though thou hast been as many years as thou boastest, in

3) In the Latin it is added: "which is *an antepraedicamentum*, namely, the explanation of ambiguous things, and"

of the Dialectica studied and applied. What wonder, then, that you condemn the most Christian articles of pious, godly men as unjust and heretical, because you do not know what is contrary to Scripture, and consequently understand much less what is heretical and to be condemned.

11. And I am very glad and pleased that I am condemned by thee, such a blind and obstinate head, as a heretic. Also it is my earnest desire that thou shouldest not pronounce me a Christian or a believer, lest others should think that thou hast lied, or that thou hast spoken such things out of blindness; but that thou shouldest pronounce me a heretic for and on my behalf; for there will be some that will defend me, and say, "High-souled judge, as a blind man of the color.

12. Let this be said unto thee, a bloodhound, and an enemy of the truth: and if thine indignation persist in thee, that thou shouldest undertake any thing against me, see that thou do it with prudence, and take thy time (of which I will have reminded thee). God knows what I intend to do if I live; my hope and confidence shall not fail me, if God wills it. I wanted to publicly prove and make true before all the world that in four hundred years there has not been a more harmful, more poisonous heretic than Jakob Hochstraten. Farewell, dear Christian reader. On the thirteenth of July, Anno 1518 (1519). 1)

III Duke Carl of Münsterberg's letter to Luther concerning the reception of Holy Communion in both forms. 29 June Anno 1522.

This document has already been published in this volume Col. 431 communicated.

IV. Prince Frederick of Saxony's reply to King Louis of Hungary and Bohemia concerning Luther. Anno 1523.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 174d; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 245b; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 342; in the Leipzig, vol. XVIII, p. 479, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 126*.

1) Probably the original print had: M.D.XVIIII (Weim. Ausg.).

Sublime King!

Our kind, willing services, and what we are able of love and good, before.

1. Special dear Lord and uncle! Some weeks ago we received a letter from E. K. Dignity, in which they inform us that it is not known to us what cruel error and heresy M. Luther has introduced, contrary to the holy Christian faith and the praiseworthy order of Christian churches. That your Luther also promises all Christian kings and princes shamefully and recklessly, and raises the Turk; with attached request that we no longer permit such error, sedition, and dishonor against God, the holy Christian faith, and all of Christendom, because the monk relies on us, but take him into punishment, and regard all of Christendom more than such a monk,

(2) We have heard all the contents; and, as E. L. indicate, as if the monk should rely on us, we do not want E. L. to conceal that such a thing has been laid to our charge by our favourites, and E. L. would undoubtedly move the same against us. K. would undoubtedly therefore indicate to move the same against us. Therefore, we kindly ask that E.K. will not believe such things of us, but will report to us those who have made such an unfounded accusation against us, as if M. Luther, by introducing cruel errors and heresies contrary to the holy Christian faith and the praiseworthy order of Christian churches, and now also promising all Christian kings and princes shamefully and recklessly, and raising the Turk, were relying on us.

(3) With the help of God, we want to be heard by the dignity and authority of the Church, that our innocence, and that this alone is attributed to us by our enemies and detractors, should be noted in this. For if God wills, E. L. and men shall not find or learn anything else than that our will, mind, and opinion have always been thus, and by the bestowal of divine help shall not be otherwise than to keep us obedient as a Christian man to the holy Christian church, and that, if God wills, it shall not be laid upon us with constancy that Luther, in that which is contrary to God, the holy Christian faith, and in the pieces as indicated in E. K.'s dignified Scripture, has relied upon us. K. Dignity Scripture, should rely on us.

(4) For special glory to be written, which may serve to strengthen God's glory, service, and word, also the holy Christian faith, and the love of one's neighbor, is to be written for the sake of

The Lord Almighty is our Lord, and the bestowal of divine graces, so much on us, therefore we also ask God the Almighty, to be faithfully promoted.

5. We have not wished to restrain E. L. from all this in his friendly opinion, and are also willing to kindly earn it for the sake of E. K.'s dignity as our lord and uncle. Anno Domini MDXXIII.

V. Dr. M. Luther's writing against the blind and foolish condemnation of the seventeen articles, emanating from the wretched and shameful university at Ingolstadt. Anno 1524.

M. Arsacius Seehofer had presented the Lutheran doctrine in writings. The professors of Ingolstadt extracted 17 articles from them, condemned them, forced him to recant and imprisoned him in a monastery, from which he escaped to Wittenberg. In this writing Luther now illuminates and justifies these articles.

In 1524, several individual editions of this work appeared in Wittenberg under the above title. In the collections: in the Wittenberg (1554), vol. VII, p. 413; in the Jena (1585), vol. II, p. 421; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 771; in the Leipzig, vol. XVIII, p. 528; in Walch, vol. XXI, 128* and in the Erlangen, vol. 29, p. 75.

Martin Luther, to all dear Christians grace and peace in Christ.

(1) Under the name of the wretched university of Ingolstadt in Bavaria, a note with 17 Christian articles has gone out, condemned by them, and revoked by their murderous outrage and coercion by M. Arsacin's Seehofer. Now their reasoning and proof is so exceedingly foolish and clumsy that I, along with some other reasonable people, did not think otherwise, that such a note would have been invented by their enemy to mock and disgrace them. But since they have been silent about it so long, and I am also certain elsewhere that they have condemned such articles and forced them to recant, I must believe and confess that where there is such palpable blindness that they condemn these main articles of the Christian faith, there must certainly also be such art and understanding that cannot show much more pityful and skillful reason and proof.

(2) Therefore I will let the same notes go out again, and spread such Ingolstadt art and virtue,
in honor of the holy Word of God, so that the weak may be comforted and strengthened, when they see here so apparently God's miraculous work, who, in turn, to exalt and praise His holy Word, punishes and torments His blasphemers and enemies with such great blindness. And please, let every Christian be commanded to read these Ingolstadt Notes, as one of the best little books, which serves well for the advancement of God's honor, and is worth keeping for our descendants, so that they may know what desperate boys' schools have been in our times, and how wantonly the wretched devil has ruled in Christendom through such wretched heads in the high schools.

3 But with this I will not give cause to the reckless men who boast of being evangelicals, and yet are not, nor strengthen their blasphemous presumption and insolence. For although it is true that God allows such punishment and miserable blindness to befall his enemies, in order to comfort the weak and to frighten the enemies of the gospel, yet his marvelous judgment and work is to be feared, lest perhaps it also befall us, who pride ourselves on the gospel, as if we were it ourselves, without all fear and humility, and in fact remain far behind. And in time past he afflicted the Philistines, that they should return his ark with all shame: nevertheless he smote fifty and seventy men at Bethshemesh, that they might see the ark; perhaps that they might think themselves worthy, and be proud of the shame of the Philistines [1 Sam. 6:3].

4 It seemeth to me in this work of God, as if he would remind us of our slothfulness and idleness, and admonish us that we should pray more diligently, and do it more earnestly. For it is certain that the devil, as a highly understanding spirit, could have better prepared such notes and painted them a different color. Therefore, he must either have been specially prevented by God, or, I fear, out of superfluous leisure and wanton malice, he mocked our laziness, and thought: What need have I of great art and wit against the lazy, indolent Christians? They hurt me not with prayers; so they attack it even with words. I

meanwhile I will slander these sows with good calm, and mock them; I must not be serious about it; yet I can make and revoke what I want, if I am only joking and scolding. Such I have great care, he bears in his mind, and almost the same is the matter.

5 Therefore let us accept the warning and admonition of God. For we see daily much reproach, and few there be that stand. Thus we have ever such a shameful and disgraceful name before the world, as certainly no man hath had in a thousand years. Which may be called Lutheran or evangelical, they think they have called it more than ten times devilish; it must be worth more than one hell. Now it is ever a grievous shame and chastisement, about which all the prophets, and especially David in the Psalter, so often lament and cry, that only we have great cause enough to pray with diligence, and to resist the devil with earnestness, whom we see in this, how he drives his monkey game out of men, among whom yet there are some, who by our praying and teaching shall come hither, and become our brethren; Therefore we owe it to ourselves to take care of them, and to pray and fight for them against the devil, their mocker, with all our strength. May Christ help us, amen.

The 17 articles have been drawn by the venerable and highly respected gentlemen, Nicolaus Appellas, Leonhardus Marstaller, of the sacred writings, Franciscus Burckhard von Burckhardis, Georgius Hauer, of the right, Wolfgangus Peysser, Peter Burckhardt, Panthaleon Brunner, of medicine, Antoni Braun and Johannes Schrötinger, teachers of the liberal arts, Rector, Council and Ordinaries of the Christian University of Ingolstadt, with fervent, earnest diligence, drew from books of a young Master, Arsacii Seehofer of Munich, and condemned them for heresy, for the following reasons, forced the named Master Arsacii into prison, and finally induced him to renounce and recant them; which he did publicly on the evening of the Nativity of Our Lady (in front of all the accused members of the university), and afterward entered a monastery for penance in the 1523rd year. Year.

Arsacius.

1 Faith alone is sufficient for a man to be justified.

Ingolstadt.

This article, as it is in words, is true, and St. Paul says it Rom. 3:28 and 5:1, and is thus proved: The man that ought to be justified is nowand unjust; for, if he were just, he needeth not to be so. If he is unrighteous and in sins, he lacks the grace of God. If he does not have grace, his works are not pleasing to God or deserving of eternal salvation. For the works of man are not pleasing to God, but man is pleasing to Him first. As we have Genesis 4:5: that God looked upon Abel and his gifts; first, Abel, then his gifts. Now if the work of man is to please God, man must first please Him; for works do not make a man good, but a good man makes and does good works. Further, if man is to please and be accepted by God, who is righteous, it must be out of God's goodness and mercy. This is called grace, after which come good works.

Although the reported article, as now stated, is true, yet it is not to be held against the simple, nor against the reckless, the indolent, and the ungodly (of whom there are many, alas), for he does not think about it in a narrative way, but as soon as he hears it, he says, "Yes, I have good faith, and I trust God well. If then I would be justified by faith alone, and the just lives by faith, as Paul Rom. 1, 17. and Habakkuk Cap. 2, 4. say, then I attain eternal life by faith alone; ei, what need do I have to keep God's commandments? Wherefore should I fast, pray, do alms, and other good works; I will keep the faith, and leave all laborious works, and trust God well; he hath not made heaven for geese 1). And so all the wholesome doctrine of Christ and the apostles, which teach us to do good, and to flee from evil, are destroyed and mocked. Therefore is he revoked.

Luther.

This article they themselves confess to be true, and prove it from St. Paul and Habakkuk; and yet they would have it kept silent, for the offence of the wicked. Is not this a wretched blindness, to confess that it is true, and yet to condemn it for heresy? and this for no cause, but that the wicked may be offended at it? Thou tender, precious truth, art now called a lie for the sake of wicked men.

1) Marginal gloss: hell not even to the Knckuk.

That means to cut off John's head because of the whore Herodias [Matth. 14, 8.]. For so might Herod say, though John be holy, yet shall he die justly, because the whore Herodias is wroth with him. If the truth is called heresy for the sake of the wicked, it must also be said to be heresy that Christ is both God and man, because the Jews and the Gentiles are offended at it. If they had so much as a brain, and said, The pious are vexed, it would be a better semblance. But they knew that the pagans were not offended at it. Therefore let all the world hear the art of these high schools: Divine truth is heresy when wicked men are offended at it. Fie on high schools!

Yea, they say, it ought not to be so plainly spoken. Is it true, then, that Christ and Paul said it so plainly? Or do you poor people think that it is possible for faith to be said in one word only, and for faith to do good works? One must be said before, the other after. Shall the former be called heresy, because it is spoken at another time than the latter? Well then, in this article Paul and Christ and Moses are at once confessed and denied by the Ingolstadters, at once truly and heretically reproached, at once condemned and praised. So shall the enemies of God and blasphemers overthrow themselves. Nor do they keep their own speech. They say in the preface, "These articles are all heretical," and yet they prove no more than that this one is offensive to the wicked.

Arsacius.

2. the righteousness of God is that which God esteems, cherishes, or takes in us, apart from any consideration of our works.

Ingolstadt.

We understand this article to mean that God's justice is such that it remains undiminished, whether he does to man what he thinks he deserves. And that God also acts badly with man according to his will and pleasure (which he calls his justice), so that man does whatever he wants, good or evil, wrong or right. The first understanding is good; but the second is contrary to the gospel, because the Lord will set the unmerciful on the left hand, among the goats, saying, Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire.

Luther.

Behold, the learned should be brought cheaply to school, and taught the Grammatica. They do not understand the words in the article. For the righteousness of God, as this article speaks of, is that which God endows and justifies us with, as St. Paul says in Rom. 1:17: "The righteousness of God is revealed in the gospel, that it comes by faith; as it is written, The just man lives by faith." Thus they interpret it to be righteousness, since GOd is called by righteous, and punishes sinners. These should be theologians to me! For this purpose they give him two minds and condemn him, though one of them is pleasing to themselves.

From this it may be seen that they never interrogated M. Arsacium, but forcibly and treacherously condemned him. Otherwise he would have told them this opinion without a doubt. But why do they not also accept this article, for the sake of good sense? since in their scholasticism and Aristotelianism there is no thing so evil which they do not praise, where they may but give him good sense, whether they would have to fetch him to Calekut. Jacks are they in the skin within.

Arsacius.

(3) By no good or meritorious works may a man attain to righteousness.

Ingolstadt.

This article is contrary to Scripture, for in the book of the work of the twelve messengers in the 10th chapter [Apost. 10, 2. 31. (Acts 10:2, 31) it is written, how Cornelius the pagan, by alms and prayer, which he did in his pagan state, obtained that the true faith was revealed and preached to him by St. Peter. And though it is true that the virtuous works of mortal sinners are not meritorious in themselves, or that they may make the sinner righteous, yet the goodness and mercy of God accepts them as better and more worthy than they are themselves, and for their sake does to man what he would not otherwise have done to him if he had not performed them.

Luther.

This is not true, that Cornelius did good works in the heathen perennial; but he was a proselyte, and had the true faith of the Jews from Christ to come [Acts 10:2, 22],

Which faith thereafter did good, and so came to the revelation of the Lord Christ, when now appeared, and to freedom from the law of Moses. "For without faith it is impossible to please God. Neither is it true that God accepts the good works of a mortal sinner as better: for they are of grace. And here they speak against themselves. For in the first article they confess: "Works may not please God, but man pleases Him before. "Whatever happens apart from faith is sin, Romans 14:23.

Arsacius.

4 God alone justifieth us, when he hath shed upon us his Holy Spirit, without any works of our own.

Ingolstadt.

This article is clear enough from the explanation of the first article, although it also needs a good deal of interpretation. For St. Augustine says, "He who created you without your help will not make you righteous or happy without your help.

Luther.

Yes, of course, I must be present if I am to be saved. God did not let me be born without me. But what did I do for it? And if St. Augustine, the donkey of Ingolstadt, had wanted a hut, should he therefore be placed above St. Paul? of which this article is, Rom. 3:28. "We hold that a man is justified by faith without works."

Arsacius.

5. We are not to have any hope or confidence... in our good works.

Ingolstadt.

This article seems to have a foundation in the words of Christ [Luke 17:10], when he says, "If ye do all things that are commanded you, yet say, We are unprofitable servants." But he affrights the fainthearted; wherefore they ought to be taught more according to the counsel of the wise man, which saith, All that thine hand is able to do that is good, do it without ceasing [Sir. 35:12]. 1) Again, John in the book of the secret revelation [Cap. 14, 13.]: "Their works shall be according to them.

1) Here the Erlangen edition has reprinted from Walch: "Pred. c. 14", although the preacher Sal. has only 12 chapters.

follow." Again, the Lord in the Gospel [Matth. 20, 8.], "Call the workmen, and give them their daily wages." For though we ought not to be put off, presumptuous, or exalted in our works; for they are in themselves indifferent and frail; yet they are rewarded of them out of divine mercy, as is reported above.

Luther.

Behold, they understand not the article either; but that thou mayest see how they have dealt so treacherously and maliciously with poor Arsacio, that either they have not questioned him, or have not let him speak, as they almost confess themselves in the preface. Do you hear, you rude asses at Ingolstadt? Put your glasses on your noses, or digest before the good dramatists. 2) To do works and to trust in works are two different things. The article says, "Trust in works," so you prove that good works are to be done. When did Mr. Arsacius deny this? Or who does not say so? Ye shall prove that good works are not to be trusted in: so speak ye otherwise, as drunken men answer in their sleep.

. Arsacius.

6 It is impossible that faith should be without good fruits or works.

Ingolstadt.

This article is against the gospel and St. Paul. For the Lord saith [Luc. 12:47], "The servant that knoweth his Lord's will, and doeth it not, shall be smitten sore." To know the Lord, and his will, is to believe; but not to perform the will, is to lack works; wherefore faith is found without works. Item [Matth. 7, 22.], "Many shall say at the last day, Lord, Lord, we have done great wondrous works in thy name." They have had faith in Christ, but they lack good works: therefore shall he say unto them, Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity; I know not your doings." [Matt. 7:23.] Paul, in many places of his epistles, separates works and faith from each other.

Luther.

Yea, the faith of the servant that doeth not the will of the LORD is the same faith as the faith of the servant that doeth not the will of the LORD.

2) "Draminder" seems to be one of his wine varieties.

Ingolstadt Theology 1) Theology is. The article speaks of the undyed right faith, as Paul calls it; knows well that it is also a fictitious faith. And this is exceedingly a knave and a rogue, that these sophists interpret the Article where they will, and have not let Arsacium hear or speak of it. If this is meant to pervert and interpret one's words, such highly learned men might well say that God is called a devil, since it is written, "God created the heavens and the earth" [Genesis 1:1].

Arsacius.

7 Forasmuch then as the scripture saith, how that good works are recompensed, or that reward is given for good works, it is to be understood that we are saved by faith.

Ingolstadt.

This article is spoken freely and wantonly without any foundation in Scripture, therefore it is to be rejected, as the Master himself renounces 2) in the following 9th article. Above this, he is also contrary to the Gospel and other Scriptures, as reported in the 5th Article, which clearly indicate that God gives reward according to works and not faith; otherwise he would have to reward the devil also, for they also believe, 3) as St. James says in his Epistle [Cap. 2, 19]. But because they work no good, they must also receive a good reward.

Luther.

But there they interpret the right faith on the wrong faith, the pious honest people! But how God rewards works is too long to tell here; you may read the sermon on your mammon. The Sophists know much what faith, work, and reward are. And what is understanding in such blindness? as thou hast heard above.

Arsacius.

8 They that refrain from making themselves righteous and good by their good works build not upon the rock, but upon the sand.

1) In the Wittenberg: "Theologey Theologey ist". Here Walch has "Theologia" only once, which the Erlangen edition has reprinted, although it asserts that it has taken its text from the Wittenberg.

2) "vergicht" == confess (cf. begichten == confess).

3) Marginal gloss: Yes, they also believe, as the asses to Ingolstadt are theologians.

Ingolstadt.

This article has sense enough, from what is said at the fifth article.

Luther.

This article, like the fifth, also speaks of trusting in works, and not of doing works, since Arsacius confesses in the next seventh article that works are not absent where there is faith. Thus these blind men interpret it as the doing of works. To the school and to the *vocabulario ex quo* 4) with the coarse Bachants. But so it is with good Arsacio. If he says that good works are to be done, it is heresy; if he says that they are not to be trusted in, it is heresy. Of course, he would not be able to say any Christian article ever again, because he would not say anything else than, *Eximii Magistri nostri, vestrae excellentiae bene dicunt*. *Vos estis*

lux mundi [Respectable Magistri nostri, your dignities speak well. You are the light of the world], you are the dirt in the lanterns.

Arsacius.

9 There is none to be believed in the church, except that which he hath certainly and plainly from the word of God.

Ingolstadt.

This is also a sacrilegious, wanton babble. For it follows that we should not believe that the highly praised Mother of God remained a virgin. Again, that we should not believe the evangelists. For in no place in Scripture is it found that we are to believe them. If thou sayest that the Lord hath said, He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me, some one might answer that such words were written by the evangelists themselves, therefore they are not binding; for no man can bear witness to them himself. Again, we ought not to believe the epistles of Paul, Peter, John, Jacob, 2c. For where do the Scriptures, or the Word of God, give us this? See what this article can do!

Luther.

I also want to use your pointed art, and thus I say: Whom shall I believe, if I do not believe the word of God alone? Do you say: the church? I answer: The

4) Thus was called the first Latin instruction book; as if one would now say: To the primer with the ignorant people!

The church itself says this, therefore it is not binding, for no one can bear witness to it himself, as the wise people say here. Whom then shall we believe? Neither God nor men? I advise you to believe only the long gloves and bullets 1) of the rector at Ingolstadt. Item: On what grounds do we want to prove that there is a church on earth? I will be silent about the faith of the church. Must it not be proved by the word of God? But the fact that they say that it is not written anywhere that one should believe St. Peter's, Paul's, and John's epistles, and that Mary remains a virgin, is not worthy to be accounted for; just as if one should lead other witnesses to prove the holy Scriptures.

But let it be so, that we should believe the church which hath received these scriptures: tell me, where then is it written, that we should believe the church therein? If it is written in the same books which she accepts, then the church is testified to, accepted, and proved by the books, and not the books by the church. How now, ye theologians of Ingolstadt! See what this article can do!

Arsacius.

10 No man shall do or teach anything in the Christian church, except what God the Lord hath certainly issued, taught, or commanded.

Ingolstadt.

This article is as evil as the next. For it follows that no one shall keep virginity, no one shall give temporal goods, no one shall fast. For God has not commanded these things anywhere, 2) that no one should engage in marital works with his spouse for a time. For although St. Paul has advised the same, he has not commanded it, and (as Luther says) this is a commandment of God, since he says to Adam: "Grow, and be multiplied" [Gen. 1:18.], there would ever be a strange life, and much useless work.

Luther.

Thou, there, let Christo and Paulo be taken in the mouth. How often does Paul fast,

1) "Kugeln" == Gugel, Kogel, that is: hood, cap; like Liripipium "Kogelzipfel". "Gugelfritz" is a monk.
2) Marginal gloss: Especially in quinto Physicorum he did not say anything about it.

2 Cor. 6, 5., 3) and 1 Cor. 7, 3. he gives to perform conjugal duty; yea, he gives to become conjugal for the sake of unchastity. Also, this article does not only speak of God's commandments, but of everything that God states and teaches. That it would nevertheless be true, even though fasting, celibacy, and chastity were not commanded; since God has shown so many examples in Scripture, that I do not know whether these sophists are mad or foolish, that they interpret these articles contrary to their dry, bright words, wherever they want to go. I mean, they have thought that there is neither God nor man more than they alone.

Arsacius.

(11) Nothing else befits a bishop but to teach the word of God.

Ingolstadt.

This article is too severe and biting; for we read of St. Paul that he worked; for he could make tents. Apost. 18, 3. Thus, in the beginning, many bishops had wives and children, and no doubt worked in the flesh.

Luther.

Rhyme, my lord. The article says of teaching; so they interpret it of doing. A bishop shall teach nothing but the word of God. This they understand, that he should do nothing else but teach. And though he speak of doing, yet is he true. For even a fool knows that to work and to keep house is the work and office of a farmer, but to teach the word of God is the work and office of a bishop. Fie on you asses! Such pieces all prove that Arsacius was not there, nor was he interrogated, since such a highly renowned and well-shitted university condemned him. O how right it is for the dukes of Bavaria, who also condemn and persecute God's word unheard, unrecognized, unconquered, that they must have such swine and asses as masters and spiritual leaders; I should not have wished them such punishment.

Arsacius.

(12) To be a bishop is no other thing than to be a bishop. pledge the word of God.

3) Walch: 2 Cor. 6,6. which the Erlangen edition has reprinted.

Ingolstadt.

This article is equally strict to the previous one. For St. Paul and other bishops also punished the wicked and disobedient, condemned them, and gave them into the power of the evil enemy, until they reformed [1 Cor. 5:4]; therefore they not only preached, but also had power.

Luther.

That the asses do not properly translate Latin must be credited to them, for they know neither German nor Latin. The article says: To be a bishop is as much as to *profiteri verbum Dei* [to proclaim the word of God publicly], whose office is to preach the word of God, as the preceding article says; in addition, these well-informed heads understand the matter thus, that to banish, punish, and chastise the disobedient does not belong to the word of God. This, of course, must be due to the fact that the present bishops alone banish and do not preach. Thanks be to the famous university.

Arsacius.

(13) If a man 1) leaves his wife, or is legally divorced from her, he shall have the right to take another, and the wife may marry another man, unless it be to him who has committed the abuse, and has given rise to the divorce.

Ingolstadt.

This article, though some think it was practiced by many holy bishops in the beginning of the Christian faith, yet it is clearly contrary to Christ and Paul, who says in 1 Cor. 7:10, 11: "Unto them that are joined together in marriage I command, not of mine own discretion, but the Lord's, that the wife should not depart, nor separate herself from her husband: but if she depart from him, she should be left without a husband, or be reconciled to her husband. In like manner neither shall the husband forsake his wife"; so saith Paul. Thus the Lord excludes no other cause than adultery [Matt. 19:9], and Christian Church determines that in the same matter the words of St. Paul also have force. Hence it follows that this article is contrary to Christ and Paul; or else he that will keep it despises the order and declaration of the holy Christian church.

1) In the editions: "on".

Luther.

This article they first say is against Christ and Paul; then, if that would not hold the sting, they say it is against the order of the church. Yea, it is called the church, or the devil's kitchen. Paul 1 Cor. 7:15. saith openly, "If an unbelieving husband depart from another believing husband, let him depart: for the brother or sister is not thereby taken." There ever Paul gives liberty to change. What else would it be said that one is not captive? So not only he that is unbelieving is unbelieving, as the devil's chalice deceiveth, but every false Christian: therefore this article is right and true.

Arsacius.

14 It behoveth no man to take an oath, except it be for the glory of God, or for the need of his neighbour: but for the sake of temporal goods it behoveth no man to swear, or to take an oath.

Ingolstadt.

This article, as it reads, disgraces anyone who swears in matters other than those mentioned. 2) If it is severe enough, it obligates one to sin. However, it would be good and useful if it were practiced.

Luther.

This is a fine piece of work, with which the princes of Bavaria should be honored as with a tender fruit of their famous university. They say that it is good, and that it should not be kept; but because people do not do so, it is heretical. God forbids adultery; it would be good to keep it, but because people do not keep it, God is a heretic. This is true, as true as the well-famed University of Ingolstadt is learned!

Arsacius.

15 Because of necessity, therefore, he that requireth an oath of another is of a suspicious mind, unfaithful, wicked, and reckless, and hath no honesty to the divine truth.

Ingolstadt.

This article is of equal value with the next one above.

2) Randglosse: That is to show reason from the Scriptures! Yes, to Ingolstadt!

Luther.

They regard him as worthy of the next, even if he is a thousand miles from him. For the next is of all things a paragon of Christian doctrine; but this one is a little too hui, yet not altogether false. So well do these people understand what is equal and what is unequal.

Arsacius.

16 The law, given by Moses, requireth of men that they may not do it.

Ingolstadt.

This article, although it reads harshly, as if God had commanded something impossible, yet so it is clearly written in the Book of the Works of the Twelve Messengers, where St. Peter speaks in the first Apostolic Concilio [Apost. 15:10.] 1): "Brethren, why do ye presume to lay upon the heads of the faithful a heavy yoke, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear?" But though it was heavy, they were able to bear it with the help of divine grace. But this grace they had not by works of the law; but it was imparted unto us by our Lord Jesus Christ, John the first [v. 17].

Luther.

This article they themselves prove to be true, and again they smite themselves in the cheeks, that they condemn what they profess. For the article speaks of God's commandment apart from grace, where it is impossible for us. But that it is possible in grace, Arsacius should have known better than to say, for they do, where they would have dealt with him honestly and honestly, as pious doctors ought to do. But, as I have said, God's wrath so punishes his enemies.

Arsacius.

(17) The gospel of Christ is not the spirit, but the letter.

Ingolstadt.

This article is contrary to the doctrine of St. Paul, who speaks in the other epistle to Cor. on the 3rd cap. [V. 6.], "The letter," that is, the written and literal sense of the law and commandments, which "killeth" the same. "But the spirit," that is, the inward mind and attitude of the commandments and

1) Here the Erlanger has again reprinted from Walch: "Apostelg. 15, 9."

Law in the Spirit of God, that is, in grace and willingness, "the same giveth life unto men." And St. Paul understands in this saying by the spirit the evangelical law, and by the letter the law of Moses. Again, he is against the words of our Lord, who saith John. on the 6th [v. 63.], "The words that I speak are the Spirit and the life." Amen.

Luther.

I will hold this article against them. For how should the Jews know what spirit and letter are, if Origen, Jerome, and almost all the ancient teachers, except Augustine, did not know the same? It is enough if the famous university knew only from the *vocabulario ex quo what litera* [letters] and *spiritus [spirit]* mean in German.

Ingolstadt.

For the reasons stated in the Holy Scriptures, each one may consider and recognize for himself that these articles are heretical, repugnant to the Roman Church, and sacrilegious; Therefore, the reported Magister Arsacius has been forced by us to recant, and for his committed sacrilege, wanton teaching, after expulsion of the spiritual rights in a hard monastery shall be further decided, so that others also take example and fright, not to give themselves so easily with sacrilege and insanity, but to remain in peace with the Roman Church.

Luther.

I thought Paris, Louvain, and Cologne had coarse asses, and that this well-famed university should have bumped up against them. But I see that one is like the other; for just as finely the University of Vienna has demonstrated its art to Doctor Paulo Sperato, that none of them leave their foolishness behind; that I think the world wants to become new. Hitherto the Bavarians have been mocked with the sows; now, I hope, it will become better with them. For, these notes deceive me, methinks, all the sows in Bavaria have run to the famous high school in Ingolstadt, and have become doctores, magistri, and vain famous universities, so that henceforth there can be no hope of better understanding in Bavaria. God save and protect Bavaria from these wretched, blind sophists, amen.

VI. Prince Frederick of Saxony's letter to his brother, Duke John, shortly before his blessed end. 30 April 1525.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 216b; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 510b; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 876; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 241, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 149*. Two other letters of this prince, belonging to the same period, are found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 110 ff.

1st Highborn Prince, friendly dear brother and godfather! I have read E. L.'s letter and understood his kind opinion, and have no doubt that E. L. is sorry for my weakness. But I do not know how to explain to E. L. that the longer I stay the weaker I become. I have had few hours of rest in eight days, neither day nor night. I cannot leave the water (to write with breeding) well, I do not like to eat, so I sleep badly. God is my physician in body and soul.

The rising of the poor people is frightening to hear; God, turn it away, for the sake of us all. I would have liked to send E. L. this messenger again, I have not been able to write, God knows that; it has become sour for me to write this. Almost hurrying. My hand. On Sunday *Misericordia Domini* [April 30] at the Lochau, Anno 1525.

Income (or delivered) on Tuesday after *Misericordia Domini* [2 May[at Weimar 1525.

VII Thomas Muenzer's letter to Christoph N., citizen of Eisleben, about his cause and doctrine. Anno 1525.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 222; in the Jena edition (1556), vol. III, p. 114 b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. III, p. 111; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XIX, p. 245, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 150*. This letter belongs to the documents in the 16th volume, cap. 10, section 3.

Peace in peace before. Dear Brother Christoph ! Our undertaken thing has become like the beautiful red grain of wheat, which sensible men are wont to love when it is in their power; but when it is cast into the earth, it seems to them no other, than as it would never come up, Joh. 12, 24.

002 Ye are informed aforetime, by admonition of God, how Doctor Jodocus Jonas of Wittenberg did exceedingly excellently against me the

It is no different than Luther's writing, 1) caused by him; it is no wonder to me that I stink so much before the world, to the disgust of the God-fearing, and to the irrevocable shame and disgrace of the gentle brothers and quiet ones. I know that in the bosom my name is tasted before it gaineth honour. But there are barley pricks in it; the barley bread must be broken; the law will overthrow the wicked; their cries are of no avail. If I have reproached them once before with cannon, now will I thunder with God against them in heaven; they have done their wickedness long enough; God knoweth clearly that they will not excuse themselves.

(3) I have evidently preached before many hundreds of people, and they say, I crawl to the corner; 2c. I have had my doctrine printed at Nuremberg, and they want to earn thanks from the Roman Empire for suppressing it. I am excused.

004 Let it not be said, Yea, he hath written well, or preached well; if he had abode with us, his doctrine should be well laid up for him 2c. I thank God that I have much greater cause against them than Samson against the Philistines 2c. Judges. 14, 4. 15, 3. My heart is undaunted in God, my Savior, who keeps you forever, amen.

005 If ye can, help me with a provision, whatsoever it be. But if ye shall be offended at it, I will not have a farthing. Greet Hans N., be he hostile or kind to me, yet he will have to put the matter behind him, the anger of the wicked is too great for him; if his harm is great, if he is to be enlightened, then no word must fall short of what is announced to him. Oh, how you will suffer if the larva of the deceitful world should perish, but it must be. Even if they could eat iron, I will unbind them in the least unspeakable way.

Note.

I would have played a fine game with those of N., if I had a mind to make a fuss, as the lying world blames me; but I will make all my adversaries so cowardly with words, that they will not deny it. Many of the N. people advised me to preach; then I answered, I would not come for this, but would answer by the pressure. When the lords heard this, their ears were ringing. For good days do them good; the sweat of the craftsmen tastes sweet to them, but grows to bitter gall. There shall be no misgiving...

1) In the editions: "Luther.

Mirror fencing helps, the truth must Herfür, it does not help the poetic acceptance^ of the Evangelii; the people are hungry, they must and want to eat, as Amos says, also Matthäi 5.

Thomas Muntzer suo charissimo fratri Chri- stophoro N. in Eisleben habitanti [Thomas Münzer to his exceedingly dear brother Christoph N., who lives in Eisleben].

M. Concerns how the peasants' revolt in its source is to be lifted by abolishing the mass and employing good parish priests. 1526.

This document is already reported in this volume, Col. 904 ff., No. 1046.

IX. Report of Bugenhagen and Jonas on Luther's severe attack of illness on July 6, 1527.

This report has already been included in this volume, Col. 985, No. 1100.

X. Concerns about the Nuremberg Religious Peace, joint with Jonas. 29 June 1532.

This concern has already been reported in this volume, Col. 1756, No. 1908.

XI. Dr. Mart. Luther's Concerns to Elector John Frederick of Saxony: Whether the Protestants of other Imperial States May Take Subjects into Protection and Alliance, and How Far May They Enter into Alliance with the Imperial Cities? Anno 1534.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 328; in the Altenburger, vol. VI, p. 216; in the Leipziger, vol. XXI, p. 91; in Walch, vol. XXI, 177* and in the Erlanger, vol. 65, p. 225.

1 It is not proper in any way that the cities, which have been given to princes by no means

1) Walch: "accepting poems". - "poems accepting" == pretended accepting.

...to take them in covenant and alliance. For what would that be but to take hold of foreign sovereignty, and by this pretense deprive the other princes of land and people? And if this should be right for our part, the opposite should also practice the same with our cities and nobility, of which there are still many who would like to attach themselves to other princes.

2 But that they unite with the imperial cities, though I take little comfort in it; for I know well that the mob will not suffer for the sake of the gospel: yet it is different with the imperial cities than with others. For the imperial cities are themselves *potentates,* like princes. Now as far as princes may make alliances, of which I do not dispute here, so far may other estates do the same, as they are also *Potsstates themselves.* But the cities under the princes are not *possessions* for themselves; therefore it is not necessary that they should hang themselves upon whom they please.

3 But when it is said, Christians are bound to help their neighbours in time of need, and to protect them against injustice, I say thus: I know well that many things can be made to appear by words, and that people like to respect such appearances and reason; for they want to be wise themselves, and to let go of justice. This is the law, both divine and human, that no one should encroach on another's authority, and take what is his own, and deprive him of goods or body. Let it remain so, and do not substitute your own conceit for public law and God's order. For although a sovereign acts unjustly toward a subject, it is not the neighbor's duty, who has no authority over the subject, to prevent or take away the authority of the other sovereign, for God has so ordered property and divided government.

(4) Whatever good may come of it is easy to take away. If every subject should have the right to seek protection wherever he wishes, then all principality, empire, and regiment are already disrupted and destroyed. And if each sovereignty should not have its own rule, but should take care of all the others, then all sovereignties will become one sovereignty, and there will be only confusion. Nor can there be happiness

in such attacks. For this disruption of regiments is contrary to God's order, who has established in the world distinct authorities, dominions, and possessions; therefore God is against it.

5 St. Peter saith, 1 Peter 4:15: "Ye shall not suffer yourselves to be murderers, or thieves, or malefactors, or to take hold of other people's rule." Now I cannot understand this case otherwise, than that it is to take hold of foreign regiments, and to hinder others of like authority, and to deprive them of their country and people. ,

Martinus Luther.

XII. Dr. Mart. Luther's misgivings why to flee solitude. Anno 1534.

This concern has already been reported in this volume, Col. 1948, No. 2107.

XIII: What was said and answered at the Imperial Diet of Nuremberg in 1522-1523 on behalf of Papal Holiness to the Imperial Majesty, governors and estates concerning Lutheran matters. With a preface by Dr. Mart. Luther. Anno 1538.

We have already communicated this document in the 14th volume, Col. 418, No. 53 a.

XIV History of Dr. Robert Barnes, who was burned in London, England, for the sake of the Gospel. With a preface by Luther. Anno 1540.

This history of the martyrdom of Dr. Barnes has already been reported in this volume, Col. 2542, No.2743.

XV The 29th Psalm, interpreted by Johann Bugenhagen, Pomeranian, therein also of infant baptism, au Christian, King in Denmark. Again, of unborn children, and of children that cannot be baptized. Anno 1541.

This writing first appeared in a single edition, as Bugenhagen himself states (in the Wittenberg edition [1559], vol. XII, p. 200d), in 1541 (according to which the date of the letter to the king: "1542. Christmas" is to be understood as: the 25th Dec. 1541). A second, enlarged edition came out in 1552; a third in 1557. Printed after the second edition in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 179; without the later additions, namely, "of baptism in the house, that baptism is called a water-bath in Holy Scripture, and of the godparents," in the Altenburg, vol. VIII, p. 48; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 402, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 198*. Luther's addition to this writing of Bugenhagen's, "Comfort for pious, godly women, who have been unjustly afflicted with childish troubles," is already found in the St. Louis edition, vol. X, 730, which, according to what has been said above, is to be placed not in the year 1542, but in 1541. The bracketed piece there (Col. 733 f.), from a letter of Luther to Lauterbach of Feb. 8, 1536, is a later addition.

To the most illustrious, magnanimous Prince and Lord, Lord Christian, of Denmark, Norway, the Wendish and Gothic Kings, Dukes of Schleswig, Holstein, Stormarn and the Ditmarschen, Counts of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace from God our Father and from Jesus Christ our Lord forever. Most shining, most powerful King, most gracious Lord! I have promised E. K. M. to write in the Psalms of David, as I have preached some before E. M.. But there is so much business before us above our commanded service, that I have had to slacken the work now into the next year. 1) But now I will let the 29th Psalm go forth from the same work.

(2) First of all, that Your Majesty may see that I have been at work, and I intend to return to it one day, God willing. Everyone also sees that this booklet is taken from another book, because the previous psalms or writings are often remembered in it, with these or the same words: As it is said in the other or third Psalms, as it is elsewhere before in other Psalms 2c. This proves that this booklet is not a special one. For by the grace of God I have written in all the previous Psalms, which, if God wills it, E. M. shall see once, if I cannot take the work any further.

003 For this reason I ought to have rewritten this little book in a different way, so that the reader would not be directed here (as I said) to the interpretation of the previous Psalms, which he has not yet read.

1) Bugenhagen was in Denmark from 1537 to 1539. This also serves to confirm the time determination we have given. Bugenhagen had already returned to Wittenberg in early July 1539. Cf. *Corp. Ref,*

can get. But because I saw that the sentences or teachings referred to in this booklet are also found in other books, and that it is not in our power to rewrite our books all the time, I let it happen as I have written in the Psalter I have just begun. Nor is it my intention that I should go out of my way to interpret a Psalm, or I might have taken another Psalm before me. It has been my intention to do something else, as I will now say.

(4) Secondly, most gracious king, I have given this booklet out solely because I have diligently written herein from the holy Scriptures, or God's word, concerning unborn children, and concerning children who cannot be baptized, for the consolation of all Christians who will gladly read it with all their hearts, against the shameful error which has been taught hitherto, not from God's word, but from human dreams (where else should error come from?) and under the name of Sancti Augustini, as may be seen in the pope's decree de consecration.) and under the name of Sancti Augustini, as may be seen in the pope's decree de *consecratione, Distinct. quart., Firmissime, etc.* And in *Magistro sententiarum, lib. 4, Dist. 4,* where the children whom we cannot baptize, and yet would gladly baptize them, if it could come to us, are condemned to hellish fire and eternal torment, without proof, without God's word, solely because Augustine should say so.

(5) In the Pope's teaching, they have held that nothing of such children is written in the Holy Scriptures, and have known nothing of the Word of God and of the Scriptures until this day, which I write in this booklet, for the good and salvation of such of our children. I write, praise God, so clearly, without a doubt, that even many papists will take pleasure in it, and gladly suffer that this their error of human doctrine be condemned from God's Word, for the blessedness of such children.

It is possible that St. Augustine did not know about the book *de fide ad Petrum* and did not write it. After all, it does not read very Augustinian: *Firmissime tene et nullate.*
nus dubites etc. And the pious, learned Augustine would have written a little more diligently about the little children, and would not have blurted out so badly without God's word, without any proof, which we now find to be also contrary to God's word, to condemn the children of Christians in this way. And even if Augustine had written it, as there is much that is good in the book, yet for Augustine's sake we Christians ought not to accept anything that is not in the holy Scriptures, much less that is contrary to the word of God.
Holy Scripture, or God's word, is, as the pope does with his antichristic teachers, without faith, with their hypocrisy and incendiary conscience, 1 Tim. on the 4th, v. 2.

7 For we Christians ought to give thanks to all Christian doctors or teachers, who by their labours have prepared for us, and have written good things according to the writings of the prophets and apostles, whether Augustine or another, but with the rule of Saint Paul, 1 Thess. 5:21, "Examine all things, and keep that which is good. We believe in Jesus Christ, that (according to the Gospel) through Christ alone we are free from our sins, pious, children of God, and eternally blessed. By faith we can soon test what it is when a teacher wants to preach to us or write a work of holiness. Then I say, this is an antichristian doctrine; I will not accept it, be thou as holy and as learned as thou canst. For this we have the holy Scriptures, the dear Word of God, from which we may well test in the teachers what is good that rhymes and agrees with God's Word.

(8) Over the word of God we are to lay up life and limb and all things; even if an angel from heaven, or St. Peter himself, should teach otherwise, and contrary thereto, we are to curse him, as St. Paul severely commands, Gal. 1:8.

(9) Thus also the pious and truly learned Doctor St. Augustine often writes what one should think of his own books and writings, and of all other teachers' writings, yes, even of the Conciliis, when one holds and examines them against the holy Scriptures, against the dear Gospel and Word of God, so that the rule of St. Paul is kept: "Examine everything, and keep what is good. This is well known to the scholars who know St. Augustine's books. But we have been such ruffians in the teaching of St. Paul that we have not needed to know it, and such godless men that we did not want to know it even when we read such words of St. Augustine, as we had to read several such sayings of St. Augustine in St. Paul's decree.

10 Therefore this is an abominable thing, that men (after an antichristian manner) have sat down in the throne of God, and without the word of God, yea, against the word of God, who would not that any of these little ones should perish, Matt. 18:14, have pronounced a sentence, that even the children of Christians, whom it is impossible to baptize, and yet would they were baptized, even those that are borne to baptism, and die in the way, should be eternally damned unto hell fire. Where is the Scripture or God's word here? 2c. They answer, We have no need of it. St. Augustine says so. And if he

if he had not said it, yet he had said it. And it shall be an article of faith, whether God hath not said it, yea, even whether it be found to be contrary to the word of God. Alas, we have been good Christians under the Antichrist, and have not heeded that the Father from heaven says, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; him shall ye hear," Matt. 17:5. and Deut. 18:19: "He that will not the prophet," 2c.

(11) Because this error has caused great distress in Christendom (which is called *Ecclesia Christi*), especially among the parents, who have had a hard time with the children who could not be baptized, I have recognized myself before God to comfort the Christians against it with God's word, which I have done most diligently, according to my understanding. Praise be to God in Christ forever.

(12) But I let this go forth under Your Royal Majesty's name, not only because it is taken from the book promised to Your Majesty. Maj. name, not only because it is taken from the book promised to Your Majesty, but also and most of all because I have taught this doctrine of the infants in Your Maj. kingdoms and in the maritime cities, so that Your Maj. and whoever reads it may know how I confirm and protect this doctrine with God's word. What more I can serve Ew. Maj., to this I acknowledge myself guilty. For Your Royal Majesty Maj., for the Queen, my most gracious wife, for Prince Fridericum, my most gracious lord, for the young lords and ladies, for Your Maj. country and people, I offer my Pater noster to God every day. Christ be with us all forever. Given at Wittenberg, *Anno Domini* 1542. Christmas [25 Dec.
1541 Your Royal Majesty

menial
Johannes Bugenhagen, Pommer, Doct.

Johannes Bugenhagen, Pommer, Doct.

4. We in the ministry of preaching, and teachers of the holy gospel of Christ our Saviour, ought diligently to study the holy scriptures, and always to call upon our heavenly Father, in the name of Christ his Son our Lord, which cannot be done without the Holy Ghost, which prayeth for us in our faith with groanings unspeakable: Abba, dear Father, that we may become understanding and skillful in the word of God, yet in the fear of God, to counsel poor sinners in all sorrowful things before God, wherein they know no counsel, but must otherwise despair and perish.
2 For this purpose the Father of all mercies has restored to us his pure gospel at the end of the world.
And in the gospel he gave us Christ his dear Son our Lord, that he alone should be our righteousness and eternal life before God; that is, he should be to us the tree of life, from which Adam and Heba, after sin, were cast into eternal death; and not a tree of bodily life, as that was in paradise, but a tree of eternal life, which he gave to wretched, condemned sinners, apart from punishment, by grace in this gospel: "The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head," that sinners, condemned by judgment, should eat thereof, that is, believe on Christ unto eternal life, as Christ saith in many words, Joh. 6 2c.

3 So the Son was obedient unto the Father unto death, even the death of the cross: the Lamb of God, which taketh upon him the sin of the world, even he gave himself unto our death. 1 Petr. 1, 19-21: "Ye are redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, an innocent and undefiled Lamb, which before the foundation of the world was given, but for the last times was made manifest for your sakes, who through Him believe in God" 2c. Revelation 13:8: "The Lamb was slain from the foundation of the world." Rom. 8, 32. ff.: "Neither spared He His Son, but gave Him up for us all: how shall He not with Him give us all things? Who will accuse the elect of God? God is here, who justifies; who will condemn? Christ is here, who died, but rather who was also raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God and represents us.

(4) Since God has restored all things to us in His Son, and since in Christ are hidden all the treasures of God's wisdom and knowledge, and since in Christ dwells all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, and we poor Christians on earth are complete in Him, Col. 2:9.How is it then, my dear Lord Jesus Christ, that in your poor Christianity things are found that affect the salvation of souls and the conscience of men, for whom you died, in which no one knows counsel, especially for the innocent part, which can do nothing about it, and would like to have it better, even before God? Yes, no one also wants to know counsel in some burdensome matters, and the scholars who should give counsel from God's word have hitherto had foolish and nonsensical consciences, out of the teachings of men and the wrong understanding of some words in the holy Scriptures, and have burdened the innocent part, just as with God's right, even more, and, with their judgment against God, have brought it into harm and loss.

...danger of body and soul... Which is against all law. The afflicted shall not be afflicted any more. What you do not want from others, you should not do to others. "Give justice to the poor and the fatherless, and help the needy and the destitute to justice. "2c. Ps. 82, 3.

5 How is it so wicked, that there is such blindness and such unrighteousness in them that profess to be Christians, and to be the heads of the church of Christ this day? If they be the church of Christ, where remaineth the word of Christ, which he saith unto his church? John. 15:15: "I say not henceforth, that ye are servants: for a servant knoweth not what his lord doeth: but unto you have I said, that ye are friends. For all things whatsoever I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you." This is all that ye ought to know unto eternal life 2c. Just as Paul clearly tells the Christians in 1 Cor. 1, 4. ff.I thank my God always for the grace of God which is given you in Christ Jesus, that through him you have been enriched in all things, in all doctrine and knowledge, as the preaching of Christ has been strengthened in you, so that you have no lack of any gift, waiting only for the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ, for God is faithful, through whom you have been called to the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord." How then should the bride of Christ, so gifted with the Holy Spirit, in the Gospel, full of wisdom, and called to the fellowship of the Son of God, not know counsel on some things in which people so gladly wanted to have counsel, for the sake of their conscience before God, have hitherto had to perish, in body and soul? God truly does not want that. Matth. 18,14. Christ says: "It is not the will of your Father in heaven that one of these little ones should perish."

006 But lest any man think that I speak evil in common, I will shew two examples of such foolishness and grievousness, which were not in the apostles' days, neither could they be in the bright light of the gospel of Christ, but came on after the apostles' days, and have continued unto us, even unto the twelve hundred years. The first is adultery, where no reconciliation can take place, and the unchristian running away, when a man leaves his lawful spouse, so that there is no hope of his coming back. Not only has the innocent part not been helped, but it has also been made more burdensome, contrary to the natural right of God, as the child Donatus says: *In adulterum et in desertorem* Mider the adulterer and the abandoner. Against these two pieces, and how we do it in our churches, according to God's word and right, I have written a booklet to the King of Denmark, Christianum tertium. The other is about the children whom we cannot baptize, and yet would like to: there has been no counsel or consolation, they must all be damned. Against this I have written in this booklet, in these last times, certain consolation, from God's word, of which no one has wanted to know until this time.

7. May God grant that we may not be found ungrateful of the unspeakable grace of God, which has come to us in Christ our Saviour, and for such enlightenment, that we may comfort all who are in all kinds of distress with the consolation that we may be comforted by God. To Christ, the Lord of glory, be praise and glory forever, Amen.

8 Now there are some lords and rulers complained of, that they will not do anything, or suffer anything to be done, *in adulterum et in desertorem*; and rather suffer the innocent part, which hath suffered the greatest affliction, to perish, both in body and soul, in house and goods, in children, in honour and estate, 2c. than that they would procure justice, which they owe according to all law. Some have consciences of it from some words of Christ. Wherefore they ought to take heed that they do not do violence to the Lord Christ and his words, as if he had commanded the shameful wrong, that they should let the guilty part go free, and weigh down the innocent part; that they should let Barrabam go, and crucify Jesus. No, indeed, thou shalt not look for such things in the words of the Lord. We know very well that even holy men have erred in this out of ignorance; unrighteous rights have been made out of it, as out of Christ's word, so that the innocent people also are so far most highly reproached before God. Christ speaks of the bill of divorcement, which Moses granted to the Jews, because of their hardness of heart. Out of ignorance, this was later applied by force to other things, as is clear from adultery, in the words of Christ: "He who divorces his wife, except for the sake of fornication," 2c. How finely the unrighteous rhyme with the word of Christ! Thou seest that thy conscience standeth not on the word of Christ, but out of error and unrighteousness of mind. Gentlemen, from another's skin it is good to cut. Do not let the innocent be burdened with your wrong conscience, but save them as you desire in your distresses, that God will provide us all with the

the holy church of Christ. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." This is God's natural law, against which no law or statute shall be valid, as it is held in our *Consistoriis in adulterum et in desertorem*, namely, with a divine and Christian Proceß Juris, so that no one thinks that we treat these two *casibus* desolately, and that he wants to be the pious ruler, so that he lets the guilty go free and the innocent perish. O delicious law 2c.; this may be read in the little book,2) which I have written of it.

009 But of the children whom we cannot baptize, I exhort all the preachers to bring this doctrine into the preaching booths, and to cause this booklet to be in every house. The students and pious people among us are also guilty before God to send the booklet to other countries. Why? you all know well.

The 29th Psalm.

A Psalm of David.

Summa Dr. Martini Luthers,

1 This psalm is a prophecy of the gospel, how it should sound with power in all the earth, and put to shame all kings, princes, rulers, nations, wisdom, holiness, and glory; and Christ alone should be the king, whom men should serve and honour with right wisdom and holiness. For this purpose he also brings about the flood of baptism, in which the old Adam is drowned and the new man arises.

2 The deserts, and the forests, and the hills, he called the countries of the world, which were under the Jews and under the Gentiles: all these he hath opened, and converted unto the gospel. It belongs to the third commandment and to the other petition.

Bring unto the LORD, ye mighty ones, bring unto the LORD glory and strength. Bring unto the Lord the glory of his name, worship the Lord in holy habiliments.

1) Instead of "but" it might be read "allhie". See Wittenberg edition (1553), vol. VI, p. 286, where it is explained how one proceeds in Wittenberg.

2) Bugenhagen's book: "Von Ehesachen. Vom Ehebruch und weglaufen", dedicated to King Christian III of Denmark, 1539, is printed in the Wittenberg edition (1553), vol. VI, p. 284.

(3) The Holy Spirit crieth here with the gospel of Christ into all the world, among Jews and Gentiles, that all kingdoms and principalities, that is, the powers, without doubt, with their subjects, should honour and praise God for his grace and mercy, which is shown unto us in Christ, and should call upon him, and pray in the name of Jesus Christ. This is the right worship in spirit and truth, Joh. 4, 23. And the right honor of God and His name is when we pray, "Hallowed be Your name," that we believe that God is our Father, who provides for us in body and soul, and that we preach this about Him, and call upon Him with faith and confidence that He will hear us and graciously do all things for us, for Christ's sake.

4 So we give him glory and strength, when we trust in his grace to do all things, and our works, righteousness, ability, and merit, are nothing to save us, or to put away sin, as Mary sings, "He hath done great things for me, who is mighty, and whose name is holy." Yes, that we may give him perfect glory and strength, we must heartily confess that we are condemned for sin, that no creature in heaven or on earth can help us, and that our merit belongs to hell.

5 But no man can come to give glory and strength unto God, except he receive Christ the Son of God, who died for us, with faith. If you have the Son, you have the Father also. Otherwise, what is said of God, written and performed in worship over the whole world, is only a dream and blasphemy without Christ and outside of Christ, as we have often written before in other Psalms. For thus saith Christ John 14:6, "I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me." This we Christians have also experienced. For through faith in Christ we receive a good conscience before God and the Holy Spirit, but through our understanding, ability, actions, and wills we will never be able to do so for eternity.

(6) Therefore the Holy Ghost here exhorts the whole world to believe the gospel of Christ, and to receive Christ, saying, "Give glory and strength unto God, and to his name. For the gospel is otherwise nothing, but a preaching of God's glory in Christ, as is said Psalm 19:2: "The heavens tell the glory of God." See Rom. 3:21, how Paul testifies to all this clearly and gloriously: "The righteousness that is before God is now open.

without the help of the law, and testified by the law and the prophets, but I say" 2c.; read henceforth. You see that here also. For the whole world is here called upon to praise God, they have law or no law, they are circumcised or uncircumcised, have God's sacrifice or not. Thus the Old Testament is abandoned, and there is no longer a difference of persons, as St. Paul says, Gal. 3, 26: "You are all children of God through faith in Christ Jesus" 2c.

7 But how the mighty, the wise, and the self-sanctified, when it cometh to them, stand by the gospel, is told in the other psalm. But that God nevertheless will have some of them (though not many, 1 Cor. 1, 26.), this psalm shows, and also the other psalm, item, the 72nd psalm, and many other writings of the prophets, which also say of all kings and nations, not that all persons shall come, but that no people shall be excluded, they being Jews or Gentiles, Whales, Indians, Poles, Germans 2c.

(8) But that the Holy Spirit says to the mighty, and to all the world, who by faith in Christ give glory and strength to God, "Pray to the Lord in holy array," is a public abrogation of the old priesthood under the law. For the priests of the law had special clothing when they ministered in their office; in particular, it was a great pomp when the high priest was to pray and sacrifice publicly before God, as is written in the 2nd book of Moses, chap. 28, 3. ff., which are called the holy garments, or the holy ornaments.

009 Now here the Holy Ghost calleth unto all the world, without distinction of persons, young, old, woman, man, 2c., and calleth them into the temple, that is, into the Christian church, or kingdom of heaven, as Christ calleth it, as it is written hereafter, "And in his temple shall all men give him glory," that is, preach, praise, give thanks, pray, as it is said in Ps. 23, that we are in Christ, the eternal King and Priest, in the kingdom of God.

10 Now in the kingdom of the world there is another form, with kings and lords: and we must have priests in the spiritual government to preach the gospel unto us, and also to interpret the scriptures unto us. But of spiritual kings and priests, that is, all right-believing Christians, Peter says 1 Pet. 2, 9. from Ex. 19, v. 6. "Ye are the chosen generation, the royal priesthood, the holy nation, the people of the possession, that ye should preach the virtue of him that called you from darkness unto his marvellous light. "2c. And the faithful say to the Lamb of God, Revelation 5, 9. f.: "Thou wast slain, and hast bought us with thy blood out of all kindreds and tongues, people and nations, and hast made us kings and priests unto God, and we shall be kings in the earth."

11 The royal and priestly garments, or holy ornaments, are, that we should be Christians, with the righteousness which we have in Christ Jesus, as it is written in the 132nd Psalm, v. 16: "Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness, and let thy saints rejoice. And again, "Their priests will I clothe with salvation, and their saints shall rejoice." So also saith Paul Rom. 13:14, "Put on the Lord Jesus Christ;" and Gal. 3:27, "As many of you as were baptized put on Christ. "2c. This garment could also be put on by Annas and. Caiphas, and other godless priests; but this no one puts on, unless he is pious and righteous before God. Yes, the putting on is the piety before God and before the people, that we believe in Jesus Christ for salvation, and lead thereafter, as the dear children of God, an honest and Christian life, as is said of the kingdom of Christ, that is, of the Christians Isa. 60, 21: "Thy people shall be righteous indeed, and shall inherit the earth for ever, as the branch of my planting, and the work of my hands, to my praise."

12 When we are thus clothed with the holy ornament, whether we be men or women, we come forth publicly, and do the right priestly office, confessing Christ, and preaching and teaching our children, servants, and assistants. For thus saith St. Augustine to his citizens, What we are in the church, that are ye also in your houses: that is, we are bishops or preachers in the church, and ye are required to be bishops or preachers in your houses. Therefore take heed, you must care for your household by the word of God as well as we do for the whole church, as Paul admonishes parents in Eph. 6:4: "Fathers, provoke not your children to anger, but bring them up in discipline and admonition to the Lord." Again, we come before God, our dear Father, in the name of Christ, and pray with faith that we may believe we shall be heard, as Christ promised us John 14 and 16.

13 Dearly beloved, let me be lord and priest, which are the children and heirs of GOD; not of Aaron, but of JESUS CHRIST, the Son of GOD, the everlasting King and everlasting Priest, who filleth all things in all, Eph. 1. To such graces and divine honours, as hath been said, the whole world is here required.

V. 3-9. **the voice of the LORD goeth upon the waters, the God of glory thunders, the LORD upon great waters. The voice of the LORD goeth with power. The voice of the LORD goeth gloriously. The voice of the LORD breaketh the cedars, the LORD breaketh the cedars in Lebanon, and maketh them lick like a calf, Lebanon and Sirion like a young unicorn. The voice of the LORD heapeth as flames of fire. The voice of the LORD stirreth up the deserts. The voice of the LORD stirreth up the deserts of Kadesh. The voice of the LORD stirreth up the winds, and uncovereth the forests.**

14 The gospel cometh first as a thunder and tempest, which is exceeding terrible upon the sea and upon the waters, which breaketh in pieces the trees of the forest, and the tall cedar trees of mount Lebanon in Syria, and the trees of mount Hermon, which the Zidonians call Sirion. But the Amorites call it Senir, as it is written, Deut. 3:9, that the pieces and the cleavers leap and skip like calves, and young unicorns. This is a horrible dancing, as the weather also kindles a fire at times, and burns and skins throughout where it meets. The deserts also tremble with thunder, as in the great desert of Kadesh, Numbers 16, when the dogs, as dumb animals, tremble and run, so that they are also afraid to walk with the fruit of their bodies in such a terrifying storm.

15 For the woods also are denuded, when the thunder and the weather beat, and make an abominable place.

(16) God has often visited such terrible judgment upon the wicked, the despisers of God, by his voice. For he judgeth all things by his word alone, Ps. 33:6: when in the Red Sea against Pharaoh and his army, the voice of the LORD went strong and marvellous over the waters, which were divided, and overloaded the children of Israel, and drowned the Egyptians, Ex. 14:28: how horribly he destroyed the proud trees of Lebanon, and Sirion, that is, the kings and mighty men that dwelt there, Deut. 5:3, that the children of Israel might take their land! 3 That the children of Israel might possess their land. How did he punish the godless apostate Jews in the wilderness, Deut. 21:5 ff, and in the wilderness of Kadesh, Deut. 15.

17 All this is no other thing, but that the voice of the Lord, that is, the gospel, cometh not till the preaching of the law, or the preaching of repentance, that men may know their sin, iniquity, error, and damnation, wherefore they are afraid, and know no counsel, and fall from all presumption before the judgment of God.

Their power, wisdom, and righteousness are like thunderbolts and terrible storms in their consciences, so that they must perish unless a merciful rain and God's grace, or the sermon of grace, that is, the forgiveness of sins through Christ, soon follows. This is what Christ thus saith Joh. 16, 9. "When the Comforter, the Spirit of truth, shall come, he will punish the world for the sin of unbelief, and for righteousness, and for judgment." And St. Paul Rom. 1:18: "God's wrath from heaven is revealed against all ungodly conduct and unrighteousness of men who hold up the truth in unrighteousness. "2c. Thus, God's judgment must first come upon us with the preaching of the Holy Spirit, as you see in Acts 2:2. Otherwise God's righteousness in Christ cannot be given to us, Rom. 3.

(18) "The voice of the Lord is glorious and splendid," God's judgment and punishment pierces through, it wants to be unnoticed, everything must be under the feet of Christ, whether with grace or without grace, Ps. 110. As St. Paul also says Rom. 3:19: "That every mouth may be stopped up, and all the world may be guilty before God, so that no flesh may be justified before Him by the work of the law, for through the law comes only the knowledge of sin. Again, v. 23: "They are all sinners, and lack the glory which they ought to have in God." 2c. The sermon is opposed, but it prevails, and triumphs over the great men, priests, and bishops. Summa, it causes great noise, as Christ says Matth. 10, 34: "You shall not think that I have come to send peace on earth" 2c. Now follow the sermon on grace with the Gospel.

And in his temple everyone will say honor to him.

19 Secondly, the gospel, with its right kind and nature, comes into such frightened and afflicted hearts as a rain of grace and sunshine after the thunder and cruel tempest. For it preaches Christ and in Christ forgiveness of sins, a gracious God, gives the Holy Spirit and eternal life, as Christ says Matth. 11,5. from Is. 61: "To the miserable or poor the Gospel is preached." This is actually the kingdom of God, or the kingdom of heaven, where one has forgiveness of sins, and eternal life through Christ, which also the children of Christians have, whom we bear to Christ in baptism, as Christ says, "The kingdom of such little children is the kingdom of heaven. "2c. This is where the glory of God first comes to people when they believe in Christ, recognize forgiveness, and are saved.

of sins, know that they are blessed and children of God, have the Holy Spirit and a gracious Father; so they confess such grace of God in Christ, give thanks, preach and praise God's name, that he does all things, that we may be enlightened from our error, be freed from our sins, be provided for this life and that life, and henceforth live well and Christianly 2c., as is said at the end of the 22nd Psalm, praying and calling upon God our dear Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ: this is the right service and honour, which honour is required of all in the beginning of this Psalm; but here the Holy Spirit prophesies that it shall be rendered by all.

Mark all words, however:

20 First, he saith, "Every man:" for here is no distinction of Jews or Greeks, of pious or lost sheep or sinners, of priests or laymen, 2c. as before said.

(21) Secondly, he says, "Everyone shall speak glory," confess, praise, preach, and call. There he gives everyone the priestly office to come before God; as also said before.

22 Thirdly, by the word "him" is all our glory excluded from free will, from the works of our wisdom and righteousness, for the remission of sins and salvation. That we may say, as it is in the 115th Psalm [v. 1.], "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory, for thy grace and truth;" as we also desire and pray, "Hallowed be thy name," 2c.

23 Fourthly, he saith, In his temple, that he might bring every man in safely unto the priest's office. For to preach and praise God publicly in the temple is certainly a priestly office.

(24) But the temple of God is no longer the temple at Jerusalem, where one stone was not left upon another, Matt. 24:2, much less another temple, but the temple of God is the holy church, that is, Christianity, or the true Christians who believe in the forgiveness of sins through Christ alone; which temple in the Gospel is called the kingdom of God, the kingdom of Christ, the kingdom of heaven; as St. Paul says 1 Cor. 3: "The temple of God is holy. Paul says in 1 Cor. 3: "The temple of God is holy, which is ye"; and in 6>, v. 15.19.: "Know ye not that your bodies are members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make whores' members of them? Be it far from me. Or know ye not that your bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have of God, and are not yourselves, because ye are bought with price?" 2c.

The Lord sits to make a flood of sin.

25 Here is the manner that shall be in the kingdom of heaven upon earth, and how men shall enter (as he saith) into the temple of God, that they may come in, and praise and glorify Christ the King, which sitteth and reigneth for ever: that is, not with circumcision, as the children of the Jews were before, Genesis 17; neither with sacrifices, as the maidens of the Jews were before, Genesis 12; but with the blessed flood of sin, that is, with water baptism, sanctified with Christ's word and command. 17, nor with sacrifices, as before of the Jewish maidens, Deut. 12, but with the blessed flood of sin, that is, with water baptism, sanctified with Christ's word and command, Eph. 5, 26, "which is a regeneration and renewal of the Holy Spirit, whom God hath abundantly poured out in us through Christ," Tit. 3, 6.

26 In this flood of sin, as Peter says 1 Peter 3:21, and St. Paul Romans 6:4, the old condemned man is drowned with all his sins, and becomes a new man, accepted by Christ, and trusts Christ with a covenant of grace, as a bride trusts a bridegroom, so that there is a good conscience with God through the resurrection 2c. Of which Christ saith in the last, v. 19: "Go ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And Marci at the last, v. 16. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," 2c. and John at the 3rd, v. 3. "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," 2c. This is a better flood of sin upon the whole world, (as Christ saith, "Go ye into all the world," 2c.) than that which happened in the days of Noah, when the whole world was spoiled, and only eight souls were saved, as it is written, Genesis 7:7.

27 With this blessed flood of sin we are taken into the kingdom of Christ, that we might have forgiveness of sins with the Holy Ghost, and be the children of God, eternally blessed through Christ only. Which is wholly the kingdom of heaven on earth. For here the text is thus, "The Lord," that is, Christ, as Moses, the prophets, and the psalms say of Luke last of all, "sitteth," that is, he is king and reigneth, as in the 110th Psalm, v. 1, "Sit thou at my right hand." 2c. Where? "In the temple," as said, that is, in Christendom, where unfortunately the Antichrist has also sat down in these last times, to deceive even the elect, if it is possible, as Christ prophesied Matth. 24, 24. and Paul 2 Thess. 2,4. asö(he says) that the evil one sits in the temple of God 2c.

28 But for what purpose sitteth Christ, and is King in his temple, or kingdom of heaven? Answer: "to cause a flood of sin. This must be a flood of grace, so that the Lord will reign as a king.

A king to help his people and make them blessed, and not a tyrant or a judge to destroy the people. Yea, as it is written, his kingdom shall be this flood, that no man should be taken into the kingdom of heaven, or the kingdom of Christ, except he come into this flood, as it is said. Wherefore also the baptism of Christ is called a door or entrance into the kingdom of heaven, that whosoever is baptized into Christ hath put on Christ, Gal 3:27.

29 Into this holy flood of sin we also lead, and bring our children, baptizing them with the baptism of Christ in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; which the Anabaptists shall not hinder us. We do right, and it would be wrong and sinful if we did not.

30 For Christ rebuketh them that would not bring the little children unto him, saying plainly, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such as are brought unto me is the kingdom of heaven. 10:14, that is, they have forgiveness of sins, righteousness, the Holy Ghost. Christ is their own, and have in Christ a gracious Father in heaven, and eternal life.

31 To this Christ gives utterance, and thus swears, v. 15: "Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child shall not enter therein." Further, Christ also does himself most kindly to children that are brought to him, as thou readest Ma2c. 10:16: "He loveth them, and layeth his hands on them, and blesseth them." That he may clearly bring to light that the promise of God, which God swore to Abraham, Gen. 22:18.: "Through thy seed (that is, through Christ, Gal. 3) shall be blessed," that is, get forgiveness of sins and blessedness, "all nations upon the earth." It also belongs to the children. For the children do belong among the nations; yea, if we had no children, whence would we get nations? Otherwise he must have said: Through Christ shall all nations on earth be blessed, except the little children. No, devil! Christ loves and blesses our children, whom we bear to him and sacrifice to him.

32 Then received he the children with such ceremonies, manner, and sacraments, as he pleased, and as was good in his sight; namely, with hearts, and with kisses, and with the laying on of hands, and with blessings, which is beatification. But now he accepts them with his baptism, and makes a covenant with them, as he did before with the little children in circumcision. He himself commanded us such a sacrament, that by it men should be received into the kingdom of heaven.

33 For here it is written: The Lord Christ sitteth to make a flood of sin. When a flood of sin drowneth the great, then the children indeed are drowned with it, yea, first of all. Now the flood of sin goes over the whole kingdom of Christ, into the whole world. For unless one is born again through the Master and the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God. The Anabaptists say: Where is it written that one should baptize children? Yea, beloved, where is it written that they shall not be baptized? For Christ saith in Matthew last, v. 19, Go ye into all the world, and teach all nations, baptizing them. 2c. Should there not be children among all nations?

34 Yea, they say, little children cannot yet be taught, as Christ saith; therefore they ought not to be baptized. Answer: Since Christ is not preached, and since Christ's name is unknown, neither the great nor the small ought to be baptized; they ought first to be taught, and then baptized, as it was in the world, to which Christ sent his gospel, saying, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel. 2c. Now where Christ's name is preached and known, and men are baptized with the baptism of Christ, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Christians also ought to bring their children unto Christ, teaching and baptizing them as Christ commanded, and not neglecting any of them; teaching when we can, and baptizing when we can. We can baptize the little children when they are newly born, but we cannot teach them until they grow up. So Abraham had his children, who could not yet learn, circumcised on the eighth day, for an everlasting covenant with God, but did not teach them until they were grown up, as God says of him, Gen. 18:19: "I know that Abraham will command his children, and his household after him, to keep the ways of the LORD, and to do that which is right and good, that the LORD may bring upon Abraham that which he hath promised him."

35 Christ saith that the kingdom of heaven is wholly of the children that are brought unto him, and these fools would shut the door of the kingdom of heaven unto them, that is, forbid the baptism of Christ. Should I not speak here as Peter, Apost. 10:17: "May any man forbid that these should not be baptized which have received the Holy Ghost, even as we also?" St. Peter saw the Holy Ghost fall upon the Gentiles, and heard them speak with tongues; wherefore baptism ought not to be forbidden them, but given. Here we hear Christ Himself speaking, who cannot lie that the kingdom of heaven, or the kingdom of God, is given.

He knows that they are not yet able to hear or to learn, as the Anabaptists pretend; therefore let not the door of heaven, that is, the baptism of Christ, be forbidden them.

(36) They are not without the word of God, as the Anabaptists say. For this is first their word, the promise of God, so that they may be blessed by Christ: "Let the little children come to me, and do not hinder them, for such is the kingdom of God. To this end they also received and accepted God's word and eternal covenant with Christ when they received and accepted baptism. For baptism is not without the word of God, therefore it is also not without the Holy Spirit and without Christ, as St. Paul says Eph. 5, 26: that "Christ has cleansed his church (where there are also children within) by the bath of water in the word" 2c., and Gal. 3, 27, as often said: "All you who were baptized into Christ have put on Christ", since there is no difference 2c.

37 They say, The little children have no understanding, they cannot speak: 2c. Yea, beloved, the children of the Jews, being circumcised, could not all these things, yet were received into the covenant of God. And see thou make not a human merit of thy understanding to hear, to learn, and to speak, or to confess Christ, as though thou wert therefore accepted, and the children were not accepted, because they could not do these things. Christ says, "Verily, except a man receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein." That is, it must be known that grace alone is in Christ, that we are accepted of God; so that you should not do or seek any work or merit, not even of learning the gospel and confessing Christ, though you should learn and confess Christ, just as you see an example of grace in infants accepted of Christ, who do not yet learn or confess with their mouths, and bring nothing to Christ but sin. Thou hearest, too, whether the Anabaptists do not understand that Christ freely and evidently confesses, with the word, "Except a man receive the kingdom of God as a little child," 2c., that little children receive the kingdom of God.

38 The devil would gladly put out of our sight the example of grace in the little children (since no work or merit can be conceived) by the doctrine of the Anabaptists, who say, The little children must wait until they become like us; they cannot yet hear or speak. But Christ repulses them, turns them back, and says:
No, dear fellows, you must become like the little children, otherwise you will not enter. If the children have no understanding, they cannot speak; but Christ has understanding enough, and speaks for the children with right earnestness, "Let the little children come unto me." 2c. Let the man speak, he has good speech, better than all the Anabaptists.

39 As circumcision was a covenant with God, when God said to the child, Thou art mine, I am thine, though thou canst not speak nor have understanding; so also baptism is a covenant with Christ, when Christ says to the child, Thou art mine, I am thine. 2c. But, as I said, our children are not without God's promise and word, even though they do not yet learn, just as the children in the circumcision were not without God's word. And though the little children cannot confess Christ with their mouths, yet they confess Christ with the sign, with the sacrament or baptism, that they will suffer and die in Christ, and in Christ have forgiveness of sins and eternal life; as the children of old confessed with circumcision God's covenant, and that they were God's people. For thus it is written in Genesis 17:14, My covenant shall be in your flesh, and the soul of the child that is not circumcised shall be cut off from among his people. For he hath made void my covenant." An Anabaptist would say, "Well, the child knows nothing about it, so what can it do? How can the child break the covenant of the Lord, who knows nothing of it? This is called mastering God's word and grace with our reason.

40 I ask the Anabaptists, Shall we not bring our children unto Christ in baptism, that they may be born again by water and the Holy Ghost, as it hath been said, because Christ hath commanded us such manner and sacrament, that he might make a covenant with us of eternal life: what then are they in the mean time, or whither do they go, if they die before they grow up? To this question the Anabaptists do not all say one thing. For some say, The children have no sin, therefore they are not damned. This denies original sin, contrary to the Scriptures, as is said in the 51st Psalm, and contrary to our experience. Others who confess original sin say, "The judgment of the children must be committed to the secret judgment of God. Thus the devil would have us put God's gracious promise out of our sight, that we may be assured, and grope in darkness with God's secret judgments.

041 But we say that children are conceived and born in sins, and cannot be saved.

ohn Christo, to whom we carry them in baptism. Here we have a salvation of grace, sure and certain: "Let the little children come to me" 2c. We do not want to let this be taken away from us. This does not mean God's secret judgment and dark delusion, but God's gracious promise that the kingdom of heaven is our children's own if they are brought to Christ. For without Christ there is no salvation. Therefore the Turkish and Jewish children are not blessed, for they are not brought to Christ.

Of the unborn children.

42 And I say more, upon the same promise of Christ, that the parents, or others that are with them, may and ought, while the child is yet in the womb, with thanksgiving, to commend it unto Christ, to commit it to prayer, and to offer or commit it unto him with this or that prayer: We give thee thanks, dear heavenly Father, that thou hast blessed us with fruit of the womb. Dear Lord JEsu Christe, let this child be thine, as thou hast said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for such is the kingdom of God." Upon this promise of thine we bring unto thee this little child with our prayer; and when it is born, and cometh into our hands, we will gladly bring it also unto thee, and bear it unto thee in baptism 2c.

43 The prayer may be made in other words, but there is nothing in it; if it is only from the promise of Christ concerning the child, then we should certainly believe that Christ accepts the child, and not leave it to the secret judgment of God.

44 For we have two strong assurances of Jesus Christ, which he hath not withheld from us, that we may firmly believe these things. One is, that he hath called us to pray in his name, and hath graciously promised an answer, and hath sworn unto us, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, that shall be yea," John 16:23, and many other times. The other is of the little children, "Such is the kingdom of heaven, let them come unto me." Here we Christians ought to know, when we bring the little children to Christ in baptism, or with our prayer, that we personally bring them to Christ presently, and that he also accepts them presently. For Christ is in his word and promise, in his sacrament, and in the prayer we are commanded to offer, even in ourselves, powerful, present, and essential. O an unspeakable grace of God!

45. Christ swears and tells us to answer our prayer, but we are to ask "according to God.

So the other promise of the little children assures us that we ask according to his will when we ask that he will accept our children and let them be his, and give them the kingdom of heaven, that is, forgiveness of sins, and the Holy Spirit. What is lacking here? is not this clear enough among true Christians, that we do not need to entrust it to the secret judgment of God? Shall we throw to the winds and despise such a rich promise from the little children?

46 But that Christ also will receive the little children before they receive the commanded sacrament outwardly, he hath proved in John the Baptist, unto whom he gave the kingdom of heaven, that is, the Holy Ghost, in the womb, before he was born and circumcised, Luc. 1:44; and Jacob was pleasant before he was born, Rom. 9:13.

47 Yea, thou sayest, yet Christ saith, Except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, 2c. Unborn children receive not the water of baptism. Answer: Forasmuch as Christ receiveth them which we bring unto him with our prayers, as we have said, the Holy Ghost is there with remission of sins, but the water is there in desire: we heartily desire that it may come to pass that we also bring them unto Christ in baptism. The desire and good will (because it cannot be otherwise now) Christ accepts for full. For then Christ is given faith and glory in his promise of the infants, and in his order and command concerning baptism, that it is true and right for salvation. Wherefore he himself baptizeth with the Holy Ghost, as he received the little children by the Holy Ghost with his blessing, without the outward baptism of water, saying, Suffer the little children to come unto me: there is certain blessedness and the kingdom of heaven.

48 Again, he that can have baptism, and thus saith, What shall a handful of water profit? cannot be saved. For he despiseth the word of God, and the ordinance of Christ; he holdeth Christ to be a fool, who commanded and ordained useless things. How easily should the fanatic have despised circumcision, and not have accepted God's covenant, because it was very mocking in the sight of reason? We can bring our children to Christ with our prayers alone, because we cannot baptize them, which would not be enough if we could baptize them. For then shall we bring them unto Christ in baptism, according to his ordinance, that he may make an everlasting covenant with them in baptism, as he made an everlasting covenant with them in circumcision aforetime, Genesis 17:11. For this do not,

if we can, would be nothing else than a contempt of divine word and order, and went the judgment of God right, as said of circumcision, v. 14. "The soul of the babe that is not circumcised shall be cut off from among his people." And of baptism, "He that is not born again of water and Holy Ghost," 2c. John 3:5.

49 But if thou sayest here, The scripture saith, Eph. 2:3, We are all born children of wrath: how then can the unborn babes be accepted of Christ in the grace of God? Again, Christ says Joh. 3: "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, ye must be born elsewhere"; how then can he be born elsewhere by the Holy Ghost, who is not yet born of the flesh? so I answer, St. Paul says thus (though it is commonly spoken of in other words, there is no great matter): "We were all the children of wrath, even as the rest." When? Even while we were yet in our mother's womb, conceived in sins, Psalm 51: but the word "born" is not always used in Scripture for the outward birth, when the child comes from the womb; but also when we speak of our incarnation, it is used in Scripture for "born," when the child comes to life in the womb, as is clearly stated in Matthew 1:20: "That which is born in her is of the Holy Ghost." That was Christ. But we were not conceived and born of the Holy Ghost, but of Adam out of the flesh in sins and damnation, even when we were not yet born into the world out of our mother's womb, and came into the day, but were still in our mother's womb; when we were born, that is, became true natural and living men with body and soul, damned in Adam. Wherefore the poor children also need in their mother's womb to be born again with the Holy Ghost through Christ, as we speak of them now, who were before born of Adam out of the flesh unto damnation, that is, men with body and soul in their mother's womb, and cannot be saved without Christ, to whom we bring the children according to his word.

50 Here will I put a question unto thee, answer me aright; If I were an undone Gentile, or a Jew, and a prisoner under the Turks, where I could get no water, as some are left hungry and thirsty unto death. But if a Christian were caught in the same distress, he would hear and preach Christ to me; and the Holy Spirit would come into my heart, that I should believe the gospel. But while I also heard,
that I also should be baptized with water, I desired with all my heart that I might be baptized with the baptism of water, according to the commandment of Christ. Should I be condemned because I cannot have water? Should not Christ, in whom I believe, be forgiveness of sins and eternal life to me, because I do not despise water baptism, but desire it with all my heart? Yes, beloved, in afflictions Christ himself baptizes with his Holy Spirit, through faith, as Peter says of the Gentiles, who received the Holy Spirit before they were baptized, in the house of Cornelii, Acts 15:9. 15:9, "God cleansed their hearts by faith."

51 If this be true, why should not these unborn children, whom we cannot baptize, and yet bear them unto Christ with our prayer upon his promise, "Suffer the children to come unto me" 2c? Our children are no more joined to baptism before they are born, than the children of the Jews are joined to circumcision before the eighth day; and yet they are not without the baptism of Christ, who baptizes with the Holy Ghost, if we bring them to him, upon his promise, as I have said, because without Christ there is no kingdom of heaven, nor salvation.

52 The Anabaptists make excuses, saying, Christ saith nothing of baptism, because he saith of babes. But thanks be to Christ for ever, which hath given us this promise of babes, without the addition of baptism; that we may receive the same promise for our children which are yet in their mother's womb. He says badly, "The kingdom of heaven is for the children who are born to me. Now we also can carry the little children in the womb to Christ with our prayers, as we have said. Therefore theirs also is the kingdom of heaven; that is, they are received by Christ, baptized with the Holy Spirit according to his promise, and have in Christ forgiveness of sins, the Holy Spirit, and eternal life. What else could be called "the kingdom of heaven"?

(53) God also demonstrated this in St. John the Baptist, whom He accepted, sanctified and baptized with the Holy Spirit in his mother's womb, Luc. 1:44, who later, by God's command, Luc. 3, began to baptize other people, and Christ Himself was baptized by him. Who had baptized the baptizer with water before?

54 The unholy Anabaptists see not that the word and promise of the preaching ministry in Christendom, and the prayer of Christians for the promise, are so strong, and that it is as good to bring an unborn child to Christ as a born child. Nor do they see how warmly Christ takes care of the children who are brought to him,

and desires and demands of us that the children should be brought to him. O how often, while he was still on earth, he looked upon the poor children, and lamented over them, and over the whole human race's fall and damnation.

55 But that he was so minded, and is so minded, he hath proved by deed. He became a man and redeemed us with his precious blood; he was not only made great for the sake of the great, but also became a child, so that the children who are brought to him may also be his fellow men. Yea, he also was borne in a virgin's womb, that the children also which are brought unto him in the womb should be his fellows, as Isa. 9:6. Of Christ it is written, Unto us a child is born 2c. What does "us" mean? I mean, it means us people, as is sung in the symbol Nicene: *Qui propter nos homines &c*. [which is for us men 2c.]. A foolish man may say that our children are not men, but Christ is born, not only when he is laid in the manger at Bethlehem, but also, as I said, in the womb, as the angel says, Matt. 1:20: "That which is born in her is of the Holy Ghost."

56 A corrupt flood of sin drowneth not only the great, but also most of the little children, yea, even the children of the womb. So also this blessed flood passes over all, young and old. Yes, says a scoffer, cows and horses also drown in a perishing flood, should cows and horses also belong to this blessed flood of baptism? Dear, mock not, we are well kept and insured with God's word. The Psalm, or the Holy Spirit in the Psalm, does not prophesy that this blessed flood of sin belongs in the cowshed, but will be nowhere except in the temple of God, that is, in the kingdom of Christ, where everyone gives glory to God, where the Lord Christ will sit and remain King forever, as the text here clearly says. So that one cannot understand here a corrupt flood of sin, but only a flood of grace in the temple of God, in the kingdom of heaven, since the people are not killed with the flood of sin, but they are made alive and saved, since the old Adam with his sins and death is drowned, and the people are born anew, without sin in Christ JEsu to eternal life; since people (who were previously godless and condemned, and knew nothing of God's grace and mercy) praise and glorify God, and always give Him glory, as St. Paul says Romans 3:4. Paul says Rom. 3, 23: "Here there is no difference, they
are all sinners, and lack the glory they should have in God" 2c.

57 In the temple or kingdom of Christ are all the people that come unto Christ. But there come also unto him the little children that are brought unto him, as he himself saith, "Suffer the little children to come unto me," 2c., and saith John 6:37, "All that my Father giveth me cometh unto me, and him that cometh unto me I will not cast out." 2c. These all belong to this wholesome flood of sin in the temple of GOD, accepted by Christo, as he also says of the little children, "Such is the kingdom of heaven." Those who are outside and do not come to Christ, this blessed flood of sin has nothing to do with them.

58. Again, St. Paul 1 Cor. on the 10th Cap. v. 1.2. says, "All our fathers passed through the Red Sea, and were all baptized under Moses, with the cloud and with the sea. "2c. Dearly beloved, see well what Paul saith, whether he also exclude the children, when he saith, "All our fathers were all baptized under Moses." When they passed through the Red Sea, many of the fathers (of whom Paul says, "All our fathers," 2c.) were yet children; yea, many of them, as little children, were carried through in their arms; and many of the fathers also were yet in their mothers' wombs, and so were carried through yet unborn. Yea, the children, born and unborn, which were carried and led through the Red sea, are the very fathers that came into the promised land after forty years: the men that were redeemed out of Egypt perished all in the wilderness, without Joshua and Caleb; they saw the water and death, because Pharaoh followed them, behind and before, and on every side: Nor small and great, born and unborn, had to pass through, through such death and terror, and GOD delivered them thus. This was God's sacrament and miraculous deed, against all reason and human hope; that is what Paul means, that they were all baptized in Moses (that is, on the teaching of Moses, which was God's word) with the cloud and with the sea, as Christ says, with water and the Holy Spirit.

59 Here saith a scoffer, They also drove cattle through the sea, and cows, were they also baptized? Dear, the cows are not our fathers, Paul says of our fathers. Yes, say the Anabaptists, little children have not understood the passage and baptism, much less the children in their mother's womb, therefore such baptism, as Paul says, has been of no use. Oh, you swarmer! It is God's command, it is God's work and salvation, nor do you say that it was of no use to them. Is it not useful, as the whole

How is it that the world sees God redeeming them with His word and miraculous work, and bringing them to life, who otherwise, young and old, born and unborn, would have been miserably destroyed by Pharaoh? Do not swarm to death.

60 Behold, what was done in Egypt before, Exodus 1:22: The babes, which Pharaoh drove to be drowned before the eighth day, uncircumcised, are as holy martyrs, as the rest, drowned after circumcision. The same also we must confess of the children, whom Herod slew, and put to death for Christ's sake 2c. Matth. 2, 16.

61. Let the enthusiasts depart. God is especially fond of children, and has provided for them to be brought to Him, and He accepts them warmly, as He proves with His promises and works. If the Jews had not wanted to lead some of the children into danger, into the sea, but had left them on the shore, the poor children would have been betrayed and lost, Pharaoh would have eaten them up. But now they must pass through by God's command, no matter how hard it is for them, they take their children with them, and leave no man behind, and God takes care of the children as well as of the old, and knows nothing at all of the foul talk of the Anabaptists, so that they say that the children know nothing, have no understanding. Oh, dear one, let our dear God have knowledge and understanding, who is pleased with the children, to accept them, and to make an everlasting covenant with them. Of whom now Christ says: "Let the little children come to me" 2c.

62 Last of all, I will leave it as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that the apostles baptized the whole house, where there is no doubt that there were children, most of all: for without children shall no house or generation remain. Also I will leave standing the histories, how it is found in the fathers' writings, that the Christians baptized the children, from the apostles' times onward, as is often written in other books. Behold, I will shew thee (against all reprobates) how careful the Holy Ghost hath been for the children of the Jews and Gentiles, that they also should belong unto the grace and baptism of Christ. Now on the day of Pentecost, when the apostles had received the Holy Ghost, that the gospel might go forth into all the world, Peter stood up, full of the Holy Ghost, with the first sermon, and preached of Christ and of his baptism unto the Jews, out of Joel: but he forgetteth not us also which are born among the Gentiles, even as Joel remembered us.

63 Peter says, as it is written in Acts 2:38 ff. 2,38.ff.: "Repent, and be thawed every one of you.
If you pray in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of sins, you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit. For the promise is to you and your children, and to all who are of faith, whom God our Lord will call" 2c. So also Joel said, "It shall come to pass that whosoever shall call upon the name of the LORD shall be saved. For in mount Zion, and in Jerusalem, shall be salvation, as the LORD hath promised, even among the rest whom the LORD shall call."

64 In the first sermon, when the gospel was to go out into the whole world, you hear that the Holy Spirit Himself promises the promised blessedness in Christ in clear, unambiguous words, saying: "For the promise is to you and your children, and to all who are far off" (that is, to the Gentiles, Eph. 2, Isaiah 57), "whom God," our Lord, "will call with the gospel. Is it our children alone who have grown up? No, indeed, it is also our children who are still in the cradle, even those who are still begotten by us, and are carried in their mother's womb, who are our heirs. Ask all sensible men, ask all right men, and they will say that they are children; ask Christ himself, and you will hear: "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of heaven. "2c.

65 Let us see how the matter stood. Peter, through the Holy Spirit, spoke to the Jews. Now the Jews had hitherto had such a church of God, and had been such a people of God, since not only the great ones were God's people, but also the little children, with whom God made a covenant to be their God, 2c. as said before. For the little children were also Abraham's seed, and God's promise is to Abraham and his seed.

66. Now if Peter, or any other apostle, on the day of Pentecost, or afterwards, had said to the Jews (as the Anabaptists did): Dear people, repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of JESUS Christ for the remission of sins; but let not your little children be baptized in the name of JESUS Christ for the remission of sins; but let them abide in their sins, condemned, and reckoned among the devil's people, until they grow up, and come to their senses: what would the Jews have answered?

67 they would have said: What Messiah or Christ is preached to us? Shall our cause be less and worse with this Christ than we have had hitherto?

Our Moses, and all the prophets of the Scriptures and preachers, have prophesied and announced to us that all things would be much better for us through the Messiah than they have been until now. Until now, whoever of us has not despised God with his word, but has feared God and called upon him for mercy, has brought his children to God according to God's will, in due time with circumcision or sacrifice, and our little children have been God's people as well as the great ones. For God has been their God, according to His promise, sanctifying them with forgiveness of sins, of which it is written in Ps. 51:7: "Behold, I am begotten of sinful seed, and my mother conceived me in sins." Yea, neither have we kept it, that our children, which died before the time of circumcision or sacrifice, should be lost. For they were Abraham's seed, to whom God's promise belonged, and had not forsaken God's covenant, Gen. 17. For we tarried with the same children for the time of circumcision or sacrifice, and would not fail to do to the dear little children what God commanded us. But because the children did not live until that time, we brought them to God with His gracious promise, which He promised to the seed of Abraha, and in God's grace and mercy commanded such children to wait for His promise and for the future Christ, who was promised to us, of whom we were Messiah's people, and waited for Him to come and make all things better with us, according to God's promise and promise. In this way, even the little children were God's people with us.

68 And now what preacheth they unto us? That the great should be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins; but our children should remain in their sins, and be the devil's people, until they grow up, become great, and understand; but if they die first, they may go to the devil. And after this preaching it shall come to pass, that in our houses, though father and mother be the people of God, yet of our dearest children five or six shall be the people of the devil in their sins and damnation. We shall have more devils than holy angels in our houses; we shall toil, drag, cradle, suckle with our children, the devil's limbs. What manner of creature will this be to us? Yea, we are well improved by such a Messiah as is now preached unto us!

69 Tell me, who can, what the pious Jews would or might have said otherwise, if Peter, or any other apostle, such as

said, preaching, "Hitherto you have also brought the little children to God, but this shall no longer be done. Fie on you, you Anabaptist devil. No, no, the Holy Spirit in Petro knows well, and says it better from the prophet Joel [Acts 2:39]: "Yours and your children is the promise." God be praised!

70: therefore we Gentiles, which receive Christ by faith, shall have the same grace of Christ with our children, whom we bear unto Christ, no less than the Jews. For "in Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female," 2c., Gal. 3:28. If ye be Gentiles of Christ, ye are Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise. And Peter also soon speaks of us Gentiles, for he not only says to the Jews, "Yours and your children is the promise," but he also soon adds, "and the promise is also to all who are yet afar off, whom God our Lord will call," doubtless also their children. For the Jews should not and need not have it better in Christ than we do. Peter also speaks of this in Joel, who says of Jews and Gentiles: "For on Mount Zion and in Jerusalem (Isaiah 2) there will be salvation, as the Lord has promised, even among the other sticky ones whom the Lord will call," that is, the Gentiles whom Isaiah, Peter, and Paul say have been far away, far from God, not God's people, like the Jews, Romans 9:4, 2c. With such an opinion of the children, and with the promises of God, promised by Moses and the prophets and preached by the apostles, Christ agrees, and says: "Let the little children come to me, and do not hinder them" 2c.

71 These things have I spoken of this holy flood of baptism, of all that are in the temple of Christ, that is, in Christendom, the church, or kingdom of Christ, wherein every man glorifieth him, (as the psalm here plainly saith,) with their children, born and unborn, if they bring these children unto Christ. For without Christ there is no forgiveness of sins, sanctification, or blessedness. No man can be saved, but must remain eternally lost and damned, who does not come to Christ. "But whatsoever cometh to Christ," as he himself saith, John 6:37, "he casteth not out." Even the little children who are brought to him come to Christ. As then he saith of the little children that were brought unto him, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such (not of the Jews, nor of the Turks, but of these children that are brought unto me) is the kingdom of heaven."

72 And they also are brought unto Christ, and come unto Christ with our prayers, the little children, whom after all we cannot baptize, and yet would with all our hearts baptize them, if it come to pass that we can baptize them: and Christ also receiveth them, according to his promise, All things whatsoever ye shall ask shall be yea. Item: "Suffer the little children to come unto me." Again, "Whosoever cometh to me, him will I not cast out." If they accept Christ, whether they cannot come to the water baptism of Christ; for Christ baptized them with his Holy Spirit, as he baptized infants, not with water baptism, which (as it is written in the Gospel) he accepted, and embraced, and blessed, saying, "Such is the kingdom of heaven." Dearly beloved, if the kingdom of heaven be theirs, they are well baptized, free from sins, and eternally blessed in Christ.

73 It is not always necessary that men should be carried to Christ on their arms and shoulders, as the infants were carried, whereof the gospel writers write; as the sick of the palsy was carried to Christ on a bed, as though it were no other way to carry or bear any man to Christ. Nay, we also can bring or bear unto Christ men (great or small) in trouble, with our prayers, as is seen in the gospel histories, as Matt. 8:7. There you read that the centurion (whose faith was highly praised) brings his gout-ridden servant to Christ with prayer, and yet leaves the servant at home in bed, and does not want Christ to come there; and Christ also accepts the servant, though he does not come to him bodily and visibly. This is proved by the deed. For Christ healeth the servant at the same hour, as he healeth the children that are brought unto him, saying, Such is the kingdom of heaven.

74 Jn 4:50 Read that Jesus will not go down to the king's son, and yet soon heal him with the word. That he may greatly signify that they also come unto him, and are accepted of him, which are brought unto him by prayer alone.

75 Why then should we not also bring our unborn children to Christ with our prayers? We would gladly baptize them, and also bear them to Christ with his baptism, if it is possible for us, and we do not despise baptism at all, which we hold in high esteem. The promises of Christ are strong and certain, that the young children whom we bring to Christ will surely come to Christ, be accepted by Christ, and be blessed. For he saith, "Let the little children" 2c. When he accepteth them, he shall know how to baptize them, and wash them from all sin.

75. With his Holy Ghost, if it come to pass, that we should not baptize them, as he baptized his Baptist John himself before in his mother's womb, with his Holy Ghost.

76. not only was he made great according to his own flesh, even as he would have received the full-grown alone; but he was also born a little child, even borne in the womb, that such little children also, whether born or unborn, should be his fellows, if they come to him, that is, if they are brought to him. For he imputes to them forgiveness of sins and eternal life, saying, "Such is the kingdom of heaven."

(77) This is all grace with the child, and no work or merit; there can be no argument about merit and works, as the ungodly reason does, since there is no faith, since God's grace is not known in Christ. He that receiveth not the kingdom of God, as those little children which are brought unto Christ, the same shall not enter therein, saith Christ.

78. Again, is not this also a strong and clear promise of Christ, which cannot fail us, John 6:37: "All that my Father giveth me cometh to me, and him that cometh to me I will not cast out"? Now the children also come to Christ who are brought to him, as he himself says; therefore he does not cast them out, but lets them go into the kingdom of heaven. For he says plainly, "Such is the kingdom of heaven."

79: But if it come to pass, that we cannot bring them unto him, but with our prayers, as we would gladly, if it were possible, bring them unto Christ also in baptism, yet shall we know that Christ receiveth them, (our faith be however weak,) for his promise's sake, when he sware unto us, Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name; 2c. But we are to ask according to his will, as John says in the 1st epistle Cap. 5:14. Now it is proved enough that Christ's will is, and that he would have it that the little children (to whom he became like) should be brought unto him, and saith concerning this, Matt. 18:14, "It is not your Father's will in heaven that any of these little ones should perish."

80 And if any man say, Christ speaketh of children born, and of great children, let him know that the unborn children are also lost sheep, conceived in sins, and condemned. Therefore we bring them to Christ their Saviour, who died for all men, to have them, and to promise them the kingdom of heaven, that is, forgiveness of sins, the Holy Spirit, and eternal life. There they are

baptized by Christ himself, washed from all sin, taken out of the devil's kingdom, and set in the kingdom of heaven.

(81) This doctrine of children, born and unborn, which are men, that is, having body and soul, lost in Adam, Rom. 5, I hold to be true. For it is God's word and Christ's gracious promise, and I offer myself to answer for the doctrine, if any man shall dispute and reprove it. Human doctrine and opinion should not count for anything against such words and promises of Christ, so that salvation may be granted to the little children.

82 Therefore we Christians ought not to bury the little children whom I would baptize, and cannot (as they are not yet born, and yet live in the womb, or else perish in childbirth), in other places, where Christians are not buried, so that we have hitherto signified that such children are lost, as we have been taught. But if we have brought them to Christ, offered them up, and commanded them with our prayers, according to the doctrine and clear promises of Christ, as you have heard, it is right that we bury them as Christians, that we may confess that we believe the strong promises of Christ, who also became a babe in his mother's womb, and John! Baptistam in his mother's womb, and so baptized with his Holy Spirit, that he should not afterwards, or baptized otherwise, baptize others also with water, even Christ himself.

83. The promises are, as often said: "Let the little children come to me".2c. The unborn babes are babes also: "Whatsoever ye ask, that shall be yea" 2c. "What cometh to me I thrust not out. "2c.

(84) So that we may further understand that the little children, sacrificed to Christ and accepted by Christ, also belong with their bodies to the joyful resurrection. For St. Paul, Rom. 5:18, says: "As by one man's sin condemnation came upon all men (the children that live in the womb are men also, yea, from whence all men come), even so by one man's (Christ's) righteousness justification of life came upon all men." The children that are in the womb are men also, without doubt, even in the number of all men, who also receive justification of life, if they be brought unto Christ. For he saith, "Such is the kingdom of heaven." And without Christ there is no salvation.

85. similarly St. Paul 1 Cor. 15, 20. says: "Christ is risen from the dead, and has become the firstfruits of them that die.
(who in his mother's womb is a man, and became a little child), because through one man (Adam) comes death, and through one man (Christ) the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam they all die (even the children that are in their mother's womb), so in Christ they shall all be made alive," even the children that are brought unto Christ, and so come unto him 2c.

(86) But what ceremonies are to be held over this burial, how much one should sound or sing, that every Christian congregation will well know. For I have heard that some pastors and preachers are quarreling and arguing about this. Which is free, however, to be done otherwise or differently, in a Christian manner.

(87) Above all this we ask the Anabaptists, from what church or congregation of Christ they come. For they cut off the church or Christianity of Christ, which has come down to us from the time of the apostles, by rejecting infant baptism, and calling us unbelieving heathen, and condemning and denying the church or Christianity as not having existed before, and only after a thousand years and a half do they raise up a church or Christianity which has not existed before. Who has called them that? The wretched devil. There thou seest what they seek. Let us not allow them to do so. Such gates of hell must not overpower the church of Christ, Matth. 16, 18.

And the LORD sitteth a king for ever. The LORD will give strength to his people.

(88) It was said before that this flood of sin, which Christ, as a king, is bringing on his reign, is a flood of grace. For the text and the prophecy say that it will be in the temple of Christ, that is, in the kingdom of heaven here on earth, where everyone will give him glory. This same thing, that there will be a gracious flood of sin, is also proved by the fact that it says here, "and the Lord sits," that is, he reigns "a king forever.

89. With this flood of sin he shall be king for ever, that he may graciously wash away his people in his temple from all their sins, as St. Paul saith, Eph. 5:27.Christ loved his church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it, and cleanse it with the bath of water in the word, that he might fashion it unto himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish."

90. So Christ shall reign with this flood of sin in his temple, that is, the church, or kingdom of heaven, and shall be king for ever. The Jews must not wait for another Messiah. The Antichrist with his priests and monks shall make us no other righteousness. Nor shall the Anabaptists change it. This blessed flood of sin shall pass over great and small who come to Christ in His temple. Yes, God Himself does not want to change or alter such things. This shall be the last supper, when all people are invited, with the preaching of the gospel: "He who believes and is baptized" 2c. Let it remain so. The circumcision and worship of the Jews is changed, but this shall never be changed.

91. "The LORD shall give strength unto his people." Christ the King will not kill his people, that is, those who believe in him, with this flood of sin, but will deliver them from death, as he delivered the children of Israel in the Red Sea, and Noah with his own in the ark. He will give them strength. First, that they may become children of God, Joh. 1, 12. He will also make them strong with his Holy Spirit against sin, devils and the world, so that they will do much good and overcome evil with patience. He will give them grace to do much good in spiritual and temporal government, that they may abide in truth and righteousness. As this is often said in other psalms.

92) For this purpose, he says, the Lord Christ will also "bless his people," that is, provide them bodily and spiritually with various gifts; "with peace," that is, that [it] will be well with them, so that even the evil will prosper them for the best, for happiness, salvation and blessedness, Rom. 8:28: "We know that all things are for the best to those who love God, who are called according to the purpose." 2c.

93 This is a gracious king, and a goodly kingdom, where all things are given to the people, and the people are abundantly provided for here and for ever: and again they shall give nothing to the king, but glory and thanksgiving only for his unspeakable mercy. Praise be to God for ever and ever, amen.

94 When I had written this of the little children, our dear father Martin Luther read it, and was pleased with it, because his reverence had also commanded me that I should write it. He also wanted me to add a consolation to the women who have had bad luck with childbirth before this time, and who think that they have not prayed in such distresses and have not commanded God in this matter. For it is certain
True (though they did not know in such fear that they prayed), that they prayed with unspeakable groaning [Rom. 8:26], and would gladly have laid down and lost their own lives, that their poor little child might be baptized; which prayer is enough, if there be no other prayer.

95. But I answered my dear Father and Lord, "I have written in this Scripture what God has given me, as I have forewarned of the children, which some will think is something new. But I have, by the grace of God, given this Scripture the guidance, and have strengthened it with the Word of God in such a way that a Christian reader will take pleasure in it and give thanks to God. I do not want to go further into this matter this time. If, however, you wish to write such consolation on a note yourself, according to the understanding and grace given to you by God, I will add the same consolation to my booklet with your name. This Dr. Martinus did gladly, and wrote as follows:)

XVI. epitaph Magdalenii Lutherin. Anno 1542.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 1001; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 584, and by Walch, vol. XXI, 251*.

Dormio cum Sanctis hic Magdalena, Lutheri Filia, et hoc strato tuta quiesco meo.
Filia mortis eram, peccati semine nata, Sanguine sed vivo, Christe, redemta tuo.

This is:

I Magdalena Lutherin am buried in this place. In Christ, the dear Lord mine, With other saints I fall asleep, Till he raises me up With all the saints wondrous. I was born the child of death, In God's wrath eternally lost; By my Lord Christ's death I was saved from all distress. The blood of the Lord Jehovah Christ was good for all my hurt. Christ hath quenched the wrath of God, Death hath lost his sting,

1) Now follows the "Consolation for pious, godly women who have been unjustly afflicted in childish distress," St. Louis edition, vol. X, 730.

I am no longer subject to him, The law cannot accuse me. Sin hath no power over me: I thank thee, Jesus Christ, and praise thee for ever for thy great kindness.

Nota: In Luther's Tischreden, Cap. 48, § 7 (except the St. Louis edition, where this passage is referred to), the Latin is given thus: 1)

Here I sleep Lenichen, O. Luther's little daughter, Lie with all the saints in my little bed, Which I was born in sins. I should have been eternally lost.
But I am alive now, and well, O Lord Christ, redeemed with thy blood.

XVII What writing of lies of Dr. Martin Luther's death in Rome. Anno 1545.

This writing was published in Wittenberg by Hans Luft in a single edition. In the collections: in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 338d; in the Jena edition (1562), vol. VIII, p. 206; in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 415; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXI, p. 453; by Walch, vol. XXI, 252* and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 32, p. 425.

Papa, quid aegroto sua fata precare Luthero,
Nil melius, vivat, seu moriatur, habes.
Is tua, dum vivit, pestis te adfligit et urit:
Mors tua tunc certe, cum morietur, erit.
Dura lues pestis, sed mors est durior illa:
Elige nunc utrum, perfide Papa, velis.

What wouldst thou, Father, that Luther should die?
He lives, he dies, if not thy need.
His life is a pestilence to thee.
His death doth eat thee up wholly.
Death's pestilence is heavy, death much more.
Choose, unfaithful wretch, what thou desirest.)

Copia de una Utera delo imbasciatore dei Re Christianissimo de uno stupendo miraculo visto in la infelicissima morte de Martino Luthero.

Stupendo et giamai non odito miraculo, che Dio benedetto ha mostrato alia infelicissima morte di Martin Luthero, dannato in anima et in corpo, si come per un capitulo de le let-

1) We do not know whether the indication there: "made by the father himself" also refers to this German translation.
2) This German translation is found in Walch, but is missing in the old editions.

tere dei ambasciatore dei Re Christianissimo chia ramente si comprende: a gloria et honor di Giesu Christo a emendation degli mali: et a confirmatione degli boni.

Copia dei detto capitolo.

Martin Luthero essendo infermo, domando el santissimo Sacramento dei corpo di nostro signor Giesu Christo. II quale preso chebbe, subito fo morto: et nella siia infirmita ve- dendo chera grave et-tutta via saccostava a la morte: havea pregato che'l corpo suo fosse sopra duna altaro riposto: et ivi come Dio fosse adorato. Ma la divina bonta, et pro- videnza volendo ad un tanto grande errore ponere fine, et silentio perpetuo: non denego mostrar tanti miraculi quanti erano necessarii acchioche il populo si ritrahese da tanto grande errore, ruina et perditione, che ditto Luthero in questa eta ha fatto. Onde do po che'l suo corpo fo nel sepolchro et tumulo riposto: subito fo udito un horrendo romore, et tumulto anzi una infernal ruina et tem- pesta, per la qual cosa tutti coloro cherano ivi presenti vennero in grandissimo tremore, admiratione & paura, & alzando gli occhi al cielo veddero chiaramente quella Sacratissima hostia del nostro signore Giesu Christo, la qual un huomo tanto indegno cosi indegna- mente haveva havuto audacia pigliare, dico che veddero tutti colore cherano ivi presenti, manifestamente quella Santissima hostia flar in aere susposa. Onde con grandissima devotione, et reverentia preseno quella santissima hostia, et con grande honore, et devotione fra le cose sacre honorificamente la riposeno. Qual cosa fatta piu non sudi per quel giorno tanto gran romor, et infernal tem- pesta, ma la sequente notte in quel medesimo luocho, ove il corpo di Martino era fatto riposto, sudi universalmente da tutti assai maggior tempesta della prima. Per la qual cocosa tutto el populo fo levato, et venne in grandissimo stupor et admiratione. Onde fatto giorno, andomo ad aperire quel tumulo et sepolchro, ove era stato riposto quel corpo cosi emplo di Martino, il qual sepolchro aperto chiaramente si vedeva che ivi non era ne corpo, ne carne, ne ossa, ne meno vestimento alcuno, ma pieno di tanta sulforea puzza, che tutti circumstanti amorbava, per il che molti sonno ritomati a meglior vita, et alia fede santa catholica, ad honore laude et gloria di Giesu Christo et fermezza, et stabilimento della sua santa chiesia colonna et stabilimento della verita.

[This is:]

Copei of a letter of the most Christian king's envoy, of a frightening miraculous sign, which happened 1) in the shameful death of Martin Luther.

Terrible and unheard-of miraculous sign, which the God of God has shown in the shameful death of Martin Luther, condemned with body and soul; as one can clearly understand in a chapter of the letter of the most Christian king's envoy, to the honor and praise of Jesus Christ, and to the improvement and comfort of the pious.

Copei of the chapter.

1. Martin Luther, when he was sick, desired the holy sacrament of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ; which when he had received, he died immediately. And in his sickness, when he saw that it was very violent, and that it inclined entirely to death, he asked that his body might be set upon an altar, and be worshipped as a god. But the divine goodness and providence, when it wanted to put an end to such a great error and an eternal silence, did not refuse to open such miraculous signs, which were very necessary, so that the people would desist from such great error, destruction and ruin, which the aforementioned Luther had caused in this world. Therefore, as soon as his body was laid in the grave, there was immediately heard a terrifying rumbling and tumult, as the devils and hells seethed together, by which all those who were present came into great fright, horror, and fear; and when they lifted up their eyes to heaven, they clearly saw the most holy Hostia of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, which such an unworthy man was so unworthily allowed to receive. I also say that all those who were present seem to have seen the Most Holy Host hanging in the air. Therefore, with great devotion and reverence, they have honestly done the Most Holy Hostia with great honor and devotion to the saints.

2. Since this was done, no more such tumult and infernal rumbling was heard that day. But the next night, in the same place where Martin Luther's body was buried, everyone heard a greater commotion than the first. Therefore also the people arose, and came into a great fear and dismay. Therefore, when it was day, they went away.

1) Thus the editions. It should probably be read: "seen" (*visto*).

To open the sepulchre, where the wicked body of Martin Luther was laid: which sepulchre, when it was opened, was plainly seen, that there was neither body, nor flesh, nor bones, nor any raiment: but it was full of such a foul stench, that it made all that stood round about sick. Whereby many have purified their lives unto the holy Christian faith, to the glory, praise, and honour of Jesus Christ, and to the strengthening and confirming of his holy Christian church, which is a pillar of the truth.

And I Martinus Lutherus O. confess and testify with this writing that I received such angry poems from my death on the 21st of March and almost gladly and happily read them, except for the blasphemy, since such lies are attributed to the high divine majesty. Otherwise, it does me good on my right kneecap and on my left heel that the devil and his scales, the pope and the papists, are so warm to me. God convert them from the devil.

But if it be determined that my prayer for sin is in vain unto death, let God grant that they may make their measure full, and write nothing else, but such little books for their comfort and joy. Let them always go, they go right, *sic voluerunt*; meanwhile I will see how they will be saved, or how they may repent and revoke all their lies and blasphemies, that they may fill the world.

XVIII. Letter from the University of Wittenberg to Prince John Frederick of Saxony concerning Luther's departure from Wittenberg. Aug. 1, 1545.

This letter has already been reported in No. 3246 of this volume.

XIXth Treaty, which Luther together with v. Justus Jonas aligned in the County Mansfeld, Anno 1546 the 16. feb., concerning the Jus Patronatus.

This document has already been reported in No. 3314 of this volume.

XX. Dr. Mart. Luther's will, January 6, 1542, together with the prince's confirmation of it, April 11, 1546.

This document has already been reported in No. 2872 of this volume.

XXI Dr. Justus Jonas letter to the Elector Johann Friedrich zu Sachsen of Luther's death. February 18, 1546.

From Frick's German Seckendorf, p. 2598, in Walch, vol. XXI, 274*.

Most Sublime, Highborn Elector, Your Grace are my most submissive, obedient and completely willing services. Most gracious Prince and Lord! Yours sincerely, with a very saddened spirit, I hasten to acknowledge my subservience: After the venerable Dr. Martinus Lutherus had complained somewhat before in Wittenberg and also on this journey, and also complained of weakness in the wagon when he drove there and came hard before Eisleben, he nevertheless, as long as we were in Eisleben in these matters of the Counts and Lords, kept all noon and evening meals, ate and drank quite well at table, and also praised food and drink in particular, as it was pleasing to him in his fatherland. He also slept and rested all night, since his servant Ambrosius, I, Dr. Jonas, his two little sons Martinus and Paul, together with one or two other servants, lay with him in the chamber, sent him to bed every night with the warmth of kisses, and brought both of us, M. Michael Cölius, preacher and preacheress, to bed. Michael Cölius, preacher at Mansfeld, and I, Jonas, as he cheerfully gave us good night every evening these three weeks, often with these words: Dr. Jonas and Mr. Michael, pray for our Lord God that it may go well with his church cause. The Concilium of Trent is very angry. Also, most gracious Prince and Lord, the said Doctor has sent for his refreshments, water and aquavit from Wittenberg, the Doctor has also sent part of herself to him; has therefore been with M. G. H., Prince Wölfen von Anhalt, Count Hans Heinrichen von Schwarzburg, for these three weeks, at times for an hour, yes, at times for an hour and a half. But yesterday, Wednesday after Valentine's Day, February 17, he did not go to the meetings out of concern of the Princes of Anhalt and Count Albrecht, even at our request and admonition to remain in his room for the morning.

but in the parlor, stripped of his breeches in the shawl 1) walked about, ever looked out of the window at times and prayed so diligently that we also, who were with him in the parlor, heard it, yet always were cheerful, even let us hear a word at times: Dr. Jonas and Mr. Michael, I am baptized here in Eisleben, how, if I should stay here? But the next Wednesday he did not eat in his room, but in the large parlour, he talked a lot and of beautiful sayings in the Scriptures over the tables, and also said once or twice in common speeches: "If I trust my dear sovereigns, the counts, and tell God about the journey, then I will go home, and lie down in the coffin to sleep, and give the body to the worms to eat. On the same Wednesday night, before supper, he began to complain that his chest was sore, but not his heart. He asked to be rubbed with warm cloths, and then said that the sore would subside a little. After the same supper he complained again that his chest was sore, asked for warm cloths, and we and the gentlemen sent for the doctor, Magister and Doctor; he forbade it and slept for about two or three and a half hours on the rest bed; Mr. Michael Cölius, I, Jonas, the landlord, the town clerk at Eisleben, and the landlady, his two small sons, stayed with him until half past ten. Then he requested that one should warm his bed in the chamber; which was done with great diligence, and when he was put to bed, M. Cölius lay there in the chamber. But his servant Ambrosius, who came with him from Wittenberg, and I, Dr. Jonas, his two little sons, and the servants, lay in the chamber. About eleven he fell asleep, rested with natural snorting. Then, my lord, at one o'clock in the night he called the servant Ambrosius and me, Mr. Jonas, and first told the servant to make the room warm. But when the servant had hurried, and the room was ready and warm, and he had prepared it all night, he said to me, O Lord God, Jonas, how I feel so ill, how I am pressed so hard against my breast, O I will stay in Eisleben. Then Ambrosius and all of us ran to him and helped him out of bed.

1) "Schäblein" will probably be as much as: small Schaube, wide house skirt.
2) Johann Albrecht.

When he came into the parlour, he went around once more, but then asked for warm cloths; we hurriedly woke up both doctors, doctor and magister, who also came hurriedly, and likewise, my most gracious lord, Count Albrechten, who soon came running with the countess, tried *aqua vitae* and the doctor's medicine and everything. Then the doctor began to pray: My heavenly Father, eternal, merciful God, you have revealed to me your dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, whom I have taught, whom I have confessed, whom I love, whom I honor for my dear Savior and Redeemer, whom the wicked persecute, disgrace and reproach, take my soul to yourself. Then he says three times: *In manus tuas commenädo spiritum meum, redemisti me, Deus veritatis* [Into thy hands I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, thou faithful God (Ps. 31, 6.)], yes, thus God has loved the world. When, most gracious Lord, the physicians and we needed the best of restorations, he once began to be silent, as if he were sinking, and to answer nothing to our fierce calling and shaking. But when the countess and the physicians again gave him *aque vitae,* he began to answer again, but weakly, to Mr. M. Cölio and to me, Dr. Jonas, yes and no. And when we both shouted at him: "Dearest father, you confess Christ the Son of God, our Saviour and Redeemer? he spoke again, so that one could hear it, a strong yes; then his forehead and face were cold. And as hard as one called him, shook him, and called him by his baptismal name, Dr. Martin, he answered no more, that he fetched a gentle breath and sighed with his hands clasped together. And, most gracious lord, which we lament with sorrowful heart and many tears, he has thus fallen asleep in Christ, without danger between two and three in the night towards the morning. Count Albrecht and our gracious wife, the Countess, and also my gracious Lord of Schwarzburg, have been there long enough to come to the end. This, most gracious Prince and Lord, I have soon done the following hour according to my submissive duty, although we poor fine disciples and disciples of 25 years, most grieved by this case, Your Electoral Grace should hurry through this case. Grace by means of this mail and to make it known. We humbly request that Your Electoral Grace... Graciously request that for the sake of the funeral we be forgiven until Your Electoral Grace's answer, graciously. Your Grace will graciously inform us of your mind, and also write to our gracious lords, the Counts, as to what your Grace is to do in this matter. Although their graces like to have him in of their dominion, as his fatherland, but they place it in Ew. churfürstl. Gracious favor. The almighty heavenly Father comforts Ew. churfürstl. Grace and all of us who have been heartily grieved by this case. Your Lord Highnesses will also graciously Grace graciously grant the Doctor, his dear housewives, and *Domino Philippo*, Dr. Pomerano and Dr. Creutzigern, especially a letter of consolation, which Your Electoral Grace knows better to do. Grace know how to do better than we can humbly devise. Please your electoral. The Lord Jesus preserve Your Electoral Grace at all times. Graces always. Date in haste, Eisleben, Thursday after Valentine at 4 o'clock in the morning, 18 Feb. 1546.

I also humbly inform Your Electoral Grace that Mr. Martinus preached a short sermon every Sunday. Grace that the said Dr. Martinus preached a short sermon every Sunday, the copy of which we have, and that he received and communicated it three weeks before absolution. Of other speeches he made over the table, [I] will humbly report to Ew. churfürstl. Graciousness with all due respect. Most Gracious Prince and Lord, I have herewith dictated this letter to Count Albrecht's secretary in a hurry at 4 o'clock, since we were not able to write everything ourselves due to our sadness. Your electoral. Your Grace most humbly willing servant.

Justus Jonas, Doctor, my hand, together with Mr. Michael Cölio, who has been with all of them.

XXII Dr. Justus Jonas and M. Michael Cölius report of Luther's Christian farewell from this life.

In 1546, individual editions of this document appeared in Wittenberg and Frankfurt, including One without indication of the place. Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 460 b; in the Jena edition (1562), vol. VIII, p. 383b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 847; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXI, p. 693; in Walch, vol. XXI, 280* and in the Erlangen edition (but only in the first edition), vol. 1, p. 57.

1. On the 23rd day of Januarii, at the request of the noble and well-born Counts and Lords of Mansfeld, the venerable Doct. Martinus Luther departed from Wittenberg, and lay the first night at Bitterfeld.

(2) And the demand of Doctoris Martini from the well-meant counts has happened for the reason that between their graces many and great errors and afflictions have been preserved for some time, from which the lordship of Mansfeld has suffered all kinds of misfortunes.

For this reason, the Counts all asked Doctor Martinus, as a native of Eisleben and of their grace's dominion, to take part in the negotiations and to work diligently to reconcile and settle the matters as much as possible. However, although Doctor Martinus did not care to get involved in such worldly affairs, but rather waited for his profession with preaching, reading, writing, and other things with the utmost diligence, as he was manly aware, he nevertheless, for the sake of his fatherland, brought these things to an agreement, and that the earls may be reconciled and amicable with each other, he did not want to refuse or reject this journey, although it was quite inconvenient and burdensome for him to travel at such a time and to burden himself with these things, and it was against his usage. For this reason, he traveled that day, as mentioned above, from Wittenberg to Eisleben in the name of the Almighty.

3. On the 24th day of January he arrived at Hall at eleven o'clock in the morning and lay with Dr. Jonas at the inn.

4. On the 25th, 26th, 27th of January he stayed in Halle, prevented by water, and on the 27th day, which was the Tuesday after *Paul's conversion, he* preached there in Our Lady's Church, from the *Actis Apostolorum*, about Paul's conversion.

5 On Thursday, which was the 28th of January, he went over the water from Hall, together with his three sons and Dr. Jonas. Jonas, indeed with some danger, on the barge across the water, so that he himself said to Doctor Jonas: Dear Dr. Jonas, would it not be a fine pleasure for the devil if I, Dr. Martinus, with three sons and you, were to die in the water? and then traveled to Eisleben.

6. And after he came on the border with a hundred and thirteen horses accepted before Eisleben, he became almost weak in the wagon, so that one was also afraid of his life; but when they rubbed him in the inn with warm cloths, he ate and drank the evening, and was satisfied, complaining no more; but before on the wagon, as the disease nudged him, he said: This is what the devil always does to me, when I am about to do something great, that he tries me beforehand and attacks me with such a torment.

7th From the 29th day of January until the 17th day of February inclusive he was in Eisleben in the act, and besides the act preached four sermons, once received absolution publicly from the priest (who held communion at the altar), and communicated two times, and

At the other communion, namely on Sundays on the day of Valentine, he ordained and consecrated two priests himself according to apostolic custom.

(8) From the 28th of January until the 17th of February we have heard from him many fine, comforting speeches, since he often thought of his age and that he would retire at home when he returned to Wittenberg, as well as many important comforting sayings of the Scriptures over the table, laid out in the presence of the counts and the rest of us who sat at table with him, which are to go out in a special list in his time.

(9) And especially every evening for twenty-one days he went out of the great room from the table into his parlour at eight o'clock, or often before, and stood in the window all the evenings for a good while, and made his prayer to God so earnestly and assiduously that we, Doctor Jonas, M. Cölius, Ambrosius, his servant, Johannes Aurifaber Vinariensis (after we were silent) often heard some words, and were astonished. Cölius, Ambrosius, his servant, Johannes Aurifaber Vinariensis (after we were quiet), often heard some words, wondered; then he turned from the window, cheerfully (as if he had laid down a burden) and generally talked with us for half a quarter of an hour, then went to bed.

(10) On Wednesday, February 17, the lords and earls of the Lord G. H. himself asked, and we all asked, that he not go into the great rooms in the morning to perform his acts, but rest; so he lay in his little room on a leather bed, and also went around and prayed in the little room; but nevertheless in the evening and in the morning he sat down at table in his chair in the great room. And that same supper before (when he passed away blessedly in God shortly before three o'clock in the morning) he spoke many important words and discourses about death and future eternal life, among other things he said: 1) Oh dear God, 20 years is a short time, nor does the little time make the world desolate, if man and woman would not come together according to God's creation and order; how vain is it to be created: God gathers his Christian church a great part from the little children. For I believe that when a child of one year dies, a thousand or two thousand children die with him. But if I, Martinus, die of sixty-three, I do not think that sixty or a hundred of them will die with me in the world, for the world does not grow old now. Well, we old men must therefore live long enough to look the devil in the butt, for so much wickedness, infidelity, and misery of the world.

1) What follows in this paragraph is found (somewhat modified) in all editions of the Table Talks, Cap. 3, §49, with the exception of the St. Louis edition, where this passage is referred to.

That we may be witnesses that the devil hath been such an evil spirit. The human race is like a sheepfold of sheep for slaughter.

11 The Lord Doctor also remembered these questions the same last evening about the table, saying, Whether we also shall know one another in that blessed eternal assembly and church to come? and when we asked diligently of the report, he said, How did Adam? he never saw Evam all his days, and lay down and slept; but when he awoke, he said not, Whence comest thou? what art thou? but: The flesh is taken from my flesh, and the bone from my legs. How did he know that this woman had not sprung from a stone? Therefore it came to pass, that he was full of the Holy Ghost, and in the true knowledge of God. To this knowledge and image we shall be renewed again in Christ in the life to come, that we may know our father and mother, and each other face to face, better than Adam and Eve.

(12) Not long after these words he arose, and went into his parlour, and his two little sons, Martinus, Paulus, M. Celius, soon followed him, and, according to his custom, lay down in the parlour in the window to pray; M. Celius went down again, and Johannes Aurifaber Vinariensis came up. Celius went down again, and John Aurifaber *Vinariensis* came up, the Doctor said: "I am sore and afraid, as before, for my breasts; then John said: "I have seen, when I was preceptor to the young gentlemen, if they were sick about the breast, or otherwise, that the Countess had given them a unicorn; if you want it, I will fetch it;" the Doctor said yes. Then John, before he went to the Countess, ran down in haste, and called Dr. Jonas, and M. Celio, who had not been down for two father-universes, and ran up quickly.

13 But when we came up, he was complaining hard about his breast, since we had rubbed him well with warm cloths from that hour (according to his usage, as he used to do at home), which he felt, and said, he would be better; Count Albrecht himself came running with M. John, bringing the unicorn, and the count said, How is it, O dear doctor? Whereupon the doctor said, There is no need, my lord, it begins to improve. Then Count Albrecht himself scraped the unicorn for him, and after the doctor felt improvement, he left him again, leaving one of his counsellors, Conrad von Wolframsdorf, beside us, Dr. Jona, M. Celio, Johann, Ambrosio, with him, and at the doctor's request the scraped unicorn was given to him in a spoonful of wine, and Conrad von Wolframsdorf was given a spoonful of wine.
dorf himself a spoonful beforehand (so that the doctor would be less shy).

14th Then he lay down safely at 9 o'clock on the little resting bed, and said: If I could slumber for half an hour, I hoped everything would be better. He slept gently and naturally for an hour and a half, until 10 o'clock, when we, Doctor Jonas and M. Michael Celius, together with his servant Ambrosio and his two small sons, Martins and Paulo, stayed with him.

15 But when he awoke at 10 o'clock, he said, Behold, ye sit still; will ye not go to bed? we answered: No, doctor, now we shall watch, and wait for you. With this he desired to rise, and got up from his bed of rest, and went into the chamber near the parlour, which is shut with windows from all air; and though he complained nothing there, yet when he was passed over the threshold of the chamber, he said, Walt's God, I am going to bed. *In manus tuas commendo spiritum menm, redemisti ins, Domine, Deus veritatis*.

16 And when he was come to bed, which was well prepared with warm beds and kisses, he lay down, and shook hands with us all, and said good night, Dr. Jonah, and M. Celi, and ye others. Jonah and M. Celi, and the rest of you, pray for our Lord GOD, and his gospel, that it may be well with him; for the Concilium at Trent and the grievous pope are angry with him. Then Jonas, his two sons Martinus and Paul, his servant Ambrose, and other servants stayed with him in the chamber during the night.

17 For these twenty-one days the light was kept in the chamber every night, and the same night the parlour was kept warm; and he slept soundly, with a natural snorting, until the seiger struck one, when he awoke, and called his servant Ambrosium to heat the parlour for him. But when it was kept warm all night, and Ambrosius, the servant, came back, Doctor Jonas asked him if he felt any weakness again, and he said, "Oh, Lord God, how I am in such pain. Ah, dear Dr. Jonas, I respect, I will remain here in Eisleben (where I was born and baptized). Whereupon Dr. Jonas and Ambrosius the servant answered, "Ah, *Reverend Father,* God our heavenly *Father* will help through Christ whom you have preached." Then he passed through the chamber into the parlour without help or guidance, and even as he passed over the thresholds he spoke these words as he went to bed: *In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum*, *speak...*

1) "Betten" put by us instead of "breten" in the Wittenberger and "brettern" in the Jenaer.

misti me, Domine, Deus veritatis. Once or twice he went back and forth in the little room, then lay down on the little resting bed and lamented, it pressed him very hard around the chest, but still it was most beautiful to the heart.

18 Then, as he desired, and as was the custom at Wittenberg, they rubbed him with warm cloths, and warmed kisses and puddles for him; for he said that it did him good to be kept warm.

19. Before all this, and now that the doctor was lying down on his bed, M. Celius came running out of his chamber, close to ours, and soon after him Johannes Aurifaber. Then the innkeeper, Johann Albrecht, the town clerk, and his wife were awakened in a hurry, as were the two physicians in the town, who all came running in a quarter of an hour (after they lived close by).

(20) First the host with his wife, then M. Simon Wild, a physician, and Doct. Ludwig, a physician; soon after, Count Albrecht with his wife, which countess brought with her all kinds of spices and refreshments, and did not cease to refresh him with all kinds of strength; but in all this the doctor said: Dear God, I am very sore and afraid, I am going there, I will now stay at Eisleben. Then Dr. Jonas and M. Celius comforted him and said: "*Reverend Father*, call upon your dear Lord Jesus Christ, our High Priest, the one Mediator, you have left a great good sweat, God will grant grace that it will be better." Then answered he, and said, Yea, it is a cold dead sweat, I will give up my spirit, for the disease multiplies. Then he began, and said:

21 O my heavenly Father, a God and Father of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, God of all comfort, I thank thee that thou hast revealed unto me thy dear Son JESUS CHRIST, in whom I believe, whom I have preached and confessed, whom I have loved and vowed, whom the wicked pope, and all the ungodly, profane, persecute, and blaspheme. I beseech thee, my Lord JESUS CHRIST, that my soul may be 1) commanded unto thee. O heavenly Father, though I must leave this body, and be torn from this life, yet I know assuredly that I abide with thee for ever, and that no man can pluck me out of thy hands.

1) Marginal gloss: Seelichen he spoke actually, without doubt, to humble himself before God, as if he should say: Like a poor creature I am against you, you great, infinite, eternal majesty.

22. He also said: *Sic Deus dilexit mundum, ut unigenitum filium suum daret, ut omnis, qui credit in eum, non pereat, sed habeat vitam aeternam* ["Thus God loved the world" 2c.], Joh. 3,16. And the words from the 68th Psalm, v. 21.: Deus *noster, Deus salvos faciendi, & Dominus est Dominus educendi ex morte*. That is German: We have a God of salvation, and a Lord Lord, who leads us out of the midst of death.

23 In which the magister 2) tried a very delicious medicine, which he had always in his pocket for necessity, of which the doctor took a spoonful; but he said again, I am going away, I will give up my spirit; therefore he said three times in haste one after another, *Father, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum, redemisti me, Deus veritatis*. Ps. 31,6. Now when he had commanded his spirit into the hands of God the heavenly Father, he began to be still; but one shook, rubbed, chilled, and called to him; but he closed his eyes, did not answer. Then Count Albrecht's husband and the physicians stroked his pulse with all kinds of tonics, which the doctor had sent him, and which he himself used.

24 And while he was thus silent, Dr. Jonas, and M. Celius here, called unto him strongly, *Reverend Father*, will ye die unto Christ, and the doctrine which ye preach, continually? he said, that it might be heard plainly: Yes. With this he turned on his right side and began to sleep, almost a quarter of an hour, that one also hoped for recovery; but the physicians and we all said that sleep was not to be trusted, shone lights diligently under his face.

25. In this Count Hans Heinrich of Schwarzenburg, together with his spouse, also came; after which the doctor soon became very pale under the face, his feet and nose became cold, and he had a deep, yet gentle, recovery of breath, with which he gave up his fine spirit with silence and great patience, so that he no longer moved a finger or a leg, and no one could notice (we testify this before God on our conscience) any restlessness, torment of the body, or pain of death, but passed away peacefully and gently in the Lord, as Simeon sings.

26 That the saying of John 8 was true of him, "Verily I say unto you, He that keepeth my word shall never see death for ever," which saying of John 8 is the last manuscript which he wrote in the Bible for the remembrance of the people, and the same manuscript is written in the hand of Elrich Hans Gasman, the Hohnstein rentier.

2) Simon Wild.

master, to come, in front in a house postill, which saying the dearest hearty father thus laid out: 1)

Never see death again.

"How incredible this is spoken, and contrary to public and daily experience; yet it is the truth. If a man earnestly contemplates the word of God in his heart, believes it, and falls asleep or dies over it, he sinks and passes away before he is aware of death, and has certainly passed away blessed in the word which he thus believed and contemplated." Under this was written: Martinus Luther Doctor. 1546, done on the 7th 2) day of Februarii.

27 Now when he was dead in the Lord, and Count Albrecht, and his husband, and he of Schwarzenburg, 2c. together with us, were afraid, and still cried out that they should not cease rubbing and sucking, they did all that was humanly possible, but the body grew colder and more deadly. And after the dead body had lain on the resting bed for three quarters of an hour, three underbeds were made next to it from many feather beds, and cloths on top, hard by the resting bed, into which it was lifted, in the hope (as we all wished and prayed) whether God would still give mercy.

28 Then came, before daylight, at four o'clock, the most illustrious prince and lord, Lord Wolf, prince of Anhalt, the noble, well-born counts and lords, Philip, John Goerg, brothers, Count Volradt, Count Hans, Count Wolf, also brothers, counts and lords of Mansfeld, and other lords, and of the nobility.

29) The body was left on the bed from four to nine, that is, five whole hours, when many honest citizens came and looked at the dead body with hot tears and weeping. Then they dressed him in a white, new Swabian gown, laid the body in the chamber on a bed and straw, until a pewter coffin was cast and laid in it. Many of the nobility who knew him, husband and wife, several hundred, and a very large number of people, saw him lying in the coffin.

30. On 18 February the body was left in the inn, Doctor Trachstet's house.

31: On 19 February at two o'clock after midday he was carried into the main parish church of St. Andres according to Christian custom, with great honour and spiritual chants, where he was buried.

1) This is in the "Interpretation of Many Beautiful Sayings," St. Louis edition, vol. IX, 1828. See the note there.

2) The Wittenberg edition offers: "on the 17th day".

Princes, counts and lords, among them also Count Gebhart with his two sons, Count Görgen and Christoffel, together with their wives, and a very large number of excellent people, accompanied and followed.

32) Then Doctor Jonas, as soon as the body was placed in the choir, preached a sermon, which is excipitated; first, of the person and gifts of Dr. Martini. 2. of the resurrection and eternal life. 3. warning the adversaries that death would have power behind it, against Satan's kingdom, about the *locum* 1 Thessal. 4, 13. f. The body was kept in the church during the night, and guarded by ten citizens.

(33) When, however, at the request of our Lord the Elector of Saxony, the body was to be brought to Wittenberg (which the Counts and Lords of Mansfeld also very gladly kept in their dominions, but nevertheless let follow the Elector as a favor), a sermon was preached early on the 20th day of Februarii, which was the Saturday after Valentine, which was preached by Es. Michaelem Cölium, on the saying Es. 56, 13.: *Justus perit & nemo considerat* ["The righteous per*ishes*, and there is no one who takes it to heart"].

34. And afterwards, between twelve and one beat, he was again led out of the city of Eisleben with all honor and Christian customs and songs, where again the above-mentioned princes, counts and lords, and besides Count Gebhart with two sons, Count Görgen and Count Christoffel, also Counts and Lords of Mansfeld, together with Count Gebhart's husband and their wives (as if they had been at the church before), and a large number of people followed devoutly, and led the body to the outermost gate with many tears and weeping; So they came with him this evening as far as the hall.

35) At Eisleben, before these church ceremonies were all used, two painters thus removed the dead face, one from Eisleben while he was still lying in bed in the parlour, the other, Master Lucas Fortennagel of Hall, since he had already lain in the coffin for a night.

(36) When he was led out of Eisleben, the bells were rung in almost all the villages on the way from Eisleben, and the people ran out of the villages, men, women, and children, and gave signs of earnest compassion. So after five o'clock we arrived in front of Halle, and as we approached the city a little, citizens and townspeople came out far over the Steinweg, and as we entered the city gates with the

Leich come, are the two parish priests (after the Superattendent Dr. Jonas followed the Leich) St. Ulrich and Mauricji, and all the ministers of the Gospel, also a respectable council of Halle, together with a great number of all the council persons, also the whole school, schoolmaster, with all his boys, with usual funeral ceremonies and songs, went to meet him, also a great powerful people, among them many respectable citizens, many matrons, virgins, children, came to meet him at the outermost gate, with such loud wailing and weeping that we heard it back there in the last rearmost carriage. And when one went up the alleys of St. Moritz, the old market, as well as on the bridge and in the gate, there was such a great crowd around the wagons of the Leich and others that one often had to keep still in the alleys and in the market, and one came very late, almost half past six, to the church of Our Lady of Halle.

(37) The church of Our Lady was very full of people everywhere, since they cried out the psalm "Aus tiefer Noth" 2c. with piteous, broken voices more than they sang, and if it had not been so late, a sermon would have been preached, and so the body was hurriedly carried into the sacristy, and guarded through the night with some citizens.

38) The following morning at six o'clock the corpse was again brought out of Halle with the ringing of bells, which had also been done before in all the churches, and an honest, Christian escort to the gate, as on the evening before, accompanied by a whole honourable council, all the preachers and the schools there.

39 From Hall the lighter sailed on Sunday the 21st of February to Bitterfeld. Februarii to Bitterfeld, there brought on the noon, there on the border, and also in the small town the deputies of our most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, the captain to Wittenberg Erasmus Spiegel, to thieves 1) Gangolf of Heilingen, to Brehne Dietrich von Taubenheim, the two counts, and us, who led the corpse, have accepted and brought the evening to Kemberg, where then, both in Bitterfeld and Kemberg, with usual Christian ceremonies, the corpse was honestly accepted and accompanied.

40 On Monday, February 22nd, the noble and well-born Counts and Lords, Count Hans and Count Hans Hoier, Counts and Lords of Mansfeld (as they then safely rode from Eisleben with 55 equipped horses), before Witten

1) This is: Düben.

Soon the Rector, Magistri and Doctores and the whole laudable university, together with an honourable council, and the whole community and citizens, were assembled at the gate (as previously ordered by the Elector's command); then the ministers of the Gospel and the school, with the usual Christian chants and ceremonies, proceeded to the Leich, from the Elsterthor along the whole length of the city to the castle church.

41. Before the. The above-mentioned deputies of H. G. H., Elector of Saxony, and the above-mentioned two young Counts and Lords of Mansfeld, rode in the 65 horses without danger. And next after the carriage, on which the corpse drove, his married wife, the Doctor, Catharina Lutherin, together with some matrons, was led on a little wagon; after that his three sons, Johannes, Martinus, Paulus Lutheri, Jakob Luther, citizen of Mansfeld, his brother, Görg and Ciliax 2) merchant, his sister's sons, also citizen of Mansfeld, and others of the friendship followed. After that Magnificus Doctor, Rector of the laudable university, with several young princes, counts, barons, so in the university of Wittenberg Studii half abstain. Then followed the body Dr. Gregorius Brück, D[ominus] Philippus Melanchthon, Dr. Justus Jonas, Dr. Pomeranus, Dr. Caspar Creuziger, Dr. Jeronymus 3) and other oldest Doctores of the University of Wittenberg. Then all the doctors, magistrates, and an honorable council, together with the council persons, then the whole great crowd and splendid crowd of students, and then the citizens, such as many citizens, matrons, women, virgins, many honest children, young and old, all with loud weeping and wailing in all streets, also on the whole market the crowd was so great, and such quantity of the people, that it was reasonable to wonder in haste, and many confessed, that they had not seen the like in Wittenberg.

42) When the body was brought into the castle church, it was set down against the preaching chair; first Christian *Funebres Cantiones were* sung, then the venerable Mr. V. Pomeranus appeared and gave a Christian, consoling sermon for several thousand people, which will also be given during the day.

43) According to the sermon of Dr. Pomerani, the Lord Philippus Melanchthon, out of his own special sympathy

2) "Ciliax" == Cyriacns.

3) "Jeronymus" - Hieronymus Schurf.

and to comfort the church, a beautiful Funebrem *Orationemi,* which has already gone out in print, and will also go out in German afterwards.

(44) After the *oration was* ended, the body was carried by some learned magistrates who had been appointed, who let the body into the grave, and thus laid it to rest; and thus the precious organ and instrument of the Holy Spirit, the body of the venerable Dr. Martini, is buried there in the castle at Wittenberg, not far from the preaching chair (since he preached many powerful Christian sermons before the churals and princes of Saxony and the whole church while alive). Martini, there in the castle of Wittenberg, not far from the preaching seat (where he preached many mighty Christian sermons before the princes and rulers of Saxony and the whole church), was laid in the earth, and as Paul 1 Cor. 15, 43. says: "Sown in weakness, that he may arise in glory on that day."

(45) To such a Christian departure from this miserable life, and to the same eternal blessedness, help us all the eternal heavenly Father, who called the aforementioned Dr. Martinum to the great work, and our Lord Jesus Christ, whom he faithfully preached and confessed, and the Holy Spirit, who gave him against the Pope and all the gates of hell such special joy, great courage and heart through his divine power in many high battles.

46 We, Dr. Justus Jonas, and M. Michael Celius, and Johannes Aurifaber Vinariensis, above-named, as we have been at the blessed end of our father, from the beginning to our last breath, testify to this before God, and to our own last journey and conscience, that we have not heard or seen this otherwise, together with the princes, counts, lords, and all who come to it, and that we have not told it otherwise than as it has happened and is happening everywhere. God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, grant us all his mercy, amen.

XXIII Elector John Frederick of Saxony's letter to the Counts at Mansfeld, February 18, 1546.

The following two letters are taken from the originals in the Annaberg School Library *and are published* by Georg Heinrich Götze in his Tractat *de reliquiis Luttierj, pag. 4; by C. G. Hofmann in memor. secular. funeris et sepulcrl Lutheri, p.* 36 and by Walch, Vol. XXI, 296*.

By the Grace of God Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony 2c., and Burgrave of Magdeburg 2c. Our greeting before. Dearest, dearest council, and faithful ones! We have your, Count Albrecht,
Letter, wherein you have informed us of the venerable and highly respected, our dear devout and faithful Martin Luther, Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, farewell and fatal departure from this miserable pit of misery, according to the will of God, received and heard the same with a highly saddened and grieved mind. May the Almighty God be merciful and gracious to the soul, as we do not doubt.

And because this has happened, it is to be ordered to his omnipotence, in whose hands everything stands, although we would have preferred that the said Martinus would have been happier than an old worn-out man, spared these things, and after we have considered having the body led from Eisleben, brought to Wittenberg, and buried there in the earth in our castle church: Our gracious request is that you follow us with the same body and also have it escorted and brought to Bitterfeld. We have made further arrangements in this regard, and have also ordered Doctor Jonassen to travel with the body to Wittenberg, and will thus graciously and completely provide for you. We are graciously pleased with this, and we are graciously inclined towards you. Date Torgau, Thursday after Valentine [18 Feb] Anno 1546.

To the well-born, our councillor, and dear faithful, Albrechten, Philipsen and Hans Jörgen, cousins and brothers, Counts and Lords of Mansfeld Cito Otto

Together and apart.

XXIV The Count of Mansfeld's answer to the preceding letter. 19 Feb. 1546.

See the previous number.

Most Gracious Sir. Your Lordship's letter, concerning the fatal death of the venerable, highly honored Doctor Martin Luther, was received and read on this date at almost eight o'clock in the evening. That the Almighty now requires the same dear man from this pitiful place in particular, His Lordship's Grace has graciously asked us to consider how highly painful this must be for us. However, in view of all this, and since the Almighty has thus decreed that we should not oppose his will, we had hoped that Your Lordship would have the corpse of the doctor, since he was born and baptized here in Eisleben and transferred by the Almighty from this pit of misery into the

eternal life has also been required here with great distress of all people who believe in Christ. But regardless of the fact that we would like to keep the corpse of this great man, who was graced by God with unspeakable gifts, in our dominion, we still want to be obedient to Ew. churf. Gn. to have the corpse in Bitterfeld on Sunday before 12 o'clock. We] have not wished to answer Ew. churf. Gn., whom we are willing to serve in obedience. In haste. Date Eisleben, February 19, Anno 46.

Albrecht, Philips and Hans Georg, cousins and brothers, counts and lords of Mansfeld.

XXV Prince John Frederick of Saxony's letter to an unnamed person at Wittenberg, concerning Luther's funeral and epitaph.

From the original in Innocent News 1712, p. 195; in C. G. Hofmann's *memor. seculur. funeris et sepulcri Lutheri*, p. 71 and in Walch, vol. XXI, 298* f.

By the Grace of God John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector, and Burgrave of Magdeburg. Our greeting before. Highly esteemed, dear faithful one! After you will have understood from our Captain at Wittenberg, where we intend that the venerable and highly esteemed Mr. Martin Luther, of blessed memory, shall be laid in our Castle Church at Wittenberg. So that his grave may be buried honestly, we are minded to cast his epitaph in a brass, as a plate over the grave, with a circumscription, and a brass, in which the epitaph shall be cast, in the walls. For this reason, we graciously request that you, along with the other gentlemen, the theologians, discuss what form the epitaph of the blessed doctor should take, and also how the plate with the inscription should be made, and send it to us, and we will decree that it should be cast in brass.

2nd Since we also note that the said Doctor Martin's wife and widow should be short of money, as should have happened to you before the Doctor's death, we send you a hundred pennies by this messenger, 1) of which you want the money,

1) In the margin it says, "Gülden."

What you have lent, pay beforehand, and deliver the excess to the widow on our account. This is our opinion, and we do not want to charge it to you, to whom we are inclined with grace and good. Date Torgau, Sunday the 21st of February. Anno Domini 1546.

Johann Friedrich Churfürst. M. pr. scr.

XXVI The Wittenberg Theologians Johann Pomerani, Caspar Creutziger's and Philipp Melanchthon's Letter to the Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony. 15 March 1546.

From the Ella's Frick German Seckendorf, p. 2628, in Walch, vol. XXI, 300*.

We have been distressed and upset for important reasons at most, that the venerable, our father and preceptor, Dr. Martinus, has been taken away from this church and school, since the whole of Christendom would still have needed him. We are now orphans, abandoned and lonely. Our grief is also increased by the fact that Your Electoral Grace, the curiosity of the world, has not been satisfied. Grace, imagining the world's curiosity and malice according to their high intellect, will take this case very much to heart. But we must obey the will of God, and cling to the consolation given us by our Savior, the Son of God, when he said: "I will not leave you orphans. Item: "I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." On these we rely, and we want to pray diligently that the Son of God himself will govern his little ship and protect it by the grace of Ew. churf. and equip it with divine counsel. We also give thanks for Your Lordship's care for the Christian church, as witnessed by this congregation and university, and for his command that we do our work diligently. We confess that this is a great burden, greater than we might confess; but we recognize that we are bound to it, according to Paul's reminder: "Keep what is entrusted to you," 1 Tim. 6, 20. Dr. Martinus has left us a beautiful supplement and treasure, namely the pure understanding of Christian doctrine. We would like to pass this on to our descendants without darkness, and for this we ask for God's grace and the Holy Spirit. We know that harmony, humility and patience are necessary for this, and we encourage ourselves and others who live in churches and schools to do so.

We are to be careful to put our work together by grace, so that none of us may give cause for unrest. But this is a great matter which is primarily in the hands of God, whom we therefore implore with fervent supplication to help and govern us for the sake of Jesus Christ and His glory.

XXVII Dr. Augustin Schürf's program on the body of the blessed Luther. 21 Feb. 1546.

Printed in the *scriptis public.Witteberg., tom. I.,*
litter. v. 6; in des Fabricius *Centifol. Lutheran.* , part. II. p. 949; in C. G. Hofmann, *memor, secular.* etc., p. 49, and in *Corp. Ref.* , vol. VI, 61. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 301*.

Rector of the Academie Augustin Schurs, D.

There is no doubt that the venerable man, Dr. Martin Luther, our dear father and teacher, was awakened by God to purify the preaching of the Gospel and to show the Son of God how God sometimes sent faithful teachers out of great mercy and through them again brought forth the light of the Gospel and dispelled the darkness. One must recognize such divine good deeds, thank God for them, and love these messengers of God. As the children of Heth say to Abraham: "You are in truth a prince of God among us," so also Dr. Martin Luther has truly been a prince of God among us. Therefore we should mourn his departure, and ask the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, that he may graciously preserve this church of his. Since his funeral is to be held today and perhaps shortly after noon (for we do not yet know the actual hour, but the sign will be given with the small bell when one should gather), we hereby order all students to assemble on the marketplace and there await the venerable Dr. (Pomeranian), pastor of our church, to follow him immediately and to receive with him the corpse, which has been and will be a tabernacle of the Holy Spirit. But when they accompany him, they should remember the benefits that God has bestowed on the church through this teacher and thank him for them. For it is certain that he has explained the doctrine of repentance, true invocation of God, and right worship in a Christian way, since it had previously been corrupted with nasty, ugly, false, and pagan opinions. And although this doctrine is held in low esteem by the greatest multitude, it is nevertheless
truly that pearl which the Son of God has chosen above all treasures. Let us also call upon God fervently, so that He will not let the light of His Gospel be extinguished, and let us earnestly improve our lives, so that the angry God will not vent His wrath against us.

Duke Stillico often said of Ambrosius that if Ambrosius died, Welsh land would perish; and this prophecy also came true. For after Ambrosius' death the Goths and Vandals devastated Italy everywhere. So let us remember that the death of this teacher of ours signifies punishments which God wants to mitigate. February 21, 1546.

XXVIII. M. Michael Cölius Luther's funeral sermon, held at Eisleben, February 20, 1546.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 853; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 699; in Walch, vol. XXI, 303*; in Cyriacus Spangenberg, Predigten des Cölius, 1565, p. 226, and in C. G. Hofmann, l. c. S. 140.

1. Now that we have come together today, by God's command and the well-established ancient custom of the holy Christian Church, at the corpse of the venerable and highly esteemed Mr. Martin Luther, blessedly departed in God: so that we may have the opportunity to mourn such a fatal departure from our hearts, and in turn also to console ourselves, let us take before us the saying of Esaias at the beginning of this sermon or sermon, since the prophet says thus in the 56th chapter:

The righteous perish, and there is none that taketh it to heart: and holy men are taken up, and no man heareth. For the righteous are taken away from evil, and they that have walked rightly before them come to peace, and rest in their chambers.

(2) These words, then, I have taken before me for the entrance of this sermon, as I have heard, not that I wish to give the sense or opinion of the prophet, who in these and the next preceding words describes the false and righteous teachers of the church, who they are, what their quality, doings, nature, and end is, as, namely, the false and unrighteous teachers, says the prophet, that they are indeed watchmen, that is, they sit in the ordinary office of the church, as also now the pope, his cardinals, bishops, monks, and the priests.

and priests, but they are blind watchmen, who know nothing, have no understanding of the Scriptures, nor the mystery of the Holy Gospel; in addition they are dumb dogs, who cannot punish, are lazy, like to lie down and sleep, but they are nevertheless strong dogs of the flesh, who can never be satisfied, stingy and scavenging all the world's goods, from which they live in all pleasure, and at last have the hellish fire to reward them.

(3) But the sincere and righteous teachers, one of whom was our dear Lord and Father in Christ, Martin Luther, are true ones, that is, those who have truly known God in His Word and teach and preach the righteousness of faith, which is valid before God, along with the good works that He has commanded. And these have not many good days in the world, which rest not until they perish and are raised up. But then the prophet curses that they come to peace, and rest in their chambers. But this we will leave, and this time, as we have heard above, that we may take care of the departure of this corpse, and, as Paul leaves us to do to the Thessalonians, mourn, but also again comfort them in a Christian way; so I will only tell what manner of man and teacher Dr. Martinus was, how and why he now fell asleep in the Lord at this time, and what his doings and being are now until the day of the Lord.

(4) When a man is described and praised in the world, he is said to be of good family, to be of good parents, to be of good rank, dignity, and character, to be of good virtue and morals, to have used them, and to have decided his end. And whoever has a good name in this is a great gift from God, especially when it is used properly, and it is right that one should thank God for it.

5. And although much could be said of this noble man, that he and his family might have the name and origin of Emperor Luther 1), or else, as is the way with families in the world, that they rise and fall in reputation; as also David's tribe had fallen in Christ's time, that Esaias compares him to an old dry block (Ploch); and now this lineage of our dear Lord and Father is also no longer in great esteem, yet this town of Eisleben and the whole Mansfeld country know that he was born in wedlock of honest, pious parents here in Eisleben, and was baptized as a Christian, and after half a year the same parents baptized him.

1) This is: Emperor Lothar.

his parents were brought up in Mansfeld, where they spent the greater part of their lives in honour, who also concluded their lives there, and both father and mother, like him, the dear man of God, have also fallen asleep in my hands, with blessed confession of their faith and invocation of the divine name, in the Lord, whom God blesses eternally.

6 He might also be much praised for his good virtues. For he loved and kept temperance and discipline, of which no one can truly say otherwise; but of these and others I will let others, who are more able to speak and write, say, and for this time alone indicate his office, to which he was called by God, which he led in the church, and what the holy Christian church had in him, to remind you a little of your love.

(7) Let no one who knows and loves God's word and truth doubt that this man, whose blessed body we still see before our eyes, held the office in the church in his time that was once held by Elijah and Jeremiah, John the Baptist and the apostle. For though these were graced with some special gifts from God before him, yet as far as the ministry is concerned, he is truly in our time a true Elijah or Jeremiah, and before the great day of the Lord, John the Forerunner, or an apostle.

8 For it must ever be said (if any man will confess the truth), that it was in the church when God raised up and called this man to his office, as it was in the days of Elijah, Jeremiah, and John, and when the apostles were sent forth of God to preach. The Scripture says in 1 Kings 18 that in the time of the prophet Elijah, all Israel had fallen away from God, and one served this God and the other served a different God. The true God had no more than one prophet; Baal had four hundred and fifty of them: so the prophets of the grove that did eat of the table of Jeshabel were four hundred.

9 So also in the days of Jeremiah God complaineth of his people in the second chapter, vv. 7-9, saying, Ye have made mine inheritance an abomination; the priests remember not, where is the LORD? And the learned regard not me, and the shepherds lead men away from me, and the prophets prophesy of Baal, and cleave unto useless idols. I am always reproached with you, and with your children's children, saith the LORD."

2) Thus set by us. Walch offers: "which is [perhaps once] in his time Elijah" 2c.

010 Now the state of the church in the days of John the Baptist is clearly seen in the New Testament, that, though after the Babylonian prison idolatry was not established as before, yet the people were divided into sects, and were Essaeans, Pharisees, and Sadducees, every one of whom desired to be better than the other, relying every part upon his own good life, and, as the prophet saith, worshipping the work of their own hands. The prophet Jeremiah cried and lamented about this beyond measure. But Elijah killed all the Baalite priests in one day; John called them serpents and vipers, and with a high spirit they took hold of all idolatrous things and overthrew them, and again they focused on the pure doctrine of repentance and forgiveness of sins, and taught what righteous worship was.

11. So, my dear friends, as touched upon above, it has unfortunately also been the case in the holy Christian Church now and in the last days under the papist Antichrist, where all error, heresy, sects and idolatry have flowed together into one basic soup and abomination, there has been no right understanding of the Holy Scriptures, no pure doctrine has been preached for the consolation of consciences, human statutes have been held above God's word, no one has known how to call upon God, how to turn to him in trouble, what to do, or how to serve him, darkness has covered the whole face of the earth, no light has shone in the church; in sum, as the prophet Ezekiel saith in 34. Cap, V. 5. 6. "The sheep have wandered as in a wilderness upon all mountains, where there is no shepherd." And also as Esaias saith in the 53rd chapter, "Every man hath gone astray into his own way," but God's way, which the Scripture teacheth, and Christ is the Son of God, no man hath gone, and the harm is greater than any man can gain by words.

12. For as in the time of Elijah not God but Baal was invoked, and in the time of John the Baptist everything was full of sects, and one wanted to prefer itself to the other, so the deceased saints were invoked, even wood and stones, and as one has learned in our Mansfeld country, "the willow stick," which they called Gedut, and "the good Lutzen," which is supposed to be a dead dog, and consolation and help were sought from them, as also happened in other countries; and the strong pillars of the antichristian church, the wretched theologians at Louvain, still want to confirm and maintain in their articles.

013 So also by the strange and curious sects we see that in the days of John there were

It was child's play compared to the latest abomination of the monks and nuns, cardinals, bishops, and all the spiritual crowd, 1) since no one kept it with the other, each sect raised up its own God, its own works, rules, and orders, by which they wanted to be saved, and faith in Jesus Christ was with them a bad thing at all; one had to have much higher and greater things for salvation than the dear Son of God had taught.

(14) Thus, alas, it has been in the church, as is yet to be proved by the fact that the pope reigns, until God has awakened for us, before his great day, the great man who in our time was a true Elijah and John. For as Elias in his time attacked and put down idolatry, so Doctor Martin Luther also attacked and put down the mighty idol of papal indulgences. And as Elijah slew the priests of Baal, so the man of God with the sword of divine word overthrew the missal priests and their idol.

15. On the other hand, he, like John the Holy Baptist, taught Christian and righteous repentance, and preached how and by what means one comes to a right knowledge of sin, by what means one obtains forgiveness of it, what righteous fruits of repentance are, how one should serve God and call upon Him, what classes God has ordained, what each one should do in his own class, and in sum, the holy Scriptures, which before were a closed and sealed book, God has opened through him, so that since the time of the apostles they have not been read with such understanding as they are now.

16 For now we have a proper distinction between the law and the gospel, what each is, what it does, how one should use it for salvation, what good works are, how they please God, why one should practice them, and what follows from them by God's promise. And this understanding was also quite strange and precious to the dear fathers, as Hieronymo, Cypriano, Tertulliano, and others, but for several hundred years it completely decayed under the papacy, so that one could not have a constant consolation of conscience in temptation and mortal distress. When the monks were with dying people and were to comfort them, they consecrated them to Mariam. For then they sang to the people and said: *Mary, mater gratiae, mater misericordiae, tu nos ab hoste protege, in hora mortis suscipe*; that is: Mary, you who are a mother of grace and of all mercy, save us.

1) "Haufens" put by us instead of: "Kaufens".

from our enemies, and receive us in the hour of death; or if they have pointed to other saints, their orders, and good works, which the dear saints never desired, and the consciences having no constant cause to comfort themselves, have at last died in despair of their sins.

17 But now we have a certain and true reason, that we live and die upon the Son of God, Jesus Christ, our dear Lord and Saviour, singing with our beloved Simeon: *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domius, &c*. "With peace and joy I go, in the will of God" 2c. Again, we say with dear Stephaneo, "O Lord JEsu, receive my spirit unto thee," Apost. 7:58, and know with St. Paul that "whether we live or die, we are the Lord's," Rom. 14:8.

18. Yes, but who has taught us this blessed art, and shown us the reason against which all hellish gates are powerless, that out of cross and suffering must come comfort and joy, out of death a fine, gentle and safe sleep, as can be seen in our people under the holy Gospel, praise to God, in so many, both young and old, but especially, as we shall hear, in this man of God, that no fear of death is inspired in them 1) and some go to their death with heartfelt desire and invocation of God's name, and with joy?

Nineteen Admittedly, we have not received this art from the pope, who would rather that we should still die on his indulgences and graces, and thus perish eternally, but that he, together with his own, should lead a gentle epicurean life in dignities and riches. Nor do the bishops teach it in this way. For they neither preach nor visit the sick. The monks would much rather bury us in our monk's habit and in their orders than that we should die to Christ; for then we would not find the right way to eternal life.

20 Therefore we have to give thanks to God, the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who through His Holy Spirit, out of causeless grace and mercy, has enlightened and awakened this faithful servant of His, who with all diligence and faithfulness preaches the Son of God through the gospel, as the one who crushes the head of the old serpent, that is, saves him from the devil and his power, and says to death, "Death, where is your sting? Hell, where is thy victory? But the sting of death is sin, but the power of death is sin.

1) "them" put by us instead of: "him".

of sin is the law. But thanks be to God, who has given us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." This is what the man taught, and from it believers take courage against sin, death, hell and the devil.

21 Now therefore, the man that walked in the spirit and power of Elias in our days, and was a forerunner before the last day, a true John, is now departed by his last departure, and shall see him no more before the end of the world. Therefore we also, like Elisha the prophet, lament, "My father, my father, chariot Israel, and his deputies," and with the disciples of John bury him in the earth with all honor as a Christian. Neither shall we fail to reach with Elisha for the mantle of this Elijah, which are his books, which he wrote by inspiration of the Spirit of God, and left behind him, that we also might receive of his spirit. For though he died in the body, yet he lives in his spirit, and in his books, he will also, God willing, be dead with his writings after his death, as he was his pestilence when he lived: and so may we now hold to the same books, hold them dear and valuable, which point us to the holy Scriptures, and thank God for them. And let this be said, as far as the first part is concerned, namely, what Doctor Martin Luther was, and what he is to be regarded and held for, as he was in our time of Elijah and John; not a common preacher, like me and my peers, but a high and excellent man, through whom God has again purified His Church and graced it with pure doctrine and true worship.

22 Secondly, let us also say and hear how he died. For he is not yet buried, nor has he been dead more than one day, and it seems to me that there are already people who, driven by the evil spirit, say that he was found dead in bed. Now I have no doubt, he that is a liar from the beginning will devise many more and swifter lies. For he is no longer concerned about Doctor Luther, whom God has torn out of his teeth, he can no longer do anything with him; but he is now concerned about the doctrine, which he would like to harm and destroy. But in order that we may meet him and protect the faithful from lies, I, as one who was with him for three weeks, day and night, at his last departure, will report the truth of his departure here in God's stead and before God.

(23) Dear friends, Doctor Martinus did not only begin to die last night, but for longer than a whole year he has always died, that is, with thoughts of death, preached of death, talked of death, written of death; as I wrote the day before, before he decided his end, many comforting sayings from his Psalter, which he recorded there, to comfort himself with them. 1) He often called upon God and asked Him to take him out of this evil world the sooner, because he was tired and weary of this life. He also asked, where it pleased God, that he would not have to agonize long on his deathbed; so he also felt like an old, worn-out, weak man; therefore he often said: "I will not live much longer. And especially shortly before his end he spoke the words: If the pope or my adversaries should get me into their hands and want to do me much harm, I am too weak; I would soon die in their hands.

24th So, as he was well prepared for death everywhere, God graciously heard his prayer and sighing, and when he had supper, and here in Eisleben went out of the large room into the small room on February 17th at eight o'clock, and according to his custom lay in the window to do his prayer, it did not last long, and he began to complain how his chest was almost sore; as if he were being rubbed with warm cloths. They also gave him a drink of scraped unicorn, with wine, so that he would be better, and he lay down in his resting bed, he said to Doctor Jonas and me, who were waiting for him: Why would we not lie down? But we answered that it behoved us to wait for him now.

25. Then he arose, and complained no more of any special matter, and went into the chamber to his bed; and as he passed over the threshold, he said, *In manus tuas commendo tibi spiritum meum, redemisti me, Domine, Deus veritatis,* that is: "Into thy hands I commend my spirit, thou hast redeemed me, O faithful God"; and so he lay down in bed, bidding us good night, and saying, Doctor Jonah and Mr. Michel, pray for our Lord God, that it may go well with him in his cause, and with the holy Gospel. For those at Trent in the Council do not mean well for him.

26 So he fell asleep again, and of course, as could not be otherwise noted, rested until the

1) The meaning is: Cölius wrote down sayings from Luther's Psalter, which Luther had marked out, in order to comfort himself with them.

Seiger struck one after midnight. Then he woke up, and called to his famulo to warm up the room for him; but when the room was already warm, he got up, got out of bed, and said, "O Doctor Jonah, I am in pain; I am going to stay in Eisleben. And with this he went again into the parlour. And as he passed over the threshold, he spake as before: *In munus tuas commedo tibi spiritum meum, redemisti me, Domine, Deus veritatis*. And when he had gone once or twice to and fro in the parlour, he lay down again on the little bed of rest, and the sickness took more and more hold. Immediately we rubbed him again with warm cloths, and sent as soon as possible for the innkeeper in the house, both city physicians, likewise also for the noble and well-born Count and Lord of Mansfeld, and came (since the highly learned Doctor Jonas, I Michael Celius, Johannes Aurifaber and his famulus had been with him from the beginning) as soon as the innkeeper with his wife, then one physician, soon the other also, and then Count Albrecht together with his husband.

27 And when, as I said, we had rubbed him with warm cloths, I asked him if he felt any relief, and he answered, Yes, the warmth does me good, and kisses also warm me; it may be hard, but it is still kind to my heart. And when I, Michael Celius, felt that his shirt was all wet, I said to him, "*Reverend Father*, you have been sweating, God will give you grace that it will get better. He answered: Yes, it is a cold death sweat, I will die, I will go away. And they gave him a drink of wine at his request, and one of the physicians gave him a medicine in a spoon, and he began:

I thank thee, O God, a Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou hast revealed unto me thy dear Son, whom I have believed, whom I have loved, whom I have preached, confessed, and praised, whom the pope and all the wicked revile and blaspheme. My Lord JESUS CHRIST, let my soul be committed unto thee.

O heavenly Father, I know whether I am already torn from this body, that I may live with thee for ever. *Sic Deus dilexit mundum, ut unigenitum filium suum daret, ut omnis, qui credit in eum, non pereat, sed habeat vitam aeternam*. That is, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life," Joh. 3, 16. He also said further, Deus *noster Deus salvos faciendi, tu es Deus, qui educis*

ex morte; that is, "We have a GOOD that helpeth, and the LORD HEART that saveth from death," Ps. 68:21.

28 Then, feeling that the end was not far off, he said three times, *Father, in manus tuas comendo tibi spiritum meum*: "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." Upon this he was silent. We shook over him, and Dr. Jonas and I cried, *Reverend Father*, will ye also die upon your Lord JESUS CHRIST? and confess the doctrine which ye have done in his name? he answered, Yea, and turning on his right side, began to sleep half a quarter of an hour. And when we did not trust to sleep, but smeared him with *aqua vitae* and rose vinegar and rubbed his wrists, when the seer had a quarter of an hour left until three o'clock in the morning, and we shone a light under his eyes, he took a deep breath, and with this he gently and quietly, with great patience, gave up his spirit. And this God knows, before whom we also take it from our conscience, and will confess it finely and testify on the day of the Lord, that [it] happened with his departure in such a way, and not differently, as one will have it, carried together in a historia, in print, of course, more abundantly.

29 Now this I have spoken after the length thereof, first, that the devil and his own might be stopped in their lying mouths, and that it might be spoken of otherwise than as now heard, that it should not be believed. For I and others who have been beside it want to be living witnesses of it; whoever wants to give us faith, well and good; whoever does not want to, let him go, lie and deceive on his own adventures, he will finally find his judge well, I know, praise God, that I have given testimony to the truth in this.

30 Secondly, I have also told this story, that we may learn to prepare ourselves for this last hour, and make ourselves ready, as this our faithful shepherd and teacher hath prepared himself. For though we all know that we must die, yet there are very few of them who prepare and make themselves ready for it, so that they willingly enter into it with faith. Therefore, as we have heard of this man, who was a great doctor of the Scriptures, and who was gifted with many gifts above others, yet for a long time he walked about with vain thoughts of death, drawing together the sayings of the Scriptures that comfort in the distress of death, and being well moved in his heart, he often spoke of them to others, and yet faithfully waited for his office or profession. That is why he also came to the hour when he himself was still

not knowing how he died, and just as with a sleeping man who does not know how and when he will fall asleep, so he also came to his blessed rest. And this is the art we are to learn from this story.

31. And now that we have heard in the shortest and most simple way who Doctor Martin Luther was, how he died, and what we are to learn from it, so that it is useful and fruitful for our salvation and Christian life, let us now hear and move to the third: Why he died just now and in this time, when he would have been very necessary and needed in the Christian Church, against which the Pope with his Tridentine Council and all the infernal gates are rebelling, and are trying to suppress and suppress the word of truth that God revealed through this servant and apostle of His.

(32) There will be many causes here for his departure, and some will say, An old man should not have traveled overland at this time and in such cold; he should have been spared to act in these matters; if he had stayed at Wittenberg, had kept himself otherwise or so, he would probably still be alive. 2c. It is true that, according to reason, these thoughts and speeches are something that must be left alone; but whoever follows them leads him into the wild sea, and just as the latter, driven up by winds, can never have peace, so these thoughts, in this and other cases, let a man come to neither peace nor rest.

33 Therefore we must all here believe in our children, and say, "I believe in God the Father, the Almighty Creator of heaven and earth. Which is not only to be understood as if God created heaven, earth, and all creatures, but also that he governs and sustains them, and that without his will not a hair of our head falls, as Christ says in Luc. 21, v. 18, and David in the 39th Psalm, v. 5: "Lord, teach me that there must be an end to me, and that my life has a goal, and that I must depart from it." So also Job says on the 14th, v. 5. "Man hath his appointed time, the number of his moons stand with thee; thou hast set a purpose, which he shall not pass over." By these words "the Holy Spirit leads us out of the thoughts of our reason, and helps us out of the wild sea into a safe port, so that we must keep still and say: it is the will of God, God has thus sent and willed that he should conclude his end in this city of Eisleben, where he was born and baptized. But for what causes he now and this time demanded from God, that is

another question. In the Holy Scriptures there is more than one reason why each person dies in his own time. Sometimes God takes away children and other young people as soon as they are baptized, and the Book of Wisdom in Chapter 4, verse 11 ff. indicates the cause: God does it "so that wickedness may not corrupt their minds, nor false teaching deceive their souls. For wicked examples deceive and corrupt the good, and charming lust corrupts innocent hearts. They please God, therefore He hastened with them out of this evil life".

34 And this is a fine consolation to parents, to whom their children die in youth. It grieves reason and nature beyond measure to see children and young people fall away in this way, on whom one has placed comfort and much hope. Some also think that they would have made an honest man out of their son, a mother out of her daughter, and a virtuous virgin out of her daughter. But, dear God, you see, as the world so tempts you with evil examples, so Satan also does not celebrate to corrupt doctrine and life, and we have a poor frail flesh, so utterly corrupted by original sin, that even though it is covered in baptism, and buried like a fire with ashes, yet sin remains in our nature; and as a maid in the morning disturbs the ashes, and kindles the fire again; so also, when we come to reason and years, the devil, the world, and our own lust, blow to stir up the concealed fire, original sin. God must now come first, and by death save the children, because they are still in their innocence. And this, I have said, let the parents be their consolation.

35 After this, God often takes away the tyrants, as Pharaoh must be drowned with his own in the Red Sea; Sennacherib must be strangled by his own children in his idol's temple; Nero must stab himself, and Julian must be shot in the Persian War, so that God may preserve his Church from them, and they may not even exterminate him with his word and kingdom, as they have in mind. And these examples are also written for our consolation, whether in our time we also persecute great people for the Gospel and those who adhere to it, so that we know that God is still alive and holds over His Church, which overthrew Pharaoh and other tyrants; His hand is not shortened nor has it become too weak; He knows well how to protect His own and to overthrow tyrants.

36 But when the prophets die, and are required by God to depart, God commonly has in mind that a punishment should follow, such as

In the Scriptures he often promises holy people that he will pause during their lives, but after their departure the punishment will follow. So when Samuel the prophet was dead, the Philistines came into the land, slew Saul and his three sons, and a great number of the people, and took many cities where the children of Israel were living. So also after the departure of the other prophet came the Babylonian prison, and when God had called all the apostles unto Himself, save John alone, there came the destruction of Jerusalem with all the Jewish land, which continueth unto this day, and before the latter day the Jews shall not enter into their land, government, and worship.

37 And it was the cause of this punishment, that they would not hear the prophets, Christ, and his apostles, but blasphemed and persecuted them, when the rod of God was come, and they received their due reward, as it is written in the other book of Chronicles, Cap. 36:15: "The LORD God of their fathers sent unto them early by his messengers, because he spared his people, and his tabernacle. But they mocked the messengers of God, and despised his word, and mimicked his prophets, until the wrath of the LORD increased upon his people, that there was no more healing."

38 There is also great cause to fear that God has taken away this servant of his because of our sin. For, as we have heard above, he preached righteous repentance and forgiveness of sin, according to the command and content of the holy Scriptures, denounced the abuses in the church, and warned against idolatry, how to call upon God, and what Christian freedom is, for which all the world should have knelt down and thanked God. But the papists, on the other hand, hated and persecuted him to the utmost, scolded his teachings as heresy, and as if the earth bore no angry man, this is their thanksgiving for God's good deed.

39 But we, who hold his doctrine, and are reproached for it, think that it is better. We know the way of the Lord, because he hath revealed it unto us in his word: but we walk after our own pleasure. In youth there is neither shame nor discipline, they have no regard for obedience; in old men there is avarice, usury, and unfaithfulness. No one walks honestly and uprightly, and no one is satisfied with his work. The prophet Hosea laments that it was in his day before the Babylonian prison, saying in the fourth chapter, v. 1: "Hear, ye children of Israel, the word of the LORD: for the LORD hath spoken the word of the LORD.

Cause to rebuke those who dwell in the land. For there is no faithfulness, no love, no word of God in the land, but blasphemy, lying, murder, stealing, and adultery have abounded, and one incest comes after another. Therefore the land will be wretched, and all the inhabitants will be in a bad way. For the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea, shall be taken away."

40 And here it is time to repent and weep, not over the same man who has now escaped all evil, and rests blessed in God, but that we provoke God with our sins, and hasten to punishment more than we hasten. But I fear that the prophet's prophecy will be true and fulfilled in many who do not care about it, but as he says, "The righteous perish, and there is no one to take it to heart, and holy men are raised up, and no one pays attention. For the righteous are snatched away from calamity." And this is to be feared, that it will fall upon many despisers' and impenitents' heads, now that he is gone, and may not see the woe.

41 Wherefore be ye exhorted, O Christian people; and whosoever hath not hitherto taken it to heart, let him yet enter into the matter, and hearken and take heed to the word of God, and repent, and turn every man from his wicked way. The prophet says that the Lord will also repent, and he will be sorry for the punishment he has decreed for us; or, if the wicked do not want it any other way, the righteous will be saved, if not here temporally, then eternally; and where the wicked are punished with temporal and eternal punishment, the temporal punishment will be a promotion to eternal life for us who lead a repentant life. The Son of God will also preserve his church in such punishment, and believers will remain and be saved. But the cause of his death is our sinful life, which God intends to punish.

42 Now for the fourth and last, let us also hear what this man's doings and being are now, after the body. As we see him still before our eyes on the bier, he sleeps, and certainly a softer sleep than he ever slept during his life, and such sleep will last until the last day, when he is now freed from all care, toil, work, and danger, and may fear neither pope nor cardinal, world nor devil. O how has the pope, together with his own, tormented and martyred the pious, faithful, and God-fearing heart with his ungodly nature, that he has seen churches and suppressed all worship!
and filled everything with idolatry and infernal sodomy, and in addition had to suffer that he was banished and burned in his image at Rome, which they would much rather have done in his body. But God has mercifully snatched him out of their bloodthirsty jaws, and laid him to blessed rest, and will leave him unbitten. For he is now, as the prophet says, "at peace, and rests in his chamber.

(43) And here it is comforting to all believers that the Holy Spirit calls the death of the righteous, that is, of believers, a peace, and their chamber of sleep, as God also says in the prophet in the 26th chapter, v. 20: "Go thy way, my people, into thy chamber, and shut the door upon thee, and hide thyself a little while, until the wrath pass away." For this reason human reason is afraid of death, because it looks at it as if it were all sorrow and unrest, but the Scripture calls it a sleep, and in addition a peaceful sleep of the faithful in their chambers. They also sleep before, that is, God gives them a comfort at times, so that they can despise the wrathful hatred of Satan and the world. But when they are alive, they sleep in a strange chamber, in a strange inn, where they must awake and again suffer tribulation and persecution. As we have often seen with the dear man here in Eisleben shortly before his blessed end, that he had joy; but he was still in a strange inn, therefore it did not have to last long, that he once complained with tears one evening: he would have lifted up his heart to God with joy, worshipped him out of the window, but he saw the devil sitting on the pipe box and opening his mouth against him, who hindered him in all his actions. But God would be even stronger than Satan, he would know that for certain.

44 Then God had given him rest, that is, comfort of heart; but he did not yet rest in his chamber; therefore he had to be put out of his rest by Satan, and awakened. But now he hath peace and rest in his chamber, and shall not henceforth disturb him out of his rest. How then all believers, who have fallen asleep in Christ since Adam's time, rest gently and quietly, and as the Psalm says, "There is no sun burning for them by day, nor cold oppressing them by night," Ps. 121:6. And though he and all of us are already consumed by worms, and, as we are made of earth, must again become earth, yet it happens without all feeling, without pain, and without pain, and is as St. Paul says, 1 Cor. 15:42 ff.

rise incorruptible; it is sown in dishonor, and shall rise in glory; it is sown in weakness, and shall rise in power; it is sown a natural body, and shall rise a spiritual body."

45 And now let this be said of the nature of our dear Lord and Father after his blessed departure, as far as the body is concerned, which we, together with ours and all the faithful, will see resurrected on the last day, like the body which Christ brought forth on the holy Easter day, more beautiful than the dear sun when it rises in the bright sky, faster and more agile than it runs, and more powerful than all creatures. That then no one will any more challenge, afflict, or kill the body, but as the Son of God threw all things under his feet, so also death, the devil, and hell, together with all creatures, will be subject to him and to us. And in these words we are to comfort ourselves over this blessed body and against our death.

(46) But as far as the spirit, or soul, is concerned, it is not thought, as some pessimists pretend, that the spirit or soul of man should also sleep until the last day. But if the soul has not slept, because it has been shut up in the body as in a dungeon, and, as the Book of Wisdom says, "weighed down," should it now sleep, because it has been delivered from the dungeon? The nature of the soul was not created by God to sleep, but to live, watch and work at all times. When the body is asleep, the soul is awake, as we have experienced in natural dreams and much else. Therefore it is a mistake for some to say that the soul sleeps until the last day, just as the body does; but it is certain that it wakes up and lives, just as it lived before it came to the body and first made it alive; thus it lives after it is separated from the body, and by the mighty hand of God it will make it alive when it comes to the body again on the great day of the Lord.

47 And the scripture also agrees with this, Luc. 16:22, where Abraham speaketh unto the rich man that was buried in hell, and saw Lazarum sitting in his bosom. A sleeping man or a dead man cannot do this; Revelation 6:10, the souls of those who were slain cry out because of God's word. But they are shown to be awake and alive. Thus Christ says: "Let God be the God of the living, let God be the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, therefore they must live," Matth. 22, 32. Now they were alive according to the word of God.

For this reason they live according to the soul, and certainly live with God and our Lord Christ.

48 For thus it is written, Ecclesiastes 12:7, "The dust must return to the earth as it was, and the spirit to God who gave it. Thus Christ says to the thief, "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise," Luc. 23, 43. Again, "We live or die, we are the Lord's," cf. Rom. 14, v. 8, and Revelation 6. John beholdeth under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God which they had, crying with a loud voice, and saying, Lord, thou holy and true, how long judgest thou, and avengeth not the blood of them that dwell on the earth? And unto them was given every one a white robe: and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet a little season, until their fellowservants and their brethren should be consumed like unto them.

(49) From this saying, as from the others, it is clear that the souls of the dead are alive and awake; otherwise they would not cry out with a loud voice, and in addition by God and our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the altar. From which it follows that, since this servant of God is different in calling upon and confessing the name of Christ, he must also be with God and His Son according to his spirit, and has his being among the dear angels and chosen ones of God. But how he is held especially by Moses, Esaias, the prophets and apostles, and especially by St. Paul, who has published many books. Paul, whose books lay darkly in the darkness, until he, through the Spirit of Elijah, brought them again to the light and the right use of the Church by preaching and writing, and the Lamb of God in the midst of them, whom they follow where he goes, which they have recognized and made known in life: this we also want to experience and see, when the merciful God, a father of our Lord Jesus Christ, will also promote us blessedly hereafter.

50. Now that we have heard who Doctor Martin Luther was, namely a true Elijah and John Baptist in our time, how Christian he fell asleep in the Lord, and why he has just now been recalled from this world by God, as well as what his doings and nature are now, Let us commend him to the Lord, and ask God to send another prophet of His Church in his place, and after this Elijah, to give an Elisha, who will have as much of his spirit as he has, and will repay Roman Babylon for what has been done before. Also

that we, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, let ourselves be led by his books into the holy Scriptures, and in right faith and life also blessedly conclude our last hour, amen!

XXIX Dr. Johann Bugenhagen's Sermon, at the Corpse and Burial of Luther on the 22nd of Fe. bruary 1546 in Wittenberg.

This sermon was printed in a single edition at Wittenberg, Frankfurt, and another unnamed place in 1546. 4. In the collections: in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 465; in the Altenburg, vol. VIII, p. 863; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 715; in Walch, vol. XXI, 329* and in C. G. Hofmann, l. c. P. 104. in Latin translation, by Matthias Ritter, 1549 and 1553 and 1557. 8. reprinted, and excepted by Matth. Dresser into the Historia Lutheri.

Paul the holy apostle, 1 Thessal. 4,13.14., says:

But we would not, brethren, keep you from them which are asleep, lest ye sorrow, as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, God will also bring with him those who have fallen asleep through Jesus.

Dear friends! I am to preach now and will gladly do so at the funeral of our dear father, Dr. Martini blessed; but what, or how, shall I speak, if I cannot well make a word because of weeping? And who shall comfort you, if I, your pastor and preacher, cannot speak? Where can I turn from you? I shall no doubt make more weeping and mourning with my speech. For how should we not all grieve heartily, if God has sent us this affliction, and taken away from us the high, dear man, the venerable Dr. Martin Luther, from us, through whom he has shown unspeakable gifts and grace to all of us, and to all churches of Christ in German lands, as well as to many in foreign nations, through whom he has also gloriously triumphed against the kingdom of Satan, against many an abominable idolatry and the doctrines of men, even, as St. Paul calls it, against the doctrines of devils in all the world, and hath revealed unto us in the gospel the high, great, heavenly mystery, his dear Son JESUS CHRIST (as St. Paul also calls it to the Ephesians and Colossians), by whom he hath made known to us the great, great, heavenly mystery. Paul also calls it), through whom our dear Father Christ has revealed his

He defended the gospel against the wicked pope and many a mob and tyrant, even against all the gates of hell, to which great man he gave the spirit of power and strength, that he spared no one how great and mighty he was, and so rejoiced in the gospel and pure doctrine that it was often regarded by the world as if he were too severe in punishment and rebuke, and did too much to him; Even as the Jews and Pharisees, bitter and venomous vipers, blamed Christ, for it grieved them, and hurt them, that they should be punished by the plain truth; but the wholesome doctrine they nevertheless did not accept.

This high teacher and prophet and reformer of the Church sent by God, God has taken away from us. Oh, how can we stop mourning and weeping? How can we obey dear Paul here, when he says: "You should not be sad about those who are sleeping"? But he nevertheless adds, "like others who have no hope." But we who believe know that those who have fallen asleep in Christ will be raised again to a better life, when we shall again meet with them and be with one another forever.

3 But the world was not worthy that it should have this great man of God longer, to continue to blaspheme and persecute him; although the same ungrateful world also received much good through this great man, especially in that it is delivered from so many troubles and tyrannies of the vexatious papacy, so that many of the adversaries (with whom there is still some wisdom or understanding) would rather that the great man had lived a long time longer.

4 This I said at the beginning, that we have great cause to mourn heartily, because we have lost such a high and noble man. And truly (if this may be of any help) Christian kings, princes, and cities, and all who have known the gospel of truth, mourn with us. Therefore we mourn not alone, but many thousands now and then in Christendom with us. It has not befitted the sorry present pope, cardinal, Mainz, or duke Henry, ever to rejoice over the death of this man (whom he has enraged all with the truth). And I hope that the adversaries will not long rejoice over his death, for the person is indeed different in Christ; but the mighty, blessed, divine teaching of this great man is still alive in the strongest possible way.

5 For he was undoubtedly the angel which is written in Revelation 14:6, 7, 8, which flew

in the midst of heaven, having an everlasting gospel 2c. As the text says: "And I saw an angel flying in the midst of heaven, having an everlasting gospel to preach to them that sit and dwell on the earth, and to all nations, and kindreds, and tongues, and people; and he spake with a loud voice: Fear GOD, and give glory to him, for the time of his judgment is come, and worship him that made heaven, and earth, and sea, and the fountains of waters. And another angel followed, saying, She is fallen, she is fallen, Babylon the great city; for she hath made all nations drink of the wine of her fornication."

6 This angel that saith, Fear God, and give him glory, was Martin Luther. And that it is written, "Fear God, and give him glory," are the two parts of the doctrine of Dr. Martin Luther, the law and the gospel, by which the whole Scripture is opened, and Christ is known, our righteousness and eternal life. To these two he also added this piece: "the time of his judgment has come," and taught about right prayer and invocation to God, the heavenly Father, in spirit and in truth, as the angel Revelation 14 also says: "Pray to Him who made heaven and earth.

7 For after the doctrine of this angel shall follow another angel, which shall preach consolation to the afflicted and controverted church, and upon the adversaries lightnings and thunderings of everlasting judgment and condemnation; as the other angel said, She is fallen, she is fallen, Babylon the great city. Therefore the adversaries will not long rejoice in this affliction of ours, as Christ also saith John. 16:20, "Your affliction shall be turned into joy." For according to the Apocalypsis in the 14th chapter mentioned, we see that this has gone before, and is still going on. If apocalypsis is to be something, the other will undoubtedly follow.

8 But, alas, how far do I run with my speech in this weeping and sorrow of ours? Let this be enough of our just mourning. For we do indeed justly mourn that such a dear man, a true bishop and shepherd of souls has departed from us. But in this sorrow we should also rightly recognize God's goodness and mercy toward us, and thank God that after a hundred years from the death of St. John Hus (who was killed for the sake of the truth in 1415), He has soon awakened us through His Spirit this great Doctor Martin Luther, against the antichristic doctrine of the evil, satanic

Pope and against the doctrines of the devil; as John Hus himself prophesied of a future swan before his death. For Hus is called a goose in Bohemian. You roast (said John Hus) a goose now, but God will raise up a swan, which you will not burn nor roast. And when they cried out against him so much that he could not answer them, he is said to have said: After an hundred years I will answer you. This he has done honestly through our dear father Dr. Lutherum, and has just begun in the following year after a hundred years. Yes, we should thank God that he has preserved this dear man for us and his church in the fierce disputes, in so many hard battles, and that through him Christ has so often prevailed, now almost into the thirty years, to the Lord Christ be praise and honor, for ever and ever, amen.

9 But we ought also to rejoice with our dear father Luther, that in the highest office of apostle and prophet, in which he faithfully executed his command, 1) he is departed from us, and is departed unto the Lord Christ, where are the holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and many to whom he preached the gospel, all the holy angels, Lazarus in the bosom of Abraha, that is, in the eternal joy of all the faithful. How this will happen now, until the last day, we shall know, as St. Paul says to Philip, 1, v. 23: "I desire to depart, and to be with Christ," as in the Acts of the Apostles, Cap. 7, 58. Also Stephen says: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit unto thee," and Christ to the thief: "Today shalt thou be in paradise," Luc. 23, 43.

10 For there is no doubt, as the Spirit of Christ was in the hands of the Father, when he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit, 2c. until the resurrection on the paschal day: so shall our spirits be in the hands of Christ until our resurrection. For thus the words of the Lazaro are, "But now he is comforted, but thou art tormented." Luc. 16, 25.

11 What rest or comfort the faithful have, or trouble or anguish the wicked have, from this time until the last day, we cannot tell from the scriptures. The Scripture saith, "They sleep," as Paul saith first Thessalonians, "Of them that sleep." But just as in natural sleep the healthy rest in a sweet sleep, and, refreshed thereby, grow stronger and healthier, but the unhealthy, or those who are afflicted, and especially those in death

1) "faithfully" put by us instead of: "recently".

But those who are terrified or afraid, hardly sleep with terrible dreams and restlessness, so that sleep is not a rest to them, but a more terrible and desolate restlessness than waking: so there is a difference between the sleep of the faithful and the sleep of the wicked. But of this we cannot speak or conclude further, for the words of the Scripture are.

(12) Our dear father, Martin Luther, has now obtained what he often desired, and if he should now come to us again, he would punish our mourning and trembling with the word of Christ John. 16: "If ye loved me, ye would rejoice; for I go to the Father," and would grant me eternal rest and joy. Christ has overcome death for us; why do we tremble? The death of the body is to us a beginning of eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who became for us a noble and precious sacrifice.

13 I still remember when the venerable, our dear father, Martin Luther, saw some who had sweetly fallen asleep in the confession of Christ, that he said: "God grant that I may also so sweetly fall asleep in the bosom of Christ, and that my body may not be tormented with long pains of death; but may God's will be done.

(14) Here with us at Wittenberg in the university was Master Ambrosius Bernhardus 1) of Güterboch, my dear brother, a quite pious man, who loved Christ, who lay some days before his end very weak and sick unto death, and God yet relieved him of the feeling of sickness, as if he had already been in another life, talked with us, as he wanted to come to us, and be happy with us. That he was so sick, and had to die, he knew nothing at all about; he certainly did not see death, therefore he could not be afraid of death; for he was no longer in this life, but only when one spoke of Christ, he freely confessed from the heart the great grace and blessedness that has come to us from the heavenly Father in Christ. For he loved Christ and loved to pray and to call upon God the Father in spirit and truth. If then (as one who had come to himself) one wanted to tell him soon after of his beloved wife, children, house, money, debt, etc., he was again soon not with himself, but as in another world (yet he knew all of us, and called us by name), and talked merrily with laughter and sweet jests of other things, so that one who did not know his fancy could think of his own.

1) Elsewhere his name is given as Ambrosius Berndt von Jüterbock.

he would be quite healthy, and otherwise would have to lie in bed for a long time. 2c. But our dear Lord Jesus Christ took him out of this life in such fantasy, but still in good confession of the Christian faith, so that he was already dead of this world, some days before he died; for he knew nothing on earth, for which he would care, yes, everything was taken out of his heart, that he did not feel his sickness, did not care about death; yes, he also did not see death, how should he then be afraid of sin and death? So that we saw in him before our eyes the word of Christ John 8:51, which comes to all believers in Christ, "If any man keep my word, he shall never see death." For although they do not all die as easily as this Ambrose, but with great pain, as the Son of God Himself died on the cross, yet when the dear little hour comes, they see life and not death, and all say, "Father, into Your hands I commend my spirit"; just as our dear Lord Jesus Christ took our beloved Father *Doctor* Martinum to Himself with such a blessed farewell from this pitiful valley. Praise and thanks be to God for eternity!

15 In the sickness of Master Ambrosius, when I saw that he did not sleep either, I asked two *Doctores Medicinae to* prepare for him a strong sleeping potion; and they answered me, Such a thing would be dangerous, and they would be blamed if it came to evil. I said: I will answer for it, though he tarry over it. Pray it to him in the name of God, as a desperate man; who knows, it may help. The Medici gave him such a draught, but not so strong as I desired, for they were a little anxious; so sleep came upon him with violence, that he slept at two hours; But when he awoke, he felt his woe, and lamented it, and talked with his wife of all manner of necessities intelligibly; but soon after, without danger, after an hour and a half, he was again in his merry being as before, and knew no more of this world, until after some days he gave up the ghost to Christ.

(16) Such a blessed and joyful history of *Magistro Ambrosio*, our dear brother, I have now gladly told you for two reasons; first, that I might thereby stop your love a little from the weeping and crying which has now come upon us. God has afflicted us; his grace comforts us again. Secondly, that such a history may serve our cause, since we are now speaking of it.

17 For this Master Ambrose was Doctor Martini's brother-in-law, therefore he visited him so often in his sickness, and when he talked with him of Christ, Ambrose also talked of Christ, according to the dear Gospel, as I said; but when he wanted to talk with him of wife, children, goods, 2c., Ambrose knew nothing of such things, but soon fantasized happily with other words, as I said before. In particular, he said to the doctor with laughter and thanksgiving: "Doctor, thank you for coming to me; I will come to you again in the evening, when we will have a good collation together, and then I will talk to you about many happy things. Now, indeed, they may both do this in eternal life, since they have both journeyed there; in this life they may not come together in this way.

18 And when Doctor Martinus departed from him, the doctor said unto me, He is gone, he knoweth no death; if we will advise him how he shall order his business, he knoweth no more of this world and life, but is merry, laugheth, proposeth other things unto us with his merry fancy, and mocketh us with such words, as if he would say, I know nothing more to order or to do on earth. God grant me even for a short time such a quiet and blessed hour of death, what more shall I do on earth?

19 Now when Master Ambrose was buried in the hard winter of 1542 January, not long after, Doctor Martinus passed with me before the sepulchre, and pointing with his hand to the grave, said, "He knew not that he was sick, neither did he know that he died, and yet was not without the confession of Christ; there he lies, not yet knowing that he is dead. Dear Lord Jesus Christ, take me also out of this pit of grief unto thee. 2c.

20 I often heard these things from my dear father, and when he perceived my displeasure, and at times also from my words, he said unto me: "Pray ye our dear Lord GOD, that he will take me hence shortly. I can no longer do anything on earth; I am no longer of any use to you; help me with your prayers; do not ask that I may live longer." Now everyone can well remember what I answered my dear father, our heart-loving Doctor, to such words. All this shows how gladly he wanted to be rid of this life of misery in his last days, and to be with Christ; with this he also sang his Consummatum *est* [It is finished],
and commanded his spirit into the hands of the heavenly Father.

(21) There have also been previous indications that our dear father, Doctor Martinus, would wander into a better life. For all this year he has often said to us that he desired to go to another place. He also left more often this year before his death than in many years before, namely to his fatherland in Mansfeld, to the bishop in Zeitz, in Merseburg, in Halle. These were simultaneous indications and prophecies that he would make this blessed journey to a better life; therefore it also happened that he departed from this life and traveled to the noble and well-born counts and lords of Mansfeld in the city of Eisleben, where he was born and baptized, no differently than he desired, except that he would have preferred to spend the time with us, his dear wife and children, but God sent it differently.

22 That you may also have a short report, dear friends, of our beloved father Doctoris Martini's blessed departure: When he perceived that his hour was come, he prayed thus: O my heavenly Father, a God and Father of our Lord JEsu Christ, God of all comfort, I thank thee that thou hast revealed unto me thy dear Son JEsum Christ, in whom I believe, whom I have preached and confessed, whom the wicked pope and all the ungodly profane, persecute, and blaspheme; I beseech thee, my Lord JEsu Christ, let my soul's realm be committed unto thee. O heavenly Father, though I must leave this body and be torn from this life, yet I know assuredly that I abide with thee for ever, and that no man can pluck me out of thy hands.

And then he said three times, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O faithful God." Again, John 3:16: "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

And hath thus fallen his hands, and in fine silence hath given up his spirit unto Christ; wherefore let us rejoice with him justly, as much as we could with mourning.

(23) Here I must remember the holy bishop St. Martin, of whom history says that all heretics blanched and blanched at his name. Again, that there was great weeping and mourning of all believers and true Christians over the death of St. Martin. There was a dispute and quarrel among some towns and countries about the death of St. Martin.

who were to keep the body of St. Martin and bury it with them. All this happened in the same way with this holy apostle and prophet of Christ, our preacher and evangelist in German lands, Dr. Martin; but I will not speak of this at length. God Himself now values and loves him, and keeps him in His bosom, who in this life was very dear to us and to the Church of Christ. In that life, when we all also hope to come to him, repay our beloved Father God.

24 Grant unto God, that the Spirit of God may be upon the seed also, to speak twice more than that high and holy man spake, and in the church which the dear Father hath planted: as Elisha the prophet prayeth of Elijah, when he was taken away in a flood.

25 But if we fear or think that God hath taken away this dear man for our sins and ingratitude, let us amend our lives through Christ, and call upon God our heavenly Father, that we may continue in the blessed and pure doctrine of the faith, and be protected through Christ, against the mobs and tyrants, and against all the gates of hell. Protect, O Lord Christ, thy poor Christianity, that they may praise thee for ever; help us, O God our Saviour, and save us for the honour of thy name, and be merciful to our sins, for the sake of thy holy name; keep in thy church faithful and good preachers; give them power and strength through the Holy Spirit, as the 68th Psalm, v. 12, says: "The Lord giveth the word with great multitudes of evangelists."

26 The insolent, abominable, great blasphemies of the adversaries, and of the obstinate priests and monks, and also our ingratitude, may well be the cause of great calamities and punishments of God in the world; but we should pray God the Father in the name of the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, that he would do for his name's sake, and fulfill and make true the epitaph and prophecy which our dear Father Martin himself made for him:

Pestis eram vivens, moriens tua, mors ero Papa.

This is in German: Pope, Pope, when I lived, I was thy pestilence; when I die, I will be thy bitter death.

Praise be to God for ever and ever through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

Let us pray 2c.

XXX. Philipp Melanchthon's Speech, delivered at Luther's Corpse, February 22, 1546, at Wittenberg.

Melanchthon gave this speech in Latin and had it printed immediately afterwards. In Latin it is found in Hofmann, I. e. p. 91. Casp. Cruciger translated it into German. Three separate editions of this translation appeared in the same year; then it was reprinted together with the historical account of Justus Jonas and Bugenhagen's funeral sermon at Wittenberg in 1553. In the German collections: in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, 468 b; in the Altenburg, vol. VIII, p. 367; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 719; in Walch, vol. XXI, 342* f. and in Matth. Dresser's *hist. Luth*.

1. Although I can hardly speak of my own sorrow in this affliction and grief common to us and to all pious hearts, and to the church of Christ, yet, because I am to say something in this Christian gathering, I will not, as has been the custom of the heathen, praise the deceased alone, but remind and admonish this honest gathering of the high and wonderful divine government of his church, and of many perils with which it must always struggle, so that Christian hearts may the more diligently consider such things, with which they are especially concerned, of the high and wonderful divine government of his church, and of many a peril with which it must always struggle, so that Christian hearts may the more diligently contemplate and consider such things, with which they are primarily concerned, what they should strive for, and what they should desire most of all from God. Again, what examples they should set before their eyes, which they should follow, and by which they should judge their whole life.

2. For although the ungodly hearts of the world, who regard God's word and the Christian religion as nothing, think that in such a manifold disorder and disruption of human life and all regiments everything is going on roughly and without divine government, we, as Christians, should strengthen ourselves by so many and various clear and public divine testimonies, and distinguish the church of God far from the other ungodly multitude, and certainly conclude, that God governs and sustains His Church by His divine miraculous counsel and power, and to learn and understand the government of that Church, and to recognize with gratitude righteous teachers given by God, and to consider how they have been governed by God throughout their teaching and lives, and to present to us as examples among them the high, noblest, righteous teachers, as our fathers, chiefs, and predecessors, whom we should follow in good faith, and do them due honor.

(3) Of this great thing we shall remember and speak as often as the venerable Dr. Mar.

Luther, our dear father and preceptor, is remembered; whom, although many godless people have been bitterly and grimly hostile and hated, we who know by God's grace that he is a high, excellent and faithful servant of Christ and preacher of the Gospel, specially awakened and given to us by God, love and praise him, and seek out and consider all kinds of testimony from among ourselves, which prove that his teaching is not an unchristian, seditious pretense, spread out of his own sacrilegious thirst, as many ungodly Epicureans hold and cry out for it.

(4) And although in such speeches, when one speaks of the deceased, one is wont to say much about the special virtues of those whom one should praise, which they had or showed in their lives, I will nevertheless refrain from speaking of them now, and speak only of this most distinguished one, namely, of his office, which he led in the church government. For pious, God-fearing hearts should certainly believe that Doctor Martin Luther blessedly taught the right, pure, necessary, and salutary doctrine in the Church faithfully and declared that God is always to be highly thanked for it, and that fine work and diligence, faithfulness and constancy, which he showed in his teaching office, and other virtues are to be praised and praised, and that his memory should be dear and valuable to all God-fearing people.

5. Let us therefore begin at the first place, as Saint Paul says, that the Son of God, Jesus Christ, is ascended up on high, and sitteth on the right hand of his eternal Father, and giveth divine gifts unto men, even the doctrine of the gospel, and the Holy Ghost; And that we may be made partakers of these gifts, he hath raised up prophets, apostles, teachers, and pastors, and hath taken them out of this our company, or the company of them which are disciples, and which read, and hear, and love, and keep faithfully the holy scriptures of the holy prophets and apostles.

(6) And he does not call or raise up to this work and knighthood only those who are in the ordinary government, but often does it in such a way that he attacks the very same, and fights against them by Christian teachers and preachers, whom he chooses from other common classes and people. And it is quite comforting and useful to a Christian heart to see the church at all times before the eyes of the world, and to contemplate the great, high, divine blessing, how God from the beginning has always sent wholesome teachers for his church, one after the other, so that, as in a battle array, where those who are in the front of the battlefield are the ones who are in the front of the battlefield, so that they are the ones who are in the front of the battlefield, so that they are the ones who are in the front of the battlefield.

The first who stood in the first place will be gone as soon as others have taken their place and followed in their footsteps.

7 So the first holy fathers followed one another in order: Adam, Seth, Enoch, Methuselah, Noah, Shem: In this life, when he dwelt near Sodom, and when the heathen had already forgotten the divine doctrine of the holy arch-fathers, Noah and Shem, and had fallen into idolatry everywhere, Abraham was awakened of God, that he might be the fellow-servant and helper of the old pious Shem in the high divine work of preaching and spreading the pure doctrine. After him followed Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, who brought the pure and wholesome teaching to light in the whole land of Egypt, which at that time was the most beautiful and praiseworthy kingdom on earth. Then Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, Elijah, Eliphaz, to whom the prophet Esaias belonged, were raised up. Then Jeremiah heard him, Jeremiah Daniel, Danielem Zacharias, then Esras, Onias, and after these the Maccabees, then Simeon, of whom it is said in Luc. 2, and Zacharias, and his son, John the Baptist, Christ himself, and the apostles. This beautiful order and succession of the highest people on earth is useful and amusing to contemplate, for it is a mighty clear and public testimony that God is always with the fine church, governing and sustaining it.

(8) After the apostles came the following company of teachers in the church of Christ, who, though they were not like the foregoing fathers, prophets, and apostles, and were somewhat weaker, yet they were also gifted and adorned with divine testimonies, as Polycarpus, Irenaeus, Gregory Neocaesariensis, Basil, Augustine, Prosper, Maximus, Hugh, Bernard, Tauler, and some others in other places. And although this last time, as the last and weakest age of the world, is much more frail than the previous ones, God has always preserved as the rest those by whom he has again negated the doctrine in the church and punished error, and it is evident that now and in our time the pure doctrine of the Gospel has been rekindled and brought to light much more brightly and purely through the mouth and writing of the venerable Dr. Martin Luther.

9 Therefore let him be numbered with equity among the high and excellent men, whom God hath specially raised up and sent to gather together and restore his church upon the earth; and let us know that such men are to be reckoned the most beautiful flower or nucleus and seed of the human race upon the earth.

10 For though some of the heathen may be accounted and praised as great and excellent men, as Themistocles, Scipio, Augustus, and the like, yet they are far from being equal to these our high miracle-workers, teachers, and chiefs, and much inferior to Esaias, John the Baptist, Paul, Augustine, Luther. Such inequality and difference between the people whom God has given to the Gentiles for the benefit of the temporal government and those through whom He governs His Church, we Christians should understand and consider.

(11) Now what are the special and noble pieces of true doctrine brought to light or explained by Dr. Luther? Luther brought to light or explained, so that he is to be praised in his course and teaching ministry, which he accomplished in his time? For we see that nowadays many people, even great ones, are crying out in hostility and complaining that the church is badly broken up and confused, and that it is stirring up a lot of unnecessary quarreling, which no one can put right or bring back to unity.

(12) To such cries I answer, that the government of the churches in the world is always thus done: when the Holy Spirit punishes the world, discord and division arise. Whenever the Holy Spirit reproves the world, dissension and division arise; but the cause and guilt of such dissension is only of those who will not hear the Son of God, of whom the heavenly Father commanded, saying, "Him shall ye hear.

(13) Doctor Luther brought to light again the true, pure Christian doctrine, which had previously been obscured in many noble articles, and explained it with diligence. For it is public and undeniable that there was much great, gross, and palpable darkness and error in the monks' doctrine of repentance: these he punished, and taught what true Christian repentance is, and which is the certain, true, constant consolation of hearts and consciences that are terrified of God's wrath because of sins.

(14) He also expounded the true doctrine of Paul, which says that man is justified before God by faith alone. He also showed and diligently taught the necessary distinction between the Law and the Gospel, and between the high divine righteousness of the Spirit and the outward worldly discipline or piety. He also taught what true invocation of God means and how it should be done, and he rebuked the entire Church from the pagan blindness and nonsense of dreaming that one can invoke God, even though the hearts lie in pagan doubt (whether God will take care of them and listen to them) and flee from God in such doubt. On the other hand he has the people

He has pointed us to the only mediator, the Son of God, who sits at the right hand of the eternal Father and prays for us, not to stone or wooden images and idols, nor to dead men or dead saints, as the great multitude of godless people in terrible blindness have recourse to such idols and dead men and worship them.

15 He also taught with faithful diligence of right good works pleasing to God, and so adorned, praised, and defended this common Christian life of the temporal rulers, and of all other offices and estates, that the like is not to be seen in any other writings.

(16) And finally, he distinguished from the right and necessary Christian works and set apart the childish practice of ceremonies and other statutes and commandments instituted by men, by which right and true invocation of God is prevented.

17 For this purpose, that the pure Christian doctrine may be propagated and preserved also to the descendants, he has interpreted the Scriptures of the prophets and apostles into the German language, so light and clear that this interpretation gives much more light and understanding to the Christian reader than many other great books and commentaries.

18 Moreover he himself hath written many beautiful expositions of certain books of Moses, Psalms, Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles (to that which he hath done in sermons of many years past), of which also Erasmus thus judged that they are far better and more useful than all other expositions whose writings are extant.

19 And as it is written of them that rebuilt the city of Jerusalem, as of Nehemiah in the fourth chapter, that with one hand they wrought in the building, and with the other they wielded the sword; so at the same time he also had to fight against the enemies of pure doctrine, and yet beside this he wrote many beautiful expositions, which are full of comforting Christian doctrine, and helped many poor mistaken and troubled consciences with Christian counsel and consolation.

20 And because the chiefest parts of divine doctrine are high and far above human understanding, as the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins, and of faith, it must be accepted and confessed that he was taught of God. Many of us have seen for ourselves what great spiritual struggles he had, in which he learned that by faith we must conclude that we are accepted and heard by God with grace.

(21) Therefore, there is no doubt that pious Christian hearts will praise and extol for all eternity the divine good deed that he has given to his church through this Dr. Luther. And they will first praise and thank God for it; then they will also publicly confess before all the world that they have improved much through the faithful diligence and work of this great man in writings and sermons, and that they owe him gratitude for it, even though the others, Epicureans and godless people, who ridicule the entire Church of God and the Church's doctrine and government, proudly despise such high virtue and consider it useless, futile, childish work, or even pure foolishness.

22 Neither are there, as the wise men say, vain and unending disputings and disputations, which no man can make: neither is such a doctrine, as some scornfully say, strewed into the churches, whereunto men shall quarrel and brawl; as the poets say, that a fair and merry apple was cast among some virgins, whereunto they quarrelled among themselves. Nor is this doctrine a dark, obscure mystery, which no man can understand. For understanding, God-fearing hearts, which do not seek wanton sophistry and perversion of right doctrine, can easily see and understand, if they hold the articles of repugnant doctrine against one another, which are according to the divine doctrine, and agree with it, or not; yea, all God-fearing men have already judged this matter of religion, and have certainly decided which is the right, true doctrine. For since God has revealed Himself and made Himself known through the mouths and writings of the holy prophets and apostles, it should not be assumed that such words and writings are uncertain and incomprehensible, as the Sibyls or such dark speeches and prophecies.

(23) But that some people, even good-hearted ones, have at times complained that Doctor Luther was a little too hard and rough in his writing, I will not dispute this, neither to excuse him nor to praise him, but leave it at the answer that Erasmus often gave about this: God has also given the world a hard, sharp physician at this last time, in which great and severe pestilence and infirmities are rampant.

24 And if God shall raise up such an instrument against the enemies of the gospel, who run against the truth with great pride, insolence, and iniquity, as he saith unto Jeremiah the prophet, Cap. 1:9, Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth.

1) "the" put by us instead of: "the".

that thou shalt pluck up, and break, and destroy, and plant, and build" 2c. And if he thus wanted to frighten them with Luther's hard writings, they may appeal to God about it, but they will settle with him in vain.

25 God doth not govern his church according to the counsel and wisdom of men, neither doth he make his instruments, whom he hath raised up, equal at all: but it is so at all times, and with all, that common men of conscience and morality have no pleasure in great vehemence in others, whether it be good or bad. When, at Athens, Aristides saw Themistocles supporting the government with great gusto, and happily going away to him, though he gladly grudged his fatherland such an elective journey, he nevertheless undertook, as much as he could, to moderate the great speed in Themistocle and to keep it in bridle.

26 Neither will I deny that such great, fierce men do him too much at times, for there is no one without all infirmities in this weak, wretched nature and human life. But yet, if there be such a man, as the ancient Greeks said of Hercule, Simone, and the like, who is not always courteous, but is otherwise a sincere, pious, honest man, he is to be praised as an honest, honorable man; and if he shows himself in the church (as St. Paul says) as one who contends chivalrously, and keeps faith and a good conscience, he is also pleasing to God, and to be held in all honor by men.

27 Now we know that Dr. Luther was such a man, for he argued constantly and with faithful diligence about the pure doctrine and defended it at all times, so he also kept a good, honest, unharmed conscience. So everyone who knew him well and was often around him must testify that he was a very kind man, and that when he was among people, he was kind, friendly, and sweet in all his speeches, and not at all insolent, impetuous, obstinate, or quarrelsome; and yet there was a seriousness and bravery in his words and actions that should be in such a man. Summa, there was in him the heart faithful and without falsehood, the mouth kind and delightful, and (as St. Paul requires of Christians) everything that is true, what is honorable, what is just, what is chaste, what is lovely, which is well 2c. Hence it is evident, that the hardness which he used against the enemies of pure doctrine in writings, was not of a quarrelsome and spiteful mind, but of a great earnestness and zeal for the truth. All of us, and many other strangers who have seen and known him, must bear witness of him.

28 What a beautiful and glorious discourse this would be, if I had undertaken to praise this man, and to relate at length the whole history of his life, which he brought to three and sixty years, with constant great earnest diligence and practice in godliness, faith, calling upon God, and other Christian virtues; item, in all good and useful studies and arts! No lewdness or any other badness has ever been found in him; no word that might be used to incite rebellion or indignation has ever been heard from him, but he has always faithfully counseled and helped to make atonement and peace; he has not mixed other, foreign affairs with religious matters, or sought intrigues to strengthen his power or that of his own. Such wisdom and virtue is so great and strange that it cannot be brought about by human ability and diligence alone, but it requires divine grace and gift, which especially such high people, who by nature have a fierce, high and burning courage (as I). Luther was), keep in check.

29 It would be too long to speak of other of his virtues, but I will mention some of them. I myself have often heard him say his prayers for the whole church with hot tears. For he took his own special time and leisure every day to say several psalms, among which he offered his prayer to God with sighing and weeping, and was often displeased in his daily speeches with those who, out of laziness or because of their business, pretend that it is enough to call upon God with a short sigh alone. For this is the very reason why the form and manner of prayer are prescribed for us, so that when we read or speak them, our hearts may be awakened and inflamed, and our mouths may confess which God we are calling upon.

30 Therefore we have seen, when great and grievous counsels of careful, swift, and perilous things have often befallen him, that he hath shown very great courage and manhood, and hath not soon been frightened with a little noise, nor desponded with grief, or with driving, or with terror. For he relied on this certain foundation as on an immovable rock, namely, on God's help and assistance, and did not let such faith and trust be torn from his heart.

31 He was also of such a high and keen understanding, that he alone was able to see before others, in confounded, dark, and difficult matters, what ought to be advised and done. Nor was he, as some might have thought of him, so careless that he did not notice how things were going in the government everywhere, or that he did not know what to do.

He did not pay attention to the people, how they would be minded; but he knew, how the regiment everywhere stood, and noticed with special diligence the mind and will of all those people, with whom he had to do. And although he was otherwise of high intellect and excellently learned, he nevertheless read all kinds of books and writings, both old and new teachers and scribes, as well as all histories, with which he was able to draw and apply examples to all kinds of current affairs and things with great skill.

32 How eloquent he was, his own books and writings show that he is well and truly like all those who are famous as the most excellent orators.

(33) That such a noble man, of such a very high intellect, and also well learned, and tried and experienced by long practice, and gifted with many high Christian virtues, and especially raised up and chosen by God to help the church again (to whom he also warmly loved all of us as a father), has been called away and departed from this life and our means and society, as from the top of the order, we bear our grief and pain. For we are now like poor, miserable, abandoned orphans, who had an excellent man for a father, and are deprived of him. But still, because we owe obedience to God and must surrender to His will, we should keep a constant, eternal memory of this dear father of ours, and not let it depart from our hearts. Yes, for his sake we should thank God and rejoice with him in the joyful, blessed, eternal fellowship that he now has with God and the Son of God, our Lord JESUS CHRIST, and with the holy fathers, prophets, and apostles, of which he, in his life of faith and trust in the Son of God, always desired the most and waited for it with great longing: since he now not only hears that his hard work and faithful diligence, which he had to plant and spread in the pure doctrine of the Gospel, will be praised and glorified by God and the whole heavenly blessed Church in eternal life, but also he himself, as he has now been released from this mortal body, as from a dungeon, and into another, much higher, more glorious, divine school, now beholds before his eyes, and recognizes the high, unfathomable, eternal essence of divine majesty, and the two natures, divine and human, united in one person of the Son of God, and all the high, wonderful divine counsel, through which he has attained to his divinity.

And because he contemplates these incomprehensible things, which are beyond all measure, all wrapped up and covered up by faith in the Word and short sayings of the divine Scriptures, he now has inexpressible joy that he sees these things manifestly before his eyes, and thanks God with all his burning heart without ceasing for this supreme benefit.

(34) Then he learned to understand how and why the Son of God is called in Scripture the Word and Image of the eternal Father, and how the Person of the Holy Spirit is the bond of unspeakable heartfelt love, both between God the eternal Father and the Son, and also between them and the whole church. In this mortal life he learned the beginning of this high doctrine, and immediately as the first letters, and of these great things, namely, of the difference between right Christian and other, pagan, false invocation, of right true knowledge of God, which is seen there, how he reveals and makes himself known through his word, and according to it separates and sets apart the right true God from other, false and invented idols, he has very often spoken with great seriousness and Christianity from the Holy Scriptures in sermons and otherwise.

35. many in this collection of ours have heard him interpret this saying of Christ Johan. 1, 51. (which is drawn from the history of the patriarch Jacob, Gen. 28, when he saw the ladder with its top touching heaven, 2c.), where He says: "From now on you will see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man." Here He first exhorts the hearers to consider well this high, glorious consolation, and to press into the heart that now all heaven is certainly open to us, that is, that we now have access to GOD through Christ, and the terrible, and that the terrible, infallible wrath of God has been taken away, so that we have recourse to this mediator, the Son of God, and that God is now with us and dwells among us, and that those who call upon him in faith are graciously accepted, heard, governed and preserved by him.

36 Of this marvelous eternal counsel and will of divine majesty (which yet many nefarious despisers of God hold to be vain fables and nothing at all) he teaches and exhorts that it should be opposed 2) with firm faith, and

1) "of" put by us instead of: "and".

2) "him" put by us instead of: "him".

keep the natural doubt of the human heart," and all the terrors and temptations by which miserable, afflicted hearts are made fugitive and timid, so that they cannot rise up, trust in God in a right conscience, call upon Him, nor take comfort in God and be satisfied with Him.

(37) Then he says, "The angels that ascend and descend upon the Son of man," that is, the body of the Lord Christ, are the faithful ministers and preachers of the gospel, who first ascend to God through our forerunner and ancestor, Christ, and receive from him the light and knowledge of the gospel and the Holy Spirit, and then descend again, that is, they carry on and exercise the ministry of teaching the gospel among men. To this he also added this interpretation, that even the heavenly spirits, whom we use to call angels, who look upon the Son of God, learn much through this vision of the wonderful union of both natures, and have unspeakable joy in it; and because they are the servants and hosts of this Lord our Savior, to protect the church, they are governed by the hand of the same.

38 This great, glorious, most high thing he now beholdeth himself. Just as before he ascended and descended to heaven among the servants of Christ and preachers of the gospel, under this Duke Christ, so now he also sees how his angels are sent by him, and has great, hearty joy and pleasure with them in the contemplation of his divine wisdom and divine works.

(39) Many of us also have in good remembrance how gladly and with great pleasure he used to speak of the holy prophets' government (among the people of God) and of their doctrine and good counsel, also of their struggles, journeys, and persecutions which they suffered, and how God wonderfully saved them, and how with great understanding and great wisdom he held up the whole time of the church of God in the world against one another; so that he showed how great a desire he had to be with the same holy, high people. He has now joined them, and rejoices that he should hear their living voice and speak with them; so they, in turn, are heartily pleased with their schoolmate and fellow servant, receive and greet him kindly, and thus both give eternal thanks to God, who out of causeless grace and goodness gathers and sustains His Church in the human race.

040 Therefore we should not doubt at all that this our dear father, Dr. Luther, is with God in eternal blessedness. But we are justly grieved that we are now lonely and forsaken.

However, because we owe obedience to the divine will after it has been removed from us, we should know that God also wants this from us, that we are mindful of his virtue and the benefits that were given to us through him. This gratitude we are to render him faithfully, and we are to recognize and consider that he has been a noble, delicious, useful and beneficial instrument of God, and we are to learn and retain his teachings with faithful diligence.

41. besides his virtues, which are necessary to us, to be an example to us, and to follow them diligently according to our measure, as the fear of God, faith, earnest and fervent invocation of God, faithfulness and diligence in our office, chastity and discipline, prudence, shunning and avoiding all things that may provoke sedition and other vexations, desire and eagerness to learn more and more.

(42) And just as we often and frequently remember other great holy men through whom God governs His Church on earth, such as Jeremiah, John the Baptist, and St. Paul, so we should also often consider this man's teaching and life, and at the same time offer our thanksgiving and prayer to God, which is also proper to be done now in this collection. Therefore, please speak to God with me out of a true Christian heart and faith:

O almighty God, eternal Father of our Lord and Saviour JEsu Christ, who hast created and chosen for thyself an eternal Church, together with thy eternal, only-begotten Son JEsu Christ, and the Holy Spirit; who art wise, gracious, merciful, a just judge, true, strong, and mighty to do whatsoever pleaseth thee: We thank thee that thou hast gathered thy church out of the human race unto thine only begotten Son for an everlasting inheritance, and hast preserved the preaching ministry of the gospel, and hast also restored the same in our time by thy faithful servant Dr. Martin Luther, and we pray with all our hearts that you will also preserve and govern your church everywhere, and seal and preserve in us the true, pure doctrine, as the prophet Esaias prays on the 5th for his disciples. May you also inflame our hearts by your Holy Spirit, so that we may truly call upon you and govern and carry out our lives according to your word and will.

43) Lastly, because it is evident from the histories that the death of great and excellent teachers and rulers often means great punishment for their descendants, we, I, and all those to whom the office of teaching in this church and school is entrusted, hereby remind you and exhort you most earnestly to avoid the present common danger and worry.

the course of the whole world. For we see that in one place the Turkish tyrant rages and rages horribly and terribly; in another, other enemies of ours threaten us with severe wars and devastation in the German land and among ourselves; so that now and then we also find many evil, wanton, and wicked heads, who, if they are no longer afraid of Luther's seriousness, will dare with great thirst and boldness to destroy and corrupt the pure doctrine of the church.

44. so that God may graciously avert such punishment, we should also be all the more diligent to govern our lives, customs, and studies in a Christian manner, and should always have this comforting saying and comforting promise in our hearts and before our eyes, that as long as we keep, hear, learn, love, honor, and promote the teaching of the gospel among us, we should be God's dwelling place or temple and church, as God's Son John 14:23 said, "He who loves me will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our home with him. 14, 23. said, "He that loveth me shall keep my word, and my Father shall love him; and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him."

(45) Through this gracious, loving, and entirely comforting promise, we are to awaken ourselves to learn this divine doctrine diligently, and to know that the entire human race and all regiments on earth are preserved solely for the sake of the Church of God. And now we are to contemplate the eternal blessed companionship that we are to have in the life to come with God, Christ, and all the saints, to whom God has called us out of causeless grace, who, beyond all doubt, does not reveal Himself to us in vain through so many clear, wonderful testimonies, and did not send and give His only Son to us in vain, but truly and warmly loves and cares for those who recognize and greatly esteem such His divine good deeds, amen.

XXXI. of Dr. Justus Jonas funeral sermon on the blessed Lutherum, held at Eisleben the 19th of Feb. 1546 and at Halle the April 8 of the same year.

This sermon, together with that of Michael Cölius, came out in Wittenberg in 1546 in a single edition. In the collections: in the Hallische Theil, p. 549; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXI, p. 707, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 362*. Also in Hofmann, l. c. S. 118 and in Joh. Mich. Koch, "Christliches Ehrengedächtniß in drei Leichpredigten Justi Jonä, Mich. Cölii and Joh. Bugenhagen, together with a parentation and funeral oration by Melanchthon and a short description of the life and death of Luther". Eisleben 1714.

1 Thessal. 4, 13—18.

But we would not, brethren, keep you from them which are asleep, lest ye sorrow, as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, God also will take with him those who have fallen asleep through Jesus. For this we say unto you, as the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not appear unto them which sleep. For the Lord himself shall come down from heaven with a shout, and with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and they that are dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the air to meet the will of the Lord, and so shall always be with the Lord. Comfort yourselves therefore with these words one to another.

1. Dear Friends! We have Christian cause to preach this sermon on the death and passing away of our dear father, Dr. Martin Luther, who with all his earnestness and all his faithfulness was of the highest comfort to all Christendom and all the churches of the whole German nation, and who loved you here in Halle and granted you good things, through whom a very great part of the whole world was converted. Today it is seven weeks since the dear man, Dr. Martin Luther, at Eisleben, in his fatherland, shortly before three o'clock after midnight, has blessedly fallen asleep in Christ. I preached a sermon the next day after his departure from this world in St. Andrew's Church in Eisleben, when the corpse was placed in the middle of the church, truly with hot tears, and therefore I am also preaching this present sermon to remind pious Christian hearts what a great treasure they had for a time in this excellent, noble man, and what they lost in him. And at that time this sermon is divided into three parts:

2. First of all, of the person of Dr. Martin Luther, and of his great gifts and high understanding in spiritual high things, which the dear man had; item, how he prepared himself for death and sleep also a whole year and longer excellently.

3 Secondly, I said at that time from the text of Paul concerning the resurrection of the dead, and how we have known the man Dr. Lutherum, who for the twenty-nine years against the devilish lies of the
Pope and the unholy monks, against the kingdom of the devil has written, fought and struggled, will certainly see and hear again in the last day, in eternal joy and bliss.

(4) Thirdly, an admonition was made, and it was indicated that the death of Martin Luther would certainly, like the death of all prophets, have a special power and subsequent effect behind it, against the godless, hardened, blinded papists (2c).

(5) Of the first part, of the person and glorious gifts of the blessed Luther, and how he so finely and neatly prepared himself for death, which is comforting to all God-fearing people to know, I would heartily wish, and would be worth wishing, that all of you who are now here in the church would have read very freshly and anew the first book of Moses, which the dear father Dr. Martinus has interpreted very abundantly and beautifully. Again, in the New Testament, the 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th chapters of John; as I hope that there are many of you here who have read it, and have it all in good fresh memory, then you would see all the more what a man and treasure you have lost in Dr. Martin Luther. Again, the Epistle to Galatians, the Psalter, Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, which he translated, which now no doctor at Paris, Louvain, nor any other famous place could or would be able (indeed, if one melted all the ^papists together) to German. These and other books show what a man Dr. Martinus was, and what a rich spirit he had, how faithfully and diligently he worked in the Scriptures; then we would say what a man we lost in him.

(6) Of the person we would have much to say, but we cannot say it all; therefore we will here remain silent about his sharp ingenuity, and excellent, sharp, high understanding, which the dear father Dr. Martin Luther, of blessed and Christian memory, had from his youth on, in his 18th and 20th year. I have heard of many people who had been with him from his youth, who testified that they had neither seen nor experienced more excellent ingenuity than in Dr. Martino. Among them were Dr. Lange and Dr. Staupitz at Erfurt; for they have experienced it because they have walked with him daily. Again, so also Dr. Mellerstadt, who was Rector at the time when the University of Wittenberg was founded, said: "Take care of the young monk M. Martin Luther, he has such an excellent, perceptive mind, the likes of which do not occur to me all my life; he will certainly become an excellent man. And so it is done.

7 So also Dr. Martin Luther had many other rich gifts, and was an excellent, powerful speaker. Again, an exceedingly powerful interpreter of the whole Bible. The clerks also learned from him how to write and speak German properly. For he has brought forth the German language again, so that one can now speak and write German again, as many high people must testify and confess. But what an eloquent man and high writer Dr. Martinus was, one has often experienced in minor matters, when he wrote bad letters. His books and writings, of which there are many, bear sufficient witness to this. The work praises the master. Of the same natural and high gifts I will say nothing, but direct all God-fearing hearts and Christians to his books, postils and commentaries 2c., there they will find that they have had an excellent orator, preacher and right bishop in the man. If God wanted Germany to have so many people and bishops, they would certainly be well provided for.

(8) There was also in Luther's son, Martin, an abundant grace and great light of the Holy Spirit, a true knowledge of God and Christ, which he did not diminish, but rather increased through daily diligent work in the holy divine Scriptures, with study and reading of the same, for forty whole years, so that the holy Scriptures were well known to him. He read the bible many, many times, so that it was very useful to him. He did this from his 24th year until his 63rd year, when he died, the noble man.

9 I must here remember two particular words, which signify his heart, as Christ saith, When the heart is full, the mouth speaketh. The first, that he said, "I would with all my heart that I understood somewhat the first article of our Christian faith concerning creation: "I believe in God the Father, Creator of heaven and earth. But I would like to remain a student of the Abc in this article, and I consider that few people, even the high ones, have understood the article, unless Adam, Noah, Abraham, David. But Esaias, Jeremias, and other prophets, they also understood something of it, but they all so studied on it that they professed to be disciples."

(10) The other word is that he said that he wanted the article of redemption (that God sent His Son into the world for the redemption of the whole human race) to be regarded as the highest theology, as it is regarded by Paul and all the apostles. He has well seen and understood how a high, excellent article
This is: "God sent His Son into the world", that one has to study and learn enough about this article as long as one lives, and yet will not unlearn it, although many famous theological schools, such as Paris and Cologne, have done the least, but have taught humanity against this article. More about this in another time.

11 Now therefore, let us speak of this, how Dr. Martin Luther prepared and sent himself to death a whole year before his end. Now that he was in his 63rd year There he often said such high and dear words, which might well have been compared to the sermons and words of Noäh, who also lived in a very evil time, and said with pain: "Alas, the world loves lies more than the pabst's, monks', and other men's fables, and by the great, bright light of the Gospel the world has come to the point that now and henceforth many are no longer found in common sin or infirmity, but in vain blasphemy, abuses, defiance, and deliberate persistence in gross vices; no one wants to be a sinner anymore, no one wants to humble himself before God; certain punishment will follow."

(12) Now this was also a special grace and knowledge of God on the part of the man, that he prepared himself for his farewell and death a whole year before, wrote in his Psalterium and prayer booklet, which he always took with him, more than twenty comforting sayings, as if he wanted to say: I will one day, with God's help, take hold of one of the sayings in my last hour of death, and thus be prepared against Satan and all the gates of hell. And now these sayings, written in his prayer booklet, indicate that this man was not only a bad disciple, but also an excellent master in spiritual battles.

(13) The first saying which he wrote for his treasure and comfort is 1 Peter 5:7: "Cast all your care upon him; he careth for you." As if he meant to say, Gather all your cares and concerns into one bundle, take the greatest care of all into one small 2) (as the Greek word xxxxxxxxxx finely implies), and cast them upon him, committing them to Christ, who cares for you. According to the noble and comforting saying, the pious and holy man Doctor Martinus also cast all his care on the Lord Christ in the hour of his death, and neither asked nor cared where he would remain, but cast his care on the Lord Christ in the hour of his death.

1) "the" put by us instead of: "for".
2 s "Kleuen" == Kleuel, tangle. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. III, 1642, 8 4.

Let God care for his soul, which he commanded him, as he would care for and preserve it. For all men are troubled, when they die, where they shall abide. But here we hear how God cares for us all the days of our lives, even in the highest and greatest distresses, namely in the hour of death and in our last moments. I certainly could not have used Peter's saying as a consolation for the last hour of death. There you can see what kind of man Dr. Martinus was, and how diligently he moved the apostle's word.

14. Again, so also the dear Father has these thoughts about the saying: "Our dear faithful God, who has placed me in the high office of preaching, will certainly take care of me and keep my soul well; I will only confidently and cheerfully commit my spirit into his hands, for the Lord will well know where my soul shall abide, who so loved it, and cared for it, that he gave his life, even his own soul, to redeem my soul; he is the noblest and best shepherd and bishop of all souls that believe in him, vowed forever. So he does not begin to learn from me how he should care for the souls who believe in Christ; I know that I will not be the first on whom God will learn how he should preserve and keep the souls of the believers in Christ. St. Lawrence commanded his soul to Christ on a red-hot grate, and said: Christ has taken care of it, he will preserve it well. Likewise, St. Stephen, Apost. 7:58, commanded Christ his soul in the midst of the stones, saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit; and it is delivered from him, and is preserved unto everlasting life; and other martyrs more, that I am not the first, therefore, that commandeth Christ, and shall preserve his soul. I would not willingly (he has often said) that my soul should be in my hand; for if it were in my hand, the devil would have snatched it away long ago, yea, in a moment, as a vulture snatches a young fowl or a bird; but out of the hand of Christ, to whom I have committed my soul, neither the devil nor any man shall snatch it; for Christ saith John 10:27, 28: 'The sheep that hear my voice, and follow me, no man shall pluck them out of my Father's hand, or out of mine/ "

15 So also the dear father wrote the saying of St. Ambrose in his psaltery, saying thus unto his brethren, I hope not that I have so lived with you, as to shrink from living longer among you; for we have a good and faithful Lord. Neither do I know of any friend who would have cared for me more than he.
Lord; therefore I am not afraid to die." With this saying of St. Ambrose, he, dear Dr. Luther, wanted to indicate that he was not afraid to live here any longer; for he had lived here in the world in such a way that he should not be ashamed of his life and life. So he is not at all afraid to die, if it were God's will; for he knows that the home in heaven has been purchased and appointed for him through Christ.

16 Moreover he wrote in his psalter the word of a very spiritual bishop, who might have been like Ambrosio, to whom the wickedness of the world was very grievous, and he could not bear it 2c. To whom Christ answered in the last hour of his death, saying, "Thou weepest and wailest: hath the world done so well to thee, that thou wilt not suffer it? Thou wilt not suffer the world's wickedness; and yet thou wilt not depart from the world." Doctor Luther will not have written that saying in vain. Oh how much tribulation and cross he has had from his enemies; indeed, it has hurt him from the heart that the world lives so ungodly in avarice, usury, contempt, and ingratitude of the word, drowned in envy, hatred, and satanic poison of the papists; item, that there have also been so many false brethren who have fallen away from the pure doctrine; therefore he has wanted to testify herewith that he would gladly die and lie down in the grave.

17 For he loved the saying, Why shalt thou shrink from Christ to be with him, who hath proved and shewed thee the highest faithfulness, that he gave his soul for thy salvation, and died for thee; thinkest thou that the devil, or the world, will do for thee that which Christ hath done? Wherewith doth the world prove such faithfulness? It does not; what then dost thou desire to be here? It has not given its body and soul for you, but God's Son, Jesus Christ. So now thou canst come and be in no place better than with Christ the Lord, the Son of God, who suffered and died for thee. 2c." O what a beautiful and excellent saying this is, well worthy of diligent memory!

(18) This saying was also written in his prayer book. Matt. 19:17 It is written, If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandment of God: that is, die. For it is decreed that all men should and must die; therefore if thou wilt keep this saying, and enter into life, die, and thou shalt have kept the commandment of God, and shalt live; for this life is a life of sin and punishment, cast upon sin; so we cease not from sinning until we die. Now he that is Christian and

who has died well, is freed from sin, and may no longer fear punishment, but is free and free from all the sorrow, grief, and misery of this fleeting life. So the sentence is well interpreted and well spoken. Who would have interpreted the saying so masterfully that to keep the commandments of God is to die?

(19) Therefore, from these and many other comforting sayings that he wrote, it can be seen how a high, excellent, and spiritual man the dear father Dr. Martinus fei was, who prepared and prepared himself for death for a whole year and more, as if he had indicated it with this: I will depart, I will keep the commandments of God, I will wander from this life and evil world into a better and different life and world 2c. Therefore he also said the evening before, on Wednesday 1) (before he passed away): "When I have tolerated my dear countrymen, the Counts of Mansfeld, here in Eisleben, then I will go home, and lie down in my coffin, and give my body to the worms to eat." These words indicate that he had dealt with death and the hour of death, and that he did not shy away from parting with this life. These sayings all give enough to understand how rich, high, great God's spirit the man had, and was even a noble man, the like of which the world has not had in a long time. This I have briefly said about the first piece, about the person of Dr. Martini. Now we will deal with the other piece as well.

20 The other part of this sermon is concerning the resurrection of the dead, when we shall see again at the last day our dear father, the venerable Lord Martin Luther, who is now departed from us out of the world. For St. Paul clearly tells the Thessalonians that Christ will lead with him those who have fallen asleep in him. A Christian takes comfort in words. He who does not take comfort in words, let him not think that he is a Christian; for this is such a rich comforting text, which cannot be paid for with gold. A Christian holds to this, sets his comfort on the words of Paul, and firmly believes that he will rise again at the last day with all Christians. A godless man, an Epicurean sow, sets not his consolation on the words of Paul, but on money and goods, on his usury, avarice 2c., for he neither knows nor believes that he shall rise again at the last day, and those who lived before with him and after him shall see again 2c. Paul

1) That is, February 17.

but says: "The Lord will come with a shout" 2c. The HErr is great, so his triumph and glory must also be great. But after the words an Epicurean (as now said) inquires nothing, neither does he take to them. But to a Christian heart they are vain pearls and precious jewels. So Paul also holds these words to be a special and high mystery, that here he tells the Christians (since the world knows nothing at all about them) about the resurrection of the dead, and says:

Now therefore take comfort among yourselves with these words.

21 As if to say, Behold, I will reveal unto you a heavenly mystery; that the world, and all men whom ye see here, young and old, rich and poor, shall go down to the earth, that is, shall die and be buried, both Christian and unbeliever; and at the last day shall they rise again with their bodies, flesh and blood, (notwithstanding they be eaten of the worms in the earth, and die, and rot;) in great glory, as Paul saith, 1 Corinthians 15:42, 43. 15, v. 42, 43, which also testifies, "It is sown corruptible, and shall rise incorruptible; it is sown in dishonour, and shall rise in glory."

22 Therefore, though a good friend die, we may have comfort that we shall see him again at the last day. So Paul comforts himself, that though he be slain in Rome by the bloodthirsty tyrant Nerone, yet shall he rise again with all men at the last day. Again, so also all children who have been born and are yet to be born (for this life means to be born, to live and to die) will rise again with their bodies. Then shall come a happy, blessed day, yea, "the day of redemption," as Christ calls it in the Gospel, Luke 21:28, after the *vicissitudinibus vitas et mortis* [vicissitudes of life and death], the happy day shall come, and in that day shall no more be free, nor be given free, nor beget children; there shall no more be lame, blind, or sick, item, there shall no more die, there shall mortality cease, and there shall begin immortal eternal life. So now St. Paul says further:

The Lord shall come down from heaven with a shout, and with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and they that are dead in Christ shall rise first; and afterward we which are alive and remain 2c.

23 This is a goodly golden text and comfort to Christians, which we ought to keep all our days, and to comfort ourselves with it, whereof St. Paul saith, that the Lord shall come with a shout, and that we shall rise again, and be with the Lord for ever, which the world knoweth not of. She neither comforts nor rejoices in this text, but only in her thalers, money, and goods, and now St. Paul wants to say this much: Dear Christians, even if you lose me, who am your bishop, preacher, pastor, and shepherd in Christ, nevertheless I will rise again, and you, as my parishioners, will certainly see me again in this world, just as you will see me in eternity.

24 Forasmuch then as he saith, Christ shall come with a shout." The shout will be great, which will be with the trumpet of the archangel of God. And they that are dead shall awake, and first of all they that have fallen asleep in Christ in the right and pure faith shall rise from the dead before and after them, and after them they and they that are alive shall be drawn up to meet Christ in the air. 5:28, 29: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of judgment." At the same time, our dear father Dr. Martin Luther, of Christian memory, will also rise with the body, face, hands, and feet that he had, and as we have seen [him] here, with the blessed mouth, since he has now preached God's Word purely to the German country for 29 whole years, but with a brightly clarified body, which will shine like the sun, of which Christ says Matth. 13, 43. and Daniel the prophet in chapter 12, v. 3: "The teachers shall shine like the brightness of heaven, and they that teach righteousness like the stars for ever and ever." Now because O. Martinus has been a great teacher, and has shown many to righteousness, he will also have a beautiful brightness before others, as we will see, if God wills it.

Job, in the 19th chapter, v. 25, 26, says of the resurrection: "I know that my Redeemer lives, and that He will raise me up from the earth, and afterward I shall be clothed with this skin of mine, and shall see God in my flesh. Knowing this is a great comfort to Christians, that they will be resurrected with their bodies and will see God in their flesh. Job speaks completely and

even the same as Paul saith here. In the same resurrection on the last day we shall see the high and dear man whom we have now lost, Dr. Luther; indeed, not only will we see him, but he will also speak kindly again to us whom he knew here in the world, to whom he preached, whom he converted through the Word of God, not only to us, but to the whole heavenly host of dear patriarchs and prophets, about the hard battles and struggles against the kingdom of the troublesome devil, which he had much of here in the world, about the great and high tensions which he suffered and endured from the devil during the 29 years. For Martin Luther had many hard battles with the devil, especially in great matters, as in Carolstadt; item, over the great important battles at Augsburg on the Imperial Diet; item, over the great matter of the Sacrament, the Anabaptists, Antinomians, and others 2c. That also Dr. Martinus himself has often said: "What I have suffered and endured for the sake of the doctrine of the dear Gospel, which God has now revealed to the world, no man shall know of me here in this world, but in that day it will be revealed." Now on the last day he will tell us, and we will hear, what he did not want to tell or reveal to any man here in this world, about the great victories of the Son of God, which he accomplished through him, against sin, devils, papists, false brethren 2c. This he will tell us all together, what glorious revelation he also had when he began to preach the Gospel, that we will marvel at it, and praise God for such victories as he received, as also the 84th Psalm, v. 8, says: "They receive one victory after another." But of this no satanic monk, or other stiff-necked pope, knows not a word; and though they read it in the Scriptures, yet they believe it not.

26 And now the resurrection of the dead shall come quickly. Those who have fallen asleep in Christ first, and then those who are still alive, shall be caught up and taken up to meet the Lord in the clouds, and so be with the Lord always. Would to God that such a day of the Lord would come soon, and that we would be twitched and taken to meet the Lord before we sit down at the table, and yet deliver us from the misery and wretchedness which we must suffer here in this evil world, And hath delivered us from the great unfaithfulness of the world, and from the gluttonous usury, covetousness, envy, revolting, boasting, arrogance, and other vices, and from the abominable blasphemy, and reviling, and persecution, and murder, and shedding of blood, and idolatry, which we have to suffer here in this evil world.

The desperate godless papists, priests, monks, nuns, etc., should put an end to it, for they do it too much and too roughly.

(27) For such a blessed day shall we always pray. Oh, how blessed, comforting and joyful will the last day be, when everyone will know each other better than here in this miserable life, the wife the husband, the husband the wife, the children the parents, the preachers their listeners, and so they will talk to each other without ceasing, be with each other, praise and glorify God with each other in the great General Synod, in the eternal church, together with the dear angels, forever and ever.

28 This therefore (saith St. Paul) ye Thessalonians will hardly and weakly believe: for it is a high article of faith, that we which are rotten and burned 2c. shall rise again, and know one another, and speak one to another, and praise God for ever. Reason is vexed and offended at this article, for it cannot comprehend how the body, which the worms eat, item, is made powder and ashes by fire, shall rise again, and come to life. Now when one preaches of the article of the resurrection of the dead, the world laughs at it, and takes it for a fool's circumstance, as we see in Acts 17:18. 17:18 When Paul preached in Athens of the article of the resurrection of the dead, some began to say, "What will the fool say?" Again, when Paul preached before king Agrippa of the resurrection of the dead, Festus said with a loud voice, "Paule, thou art raving, the great art making thee raving," Apost. 26, 24.

29 Seeing what the world thinks of the article, it is nothing; the preachers of the article are called fools and foolish men; as the pope of Rome, the bishops, and the cardinals also call us Germans fools and foolish men, that we preach, and believe, and think it certain, that we shall rise again with our bodies at the last day, and see God. 2c.

(30) The mystery of the resurrection of the dead has been revealed to us by our dear faithful God through His holy divine Word and Gospel, which mystery the world laughs at, but the true church and poor Christianity have eternal, living consolation in it. A Christian should remember this revealed mystery every morning when he gets up, and say to himself, "Well, I know that a day is coming when God will raise up again all those who have fallen asleep in Christ, and that all our bodies will rise again who have done good and believed in Christ, to eternal, incorruptible life.

So a Christian should always remember and speak to himself of the same day and future of Christ, and he would be more patient in all sufferings, crosses, and temptations.

(31) The obdurate, blind, wretched papists have not a single thought of it; yea, they blaspheme, persecute the holy gospel, which reveals to us the great mystery of the resurrection of the dead, and sheweth us that our souls are saved (for he that believeth not the article of the resurrection of the dead heareth preaching in vain, believeth in vain, abideth in sins, and is lost, as Paul saith, 1 Cor. 15:17). With such men as blaspheme, and will not receive, hear, or believe the gospel, let them have nothing to do, nor have any business with them; let them flee and avoid them, but the devil himself; for a hardened, hardened Papist is the devil himself; they have no faith, and believe in at the window, and out at the door again.

32 Paul therefore saith unto the Thessalonians, I have taught you the mystery of the resurrection of the dead at the last day: but I Paul, who have diligently shewed you these things out of the word and spirit of God, will not abide here for ever to be your preacher. Nero will be able to do a good job of it and will have me killed, so that I will have to stop preaching. Even though the world will kill me out of great wrath, I will rise again on the last day with all of you, and you with me. These things the Thessalonians comforted and rejoiced with St. Paul. Our dear father, Doctor Martin Luther, German prophet and preacher, comforted and rejoiced in this, and had the same thoughts as Paul, that even if he should die and be buried, and be carried away by us, as his dear parishioners and hearers, into another and better life, he would nevertheless rise again at the last day, and in everlasting joy see us all eternally. We should also take comfort and rejoice that we will see and hear our dear father and preacher again in the eternal life to come. God help us all through Christ, amen. That has been said enough from the other piece this time.

33 Thirdly, in this sermon we are to note that the death of the high prophet Dr. Martini will certainly have something great behind it. For before two years have passed, we shall know it, and before other papists, canons, priests, monks, and nuns, who, whether they are aware of the death and passing away of St. Martin or not, will know it.

tini Lutheri rejoice, yet he will leave great strength behind him, they will wish after some years that Dr. Luther was still alive; they would now gladly obey him, and if they could, they would dig him out of the earth again, but it will take too long. If they had followed his warning and faithful counsel in his time, while he was alive, it would have been useful to them and good for body and soul.

34 We read in the holy scriptures and in the book of the chronicles, that at all times, when the times were evil, swift, perilous, and most grievous, there lived also the highest and greatest prophets and men of God, as, before the flood of iniquity, Noah; before the burning and destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, Lot; afterward, Elias, Elisha, 2c. But soon after the death of every high prophet and great man, a great and terrible punishment always followed. Thus we read in the book of Judges, that when Gideon died, the Jews became godless, as it is written in the book of Judges, chapter 8, v. 33: when Gideon died, the children of Israel turned back, whored after Baalim, and made Baal their god, and set up idolatrous Baalite worship; and God's punishment and ruth soon followed. Thus, after the death of the man Dr. Martini, a terrible punishment will certainly follow over Germany, where it does not improve; and that especially over the godless, stubborn, desperate papists, monks, priests and nuns before, without any doubt.

35 The Historia of St. Augustine indicates that he was 70 years old, even close to ten years older than Dr. Mart. Luther. He had been in his preaching ministry for forty years, so that he had preached ten years longer than Luther. When he was close to death and was about to die, he saw that his fatherland Africa would suffer hardship and would go badly, which made him lament very much; as we now want to see that the German country will go badly after such bright light. And even though St. Augustine feared that his fatherland would lose the Gospel after his death, God nevertheless sent it so that the pure Word of God was still preached in Africa two hundred years later; but this was done and obtained through prayer. Since we are now also concerned that we might lose the Word, let us also begin to live repentantly, and to pray earnestly that God would preserve His Word even longer after the death of Dr. Mart. Luther, as he did in the time of St. Augustine. May the merciful God grant this through Christ our Lord, Amen.

(36) O, how often did the dear father, Doctor Martin Luther, very earnestly exhort Germany to repentance, and preach to them, as in the house postilion on the gospel of the destruction of Jerusalem, Luc. 19, Again, in the 110th Psalm; in the book to the clergy at Augsburg; in the book of the gospel of the destruction of Jerusalem, Luc. 19. Psalm; in the book to the clergy at Augsburg; item, in the exhortation to his dear Germans, where they will not amend themselves and renounce idolatry, and avoid idolatrous people (as he then also preached here at Halle, faithfully and earnestly warned), one should avoid the godless papist monks, nuns and their like, nuns and their like, and flee, and have nothing to do with them, or God will visit them, punish them, and take the word away again completely, and again send terrible errors, as before. Now such a warning of the good man and prophet should be taken to heart, and idolatry should be put away, and the old leaven should be swept out, and the idolatry and sin of the papists should not be made partaker of, lest the word be lost again. But let the papists be especiallyware of others, as such pressures will come home to them if they do not mend their ways. John Hus prophesied, before he was burned, that a swan would come after him, over a hundred years, which they would have to have, and yet not roast. Now this man was our dear father, Dr. Martin Luther, who preached the truth to the pope, bishops, cardinals, priests, monks, 2c. and told it plainly to all the world, feared no one nor shunned anyone; they did not like to roast or kill him, as they often had in mind and would have liked to do. But they missed it, he died blessed in his dear fatherland at Eisleben. Just as John Hus prophesied before his death (as we have heard), and the prophecy came true, so also Dr. Martin Luther often prophesied, when he was called upon to do so. Martin Luther often said, when the papists and monks were spoken of: Well, be content; after my death ask where the monks and papists are; they will all die and perish, as the chaff is scattered by the wind, because they do not want to be instructed from God's word, and do not want to depart from their error, but remain badly in error, idolatry, and godlessness; no punishment, teaching, admonition, or entreaty will help them, as David said in Psalm 36:4. Psalm, v. 4, also laments, saying, "Neither can they be taught to do good." This is what the Papists do, and that is why it will happen to them, as he says in the 37th Psalm, v. 35: "I have seen an ungodly man who was stubborn, and who was angry.

and was green as a laurel tree; and as one passed by, behold, he was gone; and I inquired for him, and he was nowhere to be found." So the Papists also defy: when they have a little air, they are proud, they pose as if they would eat us, and now especially, after dear Luther's death, they rejoice greatly. It would be better for them if they would let themselves be instructed and repent, then they would be helped and saved in body and soul. But if they do not, God's eternal judgment and punishment will come upon them, namely, hellish fire and damnation. For he that repenteth not must perish and die, as Christ himself saith in the gospel; and if they think they stand firm, they are consumed like the wicked.

(37) The dear father, Dr. Martinus Luther, himself has made him an epitaph and prophecy of the papacy, which reads thus:

Pestis eram vivens, moriens ero mors tua, Papa

[In life I was your plague, in death I will be your death, O Pope].

Let the papists see that they repent, because they have blasphemed the gospel for 29 whole years, desecrated it, persecuted it, condemned it as a doctrine of the devil and as heresy, and have therefore driven Christians out, murdered them, drowned them, hanged them, 2c. that they have now begun to believe and accept the gospel and to promote it. If Luther was not a pestilence to them during his life, and if he did not press and frighten them much with writing and preaching, then he will certainly be a death to them after death and the final eradication of all monasticism and other idolatry and abominations. May God help them to follow and convert, and to believe and accept the Word of God with us, and finally to be saved, amen.

XXXII Luther's Epitaph.

This document was published in a single edition in Wittenberg in 1546. In the editions: in the Wittenberg (1559), vol. XII, p. 480 b; in the Jena (1562), vol. VIII, p. 388 b; in the Altenburg, vol. VIII, p. 861; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 736 and in Walch, vol. XXI, 386*. 1)

1) Walch adds to the indication of the locations: "has been brought to the German parts of Luther.... at Eisleben". Is this supposed to say: This inscription is found in a church at Eisleben? Because this writing is not found in the Eisleben parts.

God and his word remain eternal.

The Pope's power will soon pass away".

In Eisleben is my fatherland,
In Saxony God has sent me,
From Wittenberg, the precious city,
Through me God has given his word.
Thus the papal empire overthrown
And its tyranny shortened.
In my dear fatherland
I have fallen asleep in God.
In Wittenberg I lie in the grave,
praising God for his given gift.
Soon I shall rise again,
With Jesus Christ to joy enter.

Martin Luther I am called,
Sent by God to the German land,
Which by the Pope's and the devil's teaching
Was entirely deceived with lies and idolatry,
False worship and hypocrisy.
The right pure word of God
of Jesus Christ was not heard.
That creates the Pope's three-crowned hat,
Defrauding us of body, soul and goods.
God, out of mercy, has had mercy on such a great affliction.
To show the poor people how he has promised,
Before the last day the Antichrist,
The devil's child with his cunning.
He hath raised me up to the preaching office,
He hath put me to great journey and toil,
He hath revealed his holy word unto me,
Which I have freely taught without fear.

And have proved clearly by scripture, And will also remain eternally true: The pope is the Antichrist, His origin has from the devil's dung. With all the platitudes of his kind are the devil's people. Their doctrine and work they show freely, Who is the father of them all, God's commandment they despise, To this all divine work they scorn. All that Christ hath taught, that the pope hath reversed. Has mocked Christ's blood and death. The benefits of his suffering extinguished, The people on their own work consecrated, And fed them with vain poison. He hath proudly roared his power, his devilish malice hath abundantly filled. The harm that the pope hath done, no human tongue can utter.

The lies that he hath told, that his plate hath told. They have lived in great lewdness. And in all their shame did they float. Nor would they rule the people, By their works to heaven lead. Their sins are so grievous, the earth can no more bear them. From such their fair fruit The world has taught^ Evil discipline, And brought all sin so high, That almost with sin the heavens crack. Such great sin of the whole world I have by word clearly shown.

Also God's wrath and heavy Ruth Often announced, to the people's benefit. And lured every man to repentance. But the greatest number remained obdurate. The pure gospel of Christ, the Son of God, I have taught with all fidelity, I have converted many poor sinners. Consecrated to Christ, their consolation, Who redeems us all from sins. He is the pure lamb that was sacrificed for sin... Death hath no power over them that are sprinkled with his blood. The devil's bite does no harm. He that looketh on this honourable serpent. He is the way to salvation, the life and the truth. He that trusteth in Christ... He shall not die eternally, He shall pass through this death's light To life eternal joyfully. There is no comfort and salvation for sinners, for only the Savior Jesus Christ, for our works and holiness do nothing for salvation. But we shall be obedient to God, live purely according to his will. For God's word gives holy juice, And curbs sin with its power. What God's law makes hard for us, becomes easy through Christ's spirit and teaching. He that abideth in this truth, hath been incorporated in Christ, and is surely a blessed child, wholly free and rid of all sin, but watch and take heed.
From false doctrine, the devil's sting. For Christ healeth the soul, the devil's doctrine woundeth it with poison.

1) "taught" == learned.
Christ's kingdom brings everlasting good, Pope's kingdom eternal harm. In Christ alone is salvation; in the Pope is death and the pains of hell.

On this God's teaching and light The pope, the villain, is enraged, With wrath he pours out hellish fire, The malice from his eyes glows. His infernal courtiers aroused, His priests mad and blind, Set on me their whole school. All the scholars from the infernal pit Tried all their arts on me; Their lies were of no avail, were vain. My right doctrine kept the prize, And penetrated all the land with diligence. The emperor and all the empire, The princes, bishops, all alike. They tried to wipe out my teaching, but won little honour.

I was set before the whole kingdom. There I stood as a strong hero, My teaching in humility fine, I was not moved by their great shine, The whole world was against me, In God alone I trust. He has kept his word steadfast, And protected me in the best way. Many a scoundrel was found, And put all their strength in me. I have all of them by God, let alone that none more arise. 2) Though I have had sorrow and trouble, yet God hath always rewarded me.

The whole holy scripture I have translated with diligence from God's gift. Through it, knowledge grew great in the German land without measure. I have written many useful things from God's spirit, whoever wants to read it. My writing has touched the Christian state and led it on the right path. All God's order I have also brought fine Christian in right use. What benefit and piety I have achieved in the whole world by God's power, That devout Christians know well, For such also God is to be thanked. For God has done a great miracle through me before the Last Day. Therefore I praise God's work, who has given me strength and power.
2) "erects" - beholds, comes before the eyes, lets see.

He who recognizes such divine work, Follow God, do not be blinded. The treasure of grace is at the door, God calls and says: Come all! The year of jubilee is now alldo, Who believes and needs, be heartily glad. The golden gate is open, The bridegroom comes, run who can. Whoever wants to go in with me, watch and don't stay outside. God will soon close the door, Then you will truly find no rest. If you think I'm a prophet. Sent by God at the end of the world, My faithful warning pleases him, And joins my teaching. The last day will soon come, when God will awaken young and old. According to his word and my teaching God will judge in all honor.

Oh that men would believe this, They would come to their senses. But God hath numbered all his sheep; Out of his hand none shall fall. The dear God will graciously have mercy on the poor of all Christendom through Jesus Christ, who are now in peril and great suffering; govern them by your Spirit in the word of faith for the most part. For false doctrine also guard them, Oh, dear God, by thy goodness. Keep them always in unity by thy great mercy. Likewise all thy servants, So, O God, keep thy word pure. Preserve them continually. That they may not be afraid of anyone, That they may tell the truth to everyone, As I have done by your grace. They shall be diligent in word and prayer; They shall lead a holy life.

Also I beseech thee, thou faithful God, By thy Son Christ's blood and death, Let thee with earnest be commented to The dear Lord Elector of Saxony, and his whole family. My doctrine is often disgraced. Have granted him thy divine word, Which he protected and gladly heard, So that thou honouredst him very high, His praise and name greatly increased. Has loved me and fed me always. Therefore God gave him enough. O Lord Jesus Christ, hear my supplication, Thy grace and thy help impart to him, And give him comfort in all perils, Protect him from his enemies. Thy grace and thy mercy from him turn not away. Give him, as me, a blessed end, As to all his subjects who have accepted God's word. All Christian sovereignty be safe, Forsake them not, hear their prayer. And all Christian men alike Help through death into the eternal kingdom. Amen, amen, that will happen. For God's Word endures forever.

XXXIII. epitaph to be read on Luther's tomb at Wittenberg in the castle church.

From Hofmann's *mem. sec. Funeris et sepulcri Lutheri, p.* 86, in Walch, Vol. XXI, 392'.

Hic prope Murtini rursus victura Lutheri
In parvo tumulo molliter ossa cubant. Quae prius horrendis errorum pressa tenebris, Atque operum obscura nube sepulta fuit, Hoc monstrante iterum patefacta est gratia Christi,
Quaeque Deo acceptos nos facit esse, fides. Namque superstitio cum regnum caeca teneret,
Et premeret longo dogmata vera situ, Ille Dei adflatu monitus, verboque vocatus, Lucem Evangelii sparsit in orbe novam. Instructusque tuba, Paulinae et fulmine linguae,
Exploso, coepit vera docere, dolo.
Utque agnum in media Baptista ostendit eremo,
Qui pia pro populi victima labe foret:
Sic quoque monstravit te, maxime Christe, Lutherus,
Cum totus tenebris obrutus orbis erat. Et legis tabulae, quas in Sinaide Moses,
Allisus fregit rupe, propheta Dei,
Quid distent Evangelio, quod pectora sanat, Conscio quae culpae, terruit ira Dei.
Hoc prius amissum discrimen reddidit orbi, Essent ut Christi munera nota magis.
Arguit Ausonii fraudes ac impia regna Pontificis, populo quae nocuere Dei.
Pollutasque monens vitare idola per aras, Ad verum adduxit corda levata Deum.
Magnanimusque Deo cursum servante peregit, Insidias contra multiplicesque minas.

Tandem ex hac vita tranquilla morte vocatus, Ardua propitio venit ad astra Deo,
Sentit ubi coram foelicia gaudia Christo,
Veraque post obitum praemia vivus habet, Grata Deo tanto sit pro doctore futura
Aetas, quae Christi dogmata vera sciet.
Atque oret precibus, Deus hanc, quam praebuit orbi,
Lucem Evangelii servet ut ipse sui.

DECESSIT IN PATRIA SVA ISLEBEN ANNO A NATALI CHRISTI M. Dr. XLVI. THE FEBRUARII XVII [*sic*] ANNO AETATIS SVAE LXIII.

XXXIV Philipp Melanchthon's History of the Life of Luther. 1546.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 456.

XXXV. To King Christian of Denmark, petition of Catharinen, Dr. Martin Luther's widow.

In the Supplement to the Leipzig edition, p. 112, and in Walch, vol. XXI, 394.

God's grace through His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, our Savior and true Helper. Most noble, most powerful, most gracious King and Lord! Your Royal Majesty, I beg in submission to graciously accept my writing, considering that I am a poor widow, and that my dear Lord, Dr. Martinus Luther, of blessed memory, has faithfully served Christendom, and in particular has provided himself with all graces to your Royal Majesty, who is the only one who has been able to give me this letter. who^) has annually given my dear Lord a gracious help of fifty Thalers, for which I humbly thank your Royal Majesty, and diligently call upon God for your Royal Majesty. God diligently. But since I and my children have less help now, and the unrest of these times brings much trouble, I ask your Royal Majesty in subservience that your Royal Majesty will graciously order such help for me now, for I have no doubt that your Royal Majesty has not forgotten my dear Lord's great burden and work. Thus your Royal Majesty is also the only King on earth to whom we poor Christians may have recourse, and God will, without doubt, ask your Royal Majesty for such benefits, which the poor Christian prebendaries and their poor children may receive.

1) Added by us.

For this reason I also faithfully and earnestly pray that the Almighty God may graciously preserve your royal majesty and young reign. Date Wittenberg, on the 6th day of Octobr. Anno 1550. Catharina, Doctoris Martini Lutheri widow.

To the most illustrious, high-born, magnanimous Prince and Lord, Lord Christian, of Denmark, Norway, the Goths and Wends King 2c., my most gracious Lord.

XXXVI Luther's opinion of Augustine's words: *Accedat verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum*.

This document is found, without indication of the source, in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1588, among the letters. We have included it in the Postscript.

(1) To understand this saying is the more useful, the more the papists have misused it, and derived from it the greatest errors. For thus they conclude: Augustine asserts that a sacrament consists of two parts, namely, the word and the outward sign (*elemento*). Consequently, as soon as the minister has said the words of the Lord's Supper in the presence of the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ must immediately be present. Furthermore, in order that Christ may be given due honor, this bread must be enclosed in a strong place, so that it may not become the food of worms and moles, and afterwards it must be worshipped by men. Thus a similar opinion has been impressed upon the minds of the people under the papacy, that they think their prayers would never be more pleasing to God, and would never be more easily heard, than if they prayed in the place where the bread named is shut up. But in order that these errors may be avoided, it must be known that Augustine does not speak only of the alis language of Christ's words, but rather understands by it the command to take and eat bread. And afterwards he adds: *hic* [2)]*est corpus meum* [here is my body],

2) It really says *hic* here, not *hoc,* from which it follows that these words must have been so set by Augustine, so that by the "he" who added this Augustine is to be understood.

Which is to say, apart from this use, my body and my blood are not joined with these outward signs. For it is not necessary to think that this supper is like magic tricks, in which Christ can be bound without a word by mere human superstition. Therefore, just as baptism, when there is a child to be baptized, is nothing but water, so also, when there are no people eating and drinking after the institution of Christ, we affirm that there is nothing but bread and wine, even though the words may be recited a thousand times.

(2) But if it be asked what things are necessary to the essence of the sacrament, we answer, that there are three things which belong to the sacrament. First, *elementum,* that is, a visible sign, is required. Then must come the full recitation of the words; and, thirdly, must be added the lawful use according to Christ's institution. For example, the element in baptism is water; the words to be recited are these: "I baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Finally, the immersion or sprinkling of the child itself contains the lawful use commanded by Christ. The same must be said of the Lord's Supper. First there must be the complete elements, bread and wine. Then the words of the testament must be spoken in their entirety. Finally, the lawful use must be added, that is, the eating and drinking. From this, I think, it will be sufficiently clear what the true meaning of this saying, which is repeated in all schools, consists in.

(3) But here we must examine in passing the question of worship, which some, as a thing not necessary, wish to establish and prove under this pretext: Christ must be worshipped. Christ is in the Lord's Supper. Consequently the Lord's Supper must be worshipped. This objection can easily be answered if the words of Christ are diligently considered. For he saith not, Receive, and worship; but steals, that we should eat and drink. For the action alone prescribed by Christ, and worthy eating and drinking, is the

true and noblest honor we can and should pay to this ceremony. But though no one censures the reverence which consists in the offerings of the body, yet, since it has arisen from the traditions of these people, it must be a superstitious opinion, as if such pedagogy were a necessary service of God, and could not be omitted without sin. For we must always be mindful of the rule which Christ Match. 15 from the Esaias: "They honor me in vain according to the statutes of men." That is, human traditions are not worship. Therefore, if we worshiped the bread and wine given to us in the Lord's Supper with the superstitious opinion, we would become manifest idolaters, and establish a worship that would conflict with the express word of God, because God does not want to be invoked other than He Himself prescribed for us, namely, in spirit and in truth.

XXXVII. the twelve evangelical counsels of the papists. 1540.

This document is missing in Walch, so we reproduce it here, as we promised in the sixth volume, Col. 199, note. It is found in Latin among the Disputations of 1540 in the Wittenberg edition (1550), *tom. I, fol. 409d*; in the Jena (1579), *tom. I, fol. 525b;* and in the Erlanger, *opp. var. arg., tom. IV, p. 450.* We give it here in German translation.

The twelve evangelical counsels, falsely invented by the sophists.

1. Poverty. Matth. 19,21: "If you want to be perfect, go and sell everything you have" 2c.
2. denial of oneself or obedience. Luc. 9, 23.: "If any man will follow me, let him deny himself."
3. chastity. Matth. 19,12.: "Some are cut off, which cut themselves off for the kingdom of heaven's sake."
4. not to repay evil with evil. Matth. 5:44: "Do good to those who give you apologies."
5. suffering of injustice. Matth. 5, 39: "If someone gives you a stroke on the right cheek, offer him the other one as well".

(6) The multiple sufficiency 1) (supererogatio) of works of mercy. Luc. 6, 30: "To him that asketh thee, give."

7. abstain from oaths and useless words. Matth. 12, 36.: "Men must give account of every useless word." Matth. 5, 34.: "Ye shall not, however, swear."

8. avoid the opportunity to sin. Matth. 18, 9: "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out."

(9) Do good works wisely, lest we become hypocrites. Matt. 6:1: 2) "Take heed to your alms, that ye give them not before men."

10. Do what you teach. Matth. 23, 3: "They say it well, and do it not"; therefore he counsels the hypocrite, Matth. 7, 5: "First pull the beam out of thine eye."

11. not to worry about food. Matth.6, 31.: "Ye shall not be anxious, saying, What shall we eat?"

12. brotherly punishment. Matth. 18, 15: "If your brother sins against you, go and punish him between you" 2c.

This last, however, is understood only of venial sins, for in regard to a mortal sin the commandment is always obligatory, but not for ever, namely, so long as the punishment seems useful.

The evangelical { commandment } "divorced.

the evangelical { Rath }

The commandment is the general teaching of God which obligates every man at all times under the penalty of mortal sin.

The counsel is the special teaching of God, which alone obligates under the penalty of a venial sin, for the time of this life.

This is the quite general theology of the Pope and the Sophists, and so approved that even St. John Hus approved of it in the very book for the sake of which he suffered death by fire, for he states all this almost word for word, in the 7th chapter.

But also the Sorbonne, in its judgment against the damned Luther, does this out

1) Luther would probably have given it this way: Thun von überlängenen Werken der Barmherzigkeit.

2) In the issues: Matth. 7.

3) That this is too burdensome for the Christian religion, if one must take it for commandments. Hence the famous debate among them, whether the law of Moses is heavier than that of the gospel? And these great men, who are indeed exceedingly wise, decide as follows:

The law and the gospel, as regards difficulty, relate to each other as to what is protruding and what is prominent (*sicut excedentia et excessa*), for, as regards doing away with ceremonies, the gospel is easier, but as regards keeping the mind (*animi) in check,* the gospel is harder, because the law forbids the hand, the gospel the mind, as the Magister 4) says in the 3rd book, *distinct*. 40, says.

Here learn, Christian brother, how much you owe (by the grace of God) to this doctrine, which is restored at this time. For what (I pray you) does this Pharisaic theology finally leave us, even of Moses, or even of the holy Ten Commandments (to say nothing of Christ)?

For the eternal memory of the cause, but especially for the honor of the Redeemer, one must keep this in living memory and make it great against the quite insolent tongue-thrashers, the defenders of the papist abomination.

For from this you see what those perfect men, the monks and the priests, vowed, since they first taught that the counsels (that is, God's commandments) were not necessary for a Christian's salvation, then vowed with a new idolatry the [counsels] disfigured into human statutes, rather into doctrines of the devil. For to make the commandments of God into counsels, is that not a statute of men, yea, a frightful and diabolical blasphemy?

[Ps. 127:7.:] Our soul is escaped as a bird from the bailiff's snare, The snare is broken, and we are loosed.

This is what our help has accomplished in the name of the Lord. Dr. Martin Luther.

3) See St. Louis ed. vol. XVIII, 949.

4) Petrus Lombardus, *Magister Sententiarum*.

5) Cf. vol. VI, 199, § 235.

Addendum to the collection of letters in this 21st volume.

Only now, after a significant part of the Postscript has been prepared for printing, do we have the ninth and tenth volumes of the Erlangen correspondence at hand. In order not to omit anything that we are able to do for the best possible production of our collection of letters, we add here the additions and corrections that result for us from the two volumes mentioned. Although it can already be seen from the time indications where the following pieces belong, we nevertheless also place the numbers above them, which *possibly result from the* improvements.

No. 1789a.

Wittenberg. April 29, 1531.

To Johann Fesel in Coburg.

Luther tells him that he has already taken steps to take care of him, and promises to take care of him also in the future.

Handwritten at Munich, *Ms. Clm.* 943. t. 47 d. Printed in Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 3.

Mercy and peace! I am very annoyed, my dear Fesel, by the impropriety in the things that those of your Krafthansen (*Krafthansi)* take upon *themselves.* I have written to you at Torgau. If I have done something, you will see it; but if not, it will happen that we will see to it that you are finally taken care of elsewhere, and that you leave these ungrateful Furies. I can only write a little because of the amount of letters I have to write, since they pour in from all sides, and I alone am addressed by them, and am compelled to answer them. Give my best regards to the Lord of Sternberg and to your and my pastor and to all of us together with your wife and children. Farewell in Christ. April 29, 1531, your Mart. L.

No. 1791.

Wittenberg. April 30, 1531.

To Barbara Lißkirchen, née Weiter, in Freiberg.

According to the original in the Königsberg library, the name of the addressee is not "Lischnerin", as he was given in all editions so far, but "Lißkirchen". Barbara Weller, the younger sister of Jerome and Peter Weiter, married in 1525 Georg von Lißkirchen at Freiberg, - See St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 1744.

No. 1792a.

Wittenberg. 3. May 1531.

To the Council of Reval.

Above we have, because we did not have the text in sxtsrrso, only given a regest after Kolde's Analecta, now we share the letter itself after the Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 5 f. Besides, it is still printed in Christ. Rein, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Reformation in Reval und Esthland, Revaler Programm von 1830; in Bunge's Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Esth- und Curland, vol. V (Dorpat 1847), p. 275 and in Ulmann, Jubiläumsschrift 1866, p. 20.

To the Honourable and Wise, Mayor and Council of the Town of Revel in Liffland, my favourable Lords and Friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honourable, wise, dear sirs! At your request I have had Magister Heurico Harne 1) act, but he refuses such office very highly, and some also think that he is not yet sufficiently grown up for such office, nor practiced or tried, for which he thanks E. W. kindly. So I have also looked around for another, but have not found anyone capable of doing so in our country, but I promise that others will come. If it please E.W., I will gladly add my diligence. But it would be good and necessary that your city should have some

1) This is identical with Heinrich Bock from Hameln, inscribed April 28, 1521, Magister in April 1530.

I have especially urged this Joachim to do so, so that you yourselves would have your own persons. So he has asked me to write to E. W. about it and to request that E. W. keep him here in the studio for three years and move him, because there is probably another available in his place. Accordingly, I ask E. W. to take advantage of this time, as there are few persons everywhere who cannot be advised, and to help increase God's kingdom and praise, as I comfort E. W.. I also thank you kindly for the marten gift 1). Hiemit GOtt befohlen, der sein Werk, in euch angefangen, gnädiglich erhalten und reichlich stärke, Amen. 3 May 1531.

Martinus Luther.

(Inserted note on a narrow strip of paper.)

There is also one here, Matthew Roesken, who was a preacher in your city before, who would also be good in your country, but he desires help for the studio. This I command you.

No. 1792b.

Torgau. 4 May 1531.

Prince John of Saxony to Luther.

The Elector asks Luther to come to Torgau and preach before Duke Heinrich of Saxony.

The original concept is at Weimar in the archives, N. 109. 42. 1. s. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 107 (with wrong year 1526), and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 7.

Our greetings first. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! We graciously inform you that the highborn prince, our dear cousin, brother-in-law and godfather, Duke Henry of Saxony, came here yesterday. Now we note that he has a special inclination to see you and to hear your sermon. 2) Since no one knows what God Almighty might work through such a coincidence, we graciously request that you be up in Wittenberg this night at about two o'clock before daybreak, submit to it, and as soon as you arrive, report this to us at this hour. You do us a favour, which we are also inclined to recognise with grace. Date Torgau, Thursday after Jubilate [4 May] *Anno Dominini* XXXI.

1) This will probably be a hood, trimmed with marten fur.
2) On May 5 Luther preached in Torgau before Duke Heinrich.

No. 1799a.

Wittenberg. (End of May 1531.)

Postscript of Luther to a letter of Melanchthon to Brenz.

We have dated this document (No. 1813) just as DeWette did: "Perhaps in June," but the above dating results from the fact that Cordatus, who came to Wittenberg toward the end of May, read and honored this letter, but then Melanchthon enclosed it with a letter to Camerarius before the end of May. (Erl. Briefw., Vol. IX, p. 21.)

No. 1799b.

Wittenberg. (End of May? 1531.)

To the Chancellor Gregor Brück.

This document communicated by us *sub*. No. 1825 will have to be put here. In the second line of the text with Seckendorf and the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. IX, p. 21, probably more correct to read: "Cardinals" instead of: Concils, which Burkhardt offers. The Erl. Briefw. states that this letter will have been written in the first period of the peace negotiations opened by Cardinal Albrecht of Mainz and Elector Ludwig of the Palatinate with the Protestant estates, especially Chursachsen and Hessen. On May 26, the Mainzian envoys, Christoph Türk, the Hessian chancellor, and Wolfgang von Bach, bailiff of Querfurt, went to the Elector to initiate the peace negotiations. Instead of the contents we have written, we would like to assume something like: Luther advises not to reject the peace negotiations with Mainz.

No. 1816a.

Wittenberg. July 2, 1531.

To the council of Memmingen.

Luther asks him for a contribution for the attainment of the Magisterwürde for Johann Schmelz.

Handwritten in the Augsburg City Library. Printed in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XIV (1893), p. 448 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 45 f.

To the honorable and prudent gentlemen, mayor and council of the city of Memmingen, my favorable gentlemen and friends.

Grace and peace. Honourable, prudent, dear gentlemen! Johann Schmeltz, who is abstaining from a scholarship in the studio, has diligently asked me for this interpellation to your nobility, that your nobility will help him favorably with ten or twelve florins for his master's degree, to which state, because he is skilful, we all faithfully advise him.

have. Accordingly, my friendly request, because you nobles see and experience for yourselves that the schools everywhere lie so miserably abandoned and despised that an unfortunate lack of learned people will soon be found, is that you nobles will not abandon the good journeyman with such help for the good of your own city. This will please God and, if God wills, will be repaid a hundredfold, as Christ promises us in the Gospel. Hereby commanded by God. Date Wittenberg, July 2. 1) Martinus Luther *m. propria.*

No. 1819.

Wittenberg. July 5, 1531.

To Spalatin, Eberhard Brisger and Eberhard [Schaubis] in Altenbnrg.

According to the Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 48, the third addressee is not Erhard Steinbach, who was one of the Diacones at that time, but Eberhard Schaubitz, who as pastor at Nicolai formed the city ministry with Spalatin and Brisger.

No. 1820.

Wittenberg. July 10, 1531.

To Hieronymus Nopus in Zwickau.

This letter cannot be addressed to Cordatus, as *Buddeus* and De Wette state, this results from the fact that he was already in Wittenberg with Luther since the end of May. - Hieronymus Nopus, a native of Herzogenaurach near Erlangen, inscribed June 1, 1519, was a teacher of Greek at the Zwickau school from 1519 to 1537, then Rector in Schneeberg until 1543, from where he came to Regensburg as *gubernator wt summus inspector Ecclesiae* after becoming Doctor of Theology in Wittenberg. From here he was expelled by the Interim. In the process of returning to Regensburg, he died in Nuremberg on Aug. 9, 1551, while in transit (Erl. Briefw., Vol. IX, p. 50.).

No. 1822 b.

Wittenberg. (July 28, 1531.)

To Johann Brenz.

Postscript to a letter of Melanchthon.

The original is in Munich, *Cod*. I, p. 381. printed in *Corp. Ref.* vol. II, 517 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IX. S. 53.

Greetings from the poor sinner Luther (*Sa lutat te Lutherus peccator*).

1) The year is derived from the promotion of Schmelz, which took place on September 4, 1531.

No. 1842a.

Wittenberg. 22 Sept. 1531.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

In No. 1842 we have communicated only a short regest, now that in Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 105, the complete text is available, we give this, too.

Grace and peace. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! I have received E. F. G.'s writing together with the universities' verdict, and in absentia have read Doctor Gregor Bridges in part, and will not conceal from E. F. G. that earlier in this matter of the King of England I wrote my verdict to a doctor [2]who requested it from me in secret, which I will deliver to E. F. G. as soon as I can. For I can by no means keep it with the universities' verdict. But because E. F. G. has written to me and to Doctor Brucken, I will wait for him or send the things to him in Weimar and send our answer to E. F. G. in the best possible way. For I did not want to delay the messenger long and in the hurry I could not do more now. I am ready and willing to serve Your Holiness. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Friday after St. Matthäi Apostoli [22 Sept.] 1531. E. F. G. willingly

Martinus Luther.

No. 1848a.

Wittenberg. October 21, 1531. (?)

To Matthias Knutzsen and his housewife Magdalena in Husum.

The letter which bears *under* No. 3151 the heading: "To unnamed parents" and is dated Oct. 25, 1544, will have to be transferred here with the above address and time determination. For according to the Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 114, the address is found in the Copenhagen Ms. 1393. f. 322: "To the honorable and virtuous Matches Knutzsen and Magdalenen, his legitimate wives, at Husem Bürger 2c., my favorable good friends." This manuscript also has the year 1531. In 1529, June 7, *Jodannes Knutzen* (read in the *Alb.* p. 135: *Kuntzen*), *Dioc. Sleswitzen, was* inscribed. TheS will be the deceased. It cannot be assumed that he was still a student in Wittenberg in 1544; even until 1534 his stay there would have been unusually long. *Paulus Hockel*, *Dioc. of Sleswicia*, who was enrolled with him on the same day, was a student in Wittenberg. *Sleswiccen*, was probably the preceptor mentioned in the letter.

2) Robert Barnes, No. 1838.

No. 1857a.

Wittenberg. Nov. or Dec. 1531.

Luther's concerns about a religious peace.

The concern we reported in No. 1950a does not belong to the year 1532, as we assumed according to Seidemann, but it is to be put into the time stated above, what the Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. XI, p. 131 f. has convincingly shown. The pieces marked P. M. are not proposals of Philipp Melanchthon, [1]but points of the peace draft, which Elector Albrecht of Mainz worked out with the Palatine plenipotentiary Wilhelm von Habern in the fall of 1531. On the 27th of December a discussion took place in Bitterfeld between the chancellor of Magdeburg, Dr. Türk, and the chancellor Brück. For this discussion Luther gives briefly his opinion on the above points of the Mainzian proposal.

No. 1860.

Wittenberg. (1532.)

To Justus Jonas.

This letter concerns the marriage dispute of Gregory Iheisa in Wittenberg, as can be seen from Spalatin's inscription. The same was not yet finished in 1533 on July 10 (cf. No. 1991), therefore the letter is attributed to the year 1532 with the Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 252, must be assigned to the year 1532.

No. 1861.

Wittenberg. (1531.)

To an unnamed princess.

So should, as the Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 134, indicates, the address of this letter should be, for in the old editions it is consistently addressed to a princess, and only the Leipzig edition and the later ones have changed this to: "To an unnamed prince." But to whom this letter is addressed is not known.

No. 1867.

Wittenberg. 17 Jan. 1533.

To the abbot Friedrich Pistorius in Nuremberg.

We have assigned this letter with De Wette and *Buddeus* to the year 1532, but already in the first note to No. 1867, Col. 1722 f., expressed our doubt about the correctness of the dating. The Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 267, has the above time determination.

1) Also instead of *Ph. M.* is to be read P. *M.* (== Palatinate-Mainz).

No. 1869a.

Wittenberg. January 31, 1532.

Luther's testimony about the "Apology of the Frater's Life at Herford".

On January 13, 1532, Gerhard Wilskamp had sent Luthern the "Apologia des Fraterlevendes tho Herporde" for review and asked him for his written judgment on it. Luther fulfilled this wish by the present testimony, which was written at the end of the booklet, which was sent back to Herford with the letter No. 1870.

Handwritten at Wittenberg*, Ms. Pagend., p.* 31. Printed in the Allg. Literaturzeitung 1829, Ergänzungsblätter, No. 142, Sp. 1134; in *Hamelmann, opp. hist.geneal., p.*1042; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol.VI,p. 561, note 6 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. IX, p. 148.

I Mart. Luther confess with this hand of mine that I find nothing unchristian in this book. Would God that the monasteries would all teach and keep God's word so earnestly!

No. 1874a.

Wittenberg. 13 Feb (1532).

To Albrecht, Duke of Prussia.

Intercession for Lionhard Rosler, that the duke would pay him the back pay.

The original is in Königsberg, Staats-Archiv, Schieblade LXII. Printed by Tschackert, on Luther's Correspondence (in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XI, 1889, p. 276, No. I) and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. IX, p. 153.

To the noble and highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Albrechten, Margrave of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia 2c., my gracious Lord.

G[nade] u[nd] F[riede]. Sublime, highborn Prince! Lionhard Rosler has asked me to write to E. F. G. and ask, because he is now burdened with children and otherwise also well obliged, that E. F. G. graciously send him the debt, as he indicates, of some salary in arrears. 2) Accordingly, my humble request that E. F. G. want to send him

2) Lionhard Rosler, servant and captain of the Elector of Saxony, addressed on the same day a letter to the Duke, likewise in the Königsberg archives, in which he asks to finally pay the two months' pay still in arrears from the Prussian-Polish War of 1520/21, in which he had been recruited as mercenary leader in the service of the Order. (Erl. Briefw.)

graciously commanded, and mean his distress Christianly, so that he may keep his own the better, for he has received disfavor here, with all innocence, that is true, and yet hurt him and inflict hard. Hereby commanded to God. Date XIII Februarii. At Wittenburg.

E. F. G.

willing

Dr. Martinus Luther.

No. 1878a.

Wittenberg. (Feb. or early March, 1532.)

To Albrecht, Duke of Prussia.

Here No. 1884 is to be transferred, because this document was answered by your Duke on April 6. See Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 157.

No. 1887a.

Königsberg. 6 April 1532.

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

Answer to the above letter. Although we have included a registry of this letter in No. 1887, we nevertheless let the complete text follow here, so that the reader can verify the correctness of the statement that this letter is the answer to Luther's letter, which was addressed to the Duke in February or early March, but not, as was stated in Kolde's registry, to the one of August 24, 1531.

A copy is in the Königsberg Archives, *fol*. Counts and Lords, x>. 368. printed in the Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 165.

...and our gracious will beforehand... Respectable and highly learned, especially dear! We received your manuscript, 1) sent by this messenger, safely three weeks ago, and have taken the contents sufficiently. But the fact that the messenger held off with an answer is due to the fact that he arrived in time, that the next day we hurriedly traveled to our friendly dear brother and brother-in-law Margrave George 2) and Duke Frederick of Lignitz on our business and stayed with their loved ones for a while, and would have been inclined to write to you a lot; so the haste of the messenger has deceived us, and the excuse that you have delayed us somewhat with your answer due to weakness would be unnecessary, but your

1) This letter accompanying the print (No. 1878a) is missing.

2) Margrave George of Brandenburg was in Silesia around that time.

We are truly sorry for your weakness and for the fact that your head does not want to suffer much, and it is highly necessary for you to work hard now. May the eternally gracious God grant you a strong, healthy head for the glory, honor, and praise of His sole Word of salvation, and for the salvation of our souls, so that you may work much.

We are graciously grateful for your effort and diligence in sending us the preacher, and we graciously request that you do not delay in doing so, and that you use your diligence so that a skilled, learned man may be brought to Riga in honor of the divine word, for much of the place is interested in this.

As for the Deutschmeister (3), it is not without reason that we would like it to be peaceful and quiet. But since everything is in God's hands, we want to surrender it to him, who will order and do well with us according to his divine will, for since we have him as a comfort and support, the people are little or not at all to be feared, and although an eight 4) is written and spoken of, we still do not have a thorough appearance of it at this time. Therefore, do not let it trouble you to share your faithful advice with us, even if the eight, because we are not under royal jurisdiction with these lands and people in any imperial matter, may bind us in our conscience.

Good peace from the imperial diet 5) would be highly necessary to us, but as a man we doubt that little will come of it, in view of the dwindling, dangerous runs and low confidence, which are now everywhere in sight, and one sets to the other, unless the Turk gives better means than the rod. For we can, in your gracious opinion.

3) Walther of Kronberg. After the secularization of Prussia, the non-German members of the Order had elected him German Master and Administrator of the Grand Master's Office in Prussia. The emperor had confirmed him on January 18, 1527, had solemnly enfeoffed him at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg, and on Nov. 14, 1530, had issued a punitive mandate against Albrecht, in which he demanded that he cede the land of Prussia to Kronberg, or appear before the Court of Appeal within 90 days and state his reasons why he was not obligated to this cession. Albrecht had his liege lord, King Sigismund of Poland, forbid him to obey the Emperor's mandate, and sent a letter of justification consisting of 214 articles against Kronberg's accusations to the Estates of the Empire. (Erl. Briefw.)

4) The Emperor did not care for Duke Albrecht's letter of vindication, but pronounced the imperial ban on him on Jan. 19, 1532, which, however, had no effect in Prussia. (Erl. Briefw.)

5) Namely the forthcoming Imperial Diet at Regensburg.

that we let ourselves be reported and the Turkish ambassadors said for credible, how the Turk will certainly come with great power and will by no means stay away. And for the sake of your brother-in-law 1) we would have needed no thanksgiving, for he commanded us in all ways for your sake, and wanted to keep him in faithful command.

Finally, we thank you for the advice you have given us in the printing of the Gospel of John *sixteen with* special graces, and although we are well satisfied with your writing, and our preachers, before Poliander, by the help of God, are doing things this way, that there is no doubt or error in our minds, nevertheless, since you are working on it without any interpretation, so as to prevent much error, do not fail to do so, and let it come to our hands. On the other hand, we want to prove ourselves to you in such a way that you will feel that we do not want to forget or be found ungrateful of your official spirit and of what may be done for our good by you, and that we are excused for not writing by our own hand, since it may not have happened this time due to haste and business. Date: Königsberg, April 6, 1532.

No. 1888a.

Herford. 14 April 1532.

The Aebtissin of Herford, Anna von Limburg, 2) to Luther.

She reports that envoys from Herford were dispatched to Luther in order to counteract the Fratres, whose booklet Luther had approved. Because the deputies did not want to take the letters of the brothers, she had granted them their own messenger, and she asked Luther to instruct the preachers and deputies in that which serves peace.

Handwritten at Wittenberg, *Ms. Pagendarm.*, x. 41. printed in Erl. This letter was answered on April 22, 1533. The text, written in Low German dialect, is given in a High German translation.

1) Johann von Bora.

2) Anna, Countess of Limburg (d. 1565), supported by Bishop Erich of Paderborn, had resisted for two years the insistence of the citizens on the admission of the Gospel, but finally, out of fear, when she saw the executioner with the axe among a deputation sent to her, she consented to the concession of the churches. She tried to protect the fraternity against the attacks on its privileges, which she also succeeded in doing. (Erl. Briefw.)

To the worthy, highly learned H[ern] Doctor Mart. Luther at Wittenberg, our especially dear devotee.

We Anna von Limburg, 3) by the grace of God of the free noble monastery of Herford, Paderbornsches Kresams, Aebtissin (Ebdisse).

Our favors and friendly greetings first. Dignified, highly learned, dear devotees! So our dear faithful and subjects, the *fratres* within our city of Herford, have by manifold accusation handed us a booklet, reporting the state of their lives, which E[ure] L[iebden], 4) as we reported, Christian and sincere recognized: our faithful, the of Herford, are not satisfied therewith, have taken all their goods before them and have written them out, 5) notwithstanding we have forbidden them such, after the same *fratres* have sat on our ground, and have some of our fiefs and leaseholds in use, also subject to our authority and exemption. Since the aforementioned *fratres have* offered their cause to us, as the authorities here, to the right, that we also have appointed to hold a day's performance on the next Wednesday (Godensdach) after *Misericordias Domini* [May 1]. May], to continue therein in devotion as Christian and proper, we now learn, the preachers with some of their followers, perhaps in opinion, such notice and booklet, recognized by E. L. [for] right, unheard, although they [the *fratres]* often (vaken) offered to read such, to refute (wedder to leggende), made to E. L.. After the same sent ones of the *fratres* did not want to or were not allowed to take along enclosures and letters, they [the *fratres*] attacked us and asked us to grant our messengers to carry them such their information to E. L.. And if they have carried their nature in writing to E. L. before this, and have still agreed to let us hear such [writing] daily (degelix), we are fully aware [that] in it they have not told any lies (keyn lögentall), but the truth, as E. L. also notes and recognizes. L. also notes and recognizes, and we do not hear otherwise, would therefore be necessary [that] the preachers and skilled persons would be subjected, so that Christian peace and unity would flourish. Such

3) "Lymborch" is to be dissolved by "Limburg", not by: "Limberg".

4) "J. L." - Juwe Liefften.

5) This is our assumption. In our original we find: "dan allet vor sick genomen ere guder, und hebbent up to schreven" 2c.

6) Our original offers: "enne solden solke"; we have omitted the word "solden".

we E. L., commanded by the Almighty God, would not like to leave good opinion unindicated. Date highlighted under our Pitschier (pitzer). Sunday *Misericordias Domini* [14 April] in the year of Christ vyftheyn hundred twe and dertich.

Anna.

No. 1888b.

(Herford.) April 14, 1532.

Gerhard Wilskamp to Luther and Melanchthon.

He expresses his gratitude for the testimony given to the Apology of the Brethren (No. 1869a), by which the slander against them is silenced. He reports that people from Herford are being dispatched to Wittenberg to work against them, and urgently asks that the Wittenbergers not be moved by the sent ones to doubt the truthfulness of the booklet.

Handwritten in Wittenberg, *Ms. Pagendarm.*, p. 40, in Low German dialect. Printed in Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 174 with the question: "ob Uebersetzung aus dem lateinischen Original?" - We have translated this writing into High German.

To the worthy and godly Doctor Martins Luther and Master Philippo Melanchthon at Wittenberg. 1)

Grace and peace. Worthy, dear Doctores! We have received the booklet, signed and corrected by your dear ones, with great desire and thanksgiving, together with your letters. Nothing more necessary could have happened to us at that time, because (want) of the wanton promise about us from the preaching chair was too much beyond measure. The most wicked devil from hell has wrought this game, but he will not succeed, God willing, but will be broken by you, so that the matter will become good again by the grace of God and we will be united again in Christ, who has also often united his apostles. Since men are sent to you against us, I beseech and exhort you in Christ, that ye be not moved against the truth of the book, nor with the multitude of witnesses, nor with the circumstance of things, though an angel from heaven should present you otherwise. For we have written before God in the presence of Jesus Christ, and are yet required to read it before all our city, confident of God, that amen, yea, and truth, are found therein.

1) Here the manuscript has the addition: "Gerhardus Xanthis Martino and Philippo", which is not superfluous, because the writer of this letter is not mentioned anywhere else.

who will testify to himself. O heavenly Father, I beseech thee in the name of JEsu Christ, grant Martino and Philippo to know according to thy will in this matter, Amen. Hereby GOtte commanded. Datum *Misericordias Domini* [14 April 1532].

No. 1890a.

Wittenberg. April 22, 1532.

To Jakob Montanus in Herford.

Luther acknowledges the receipt of letters and gifts. He apologizes that he had to answer by foreign hand because of headache and promises to write more extensively at another time and to supply him with books.

The original is in the Grand Ducal Library at Darmstadt. Printed in the Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 178.

To the venerable man in Christ, Mr. Jakob Montanus, the faithful servant of Christ at Herford, his superior.

Grace and peace! All of a sudden the messenger brought your letters and gifts, and at the same time he left, since his comrades urged him [to leave], 2) my best Jacob. And I, since I suffer from the head, was compelled to write by a foreign hand. Therefore, have patience with me; at another time I will write more extensively and get the books for you. Meanwhile, farewell and greet the brothers and sisters in Christ, and pray for me. Given on Monday after Jubilate [22 April] 1532. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. L8SS.

Wittenberg. April 22, 1532.

To Thomas Zink in Hofheim.

According to the Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 179 f., the superscription is to be formed, for the *Cod. Solger.* 6.351. f. 87, at Dresden (written by Veit Dietrich), has as its superscription: "To Thoma Cinken at Hoffheim."

No. 1916a

Wittenberg. August 7, 1532.

To the Council of Reval.

Of this letter we have given a regest *sub* No. 1916, but now share it completely according to the Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 219, the text in full.

2) Instead of: *ingentibus*, from which we can derive no sense, we have adopted *urgentibus*.

The original is in the city archives in Reval. Printed by Chr. Rein, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Reformation in Reval (Revaler Programm 1830); by F. G. von Bunge in Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Esth- und Curland, V, 276; Luther an die Christen zu Riga, Jubiläumsschrift für Dr. Ulmann, Riga 1866, p. 22; Ripke, Einführung der Reformation in den baltischen Provinzen, 1883, p. 65; O. Waltz in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, II, 135 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel 1. 6.

To the honorable and wise gentlemen, mayor and council of the city of Reval in Lifflandt, my favorable lords and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear lords and friends! Here comes M. Hermannus Gronaw, 1) who is called to be a schoolmaster by your writing. He has requested this letter from me to E. W., therefore I command the same to E. W. and ask that you faithfully promote the school and provide for it sufficiently. For you see that there is a great lack of learned people everywhere, and that it is high time and need that children be brought up with diligence, for which office this M. Hermannus is learned and skilled, and will undoubtedly wait well and faithfully where he can have his comfortable entertainment with you, as I assure myself that he shall have no fault with you. May Christ our Lord give his grace to this and to all your doings, that they may be abundantly fruitful to his praise and glory, amen. At Wittemberg, August 7, 1532.

Doctor Martinus Luther.

No. 1927a.

Wittenberg. 28 Sept. 1532.

To the captive King Christian II of Denmark at Sonderburg. 2)

Luther consoles the imprisoned king with the fatherly will of God, who humbles him here on earth so that he may raise him eternally to heaven.

The original is at the Frankfurt City Library. Printed by Enders, in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte XX, 235 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 227.

1) Gronau later (probably in 1543) became preacher at the virgin convent church at St. Michael, in 1553 pastor at St. Olai and city superintendent, as which he died in 1563.

2) Christian II, who was deposed from the throne in 1523, attempted to regain his lost kingdom, but in the process fell into Danish captivity in Copenhagen in 1532, where he had gone to negotiate with his uncle and successor, Frederick I, from which he was not released until the end of his life, Jan. 24, 1559, especially at the behest of the nobility.

Grace and peace in the consolation of our dear Lord and Saviour JEsu Christ. Most noble, most powerful King, most gracious Lord! Out of the desire of Your Majesty's sister, 3) my most gracious Lady Margravine, Electress, and also out of a duty of Christian love, I have not been able to refrain from writing "this" letter of consolation to Your Majesty. Well, my most gracious lord king, I am sorry for such a burdensome concession to E. K. Mt. It is grievous enough no one else can say 2c. But I pray that Christ will earnestly consider God's will in this with patient faith, for the same kind God shows with such punishment that He has not forgotten Christ nor does He want to, as it is written [Heb. 12:6]: "He prods all children whom He accepts"; item [Revelation 3:19]: "Those whom I love, I prod." And E. Matthew wanted to mean how much better she is before God than the majority of other kings and princes, whom God lets go unpunished in his wrath, living in blasphemy and all kinds of hope and blindness, and finally dying in their sins and unbelief, than the rejected and naughty and unpunished children. But Christ Mt, punished and humbled, is protected from such hope and sins, and is exhorted to turn to God, so that, where it is to apply to the wimps, Christ Mt should a thousand times rather desire to be such a chastened and punished king, than the most glorious king, who in sins is unpunished, unpunished and condemned. This life is but a moment, and we hope for another, and yet both pious and wicked kings must leave their crowns behind them. The wicked kings, dying unpunished, cannot have such hope as E. K. Mt. certainly has, where she recognizes and accepts such ruths of God with patience and faith. For he cannot leave it, he must be a God of the afflicted, as he boasts everywhere, and his way is to overthrow the hopeful and to receive the miserable. Therefore, my most gracious Lord King, place such a case in the home of the gracious, fatherly will of God, which humiliates King Matthew temporally, on earth, so that he may

3) The sister of King Christian II, who had fled from the wrath of her husband to Wittenberg, was Churfürstin Elisabeth of Brandenburg.

I pray thee, lift them up to heaven for ever. There is nothing (if we would believe it) that we lose and leave here on earth, compared to that which we shall find and keep there in heaven. May Christ, our only consolation and treasure, strengthen and comfort your heart with his word and spirit in all the fullness of his consolation, and make such sour and pungent ruthlessness in your heart. K. Matt's heart sweet and lovely according to his power, so that he may also create everything out of nothing, and without doubt make comfort out of affliction, pleasure out of ruts, joy out of misery. What I am able to do with my poor prayer, I will gladly serve E. K. Mt. with all diligence, and E. K. Mt. will take such comfort from me. K. Mt. graciously accept such comfort from me, as from God from heaven itself. For he has commanded and commanded that we should comfort one another. Therefore our comfort is surely God's comfort, as commanded and given by him, amen.

Vigilia Michaelis [28 Sept.) 1532.

E. K. Mt. willing
Doctor Mart. LutheR. *manu sua, propria*.

No. 1932a.

Wittenberg. 19 Oct. 1532.

To Gerhard Wilskamp in Herford.

We have brought this letter to De Wette sud No. 1944, but it is to be transferred here. The original of this letter is in the royal library in Berlin, *Ms. germ., fol.* 45, and is printed in Erl. The address is: "To the faithful servant of Christ, Mr. Gerhard von Xanten at Herford in Westphalia, his brother in the Lord." The date of the original is: *Sabbato postt Lucae* [Oct. 19] 1532, not *post Luciae* [Dec. 14].

N o. 1935.

Wittenberg. 2. Not". 1632.

To Laurentius Zoch, Chancellor of Magdeburg.

Saturday after All Saints is Nov. 2, not Nov. 3.

No. 1943a.

Wittenberg. 13 Dec. 1532.

To the Council of Danzig.

Luther uses himself for a poor woman.

The original of this letter, which has only recently been discovered, can be found in the Royal State Archives at Danzig, Urkunden- Schieblade CV A. 29113. Printed in Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 244.

To the honorable and prudent gentlemen, mayor and council of the city of Gdansk, my favorable gentlemen and good friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honourable, prudent, dear Sirs! Although I, perhaps unknown to E. F. or without any special reputation, should abstain from writing to E. F., but because I asked for it so diligently as for a service owed to my neighbor, I do not know how to refuse: I do not know how to refuse it, therefore I ask E. F. to grant it to me favorably. There is a poor woman here, Elfe Mülmans, Andreas Bühe, your town burgher's (called Hans Buhe) son, legitimate husband, with whom she has produced a legitimate daughter, called Magdalena. 2c.She has learned that the said Hans Bohe has died, and that his property has been transferred to the said daughter Magdalena, and because the latter has also died in God, such property shall pass to this Else as her rightful mother; she has therefore asked me to write to the F. H. and ask that the F. H. help her to obtain such property and that it be given to her.

Now there is no doubt in my mind that E. F., as the sensible and law-loving, will know how to keep all due respect in this matter. But besides this, if it may be of any help, my humble request that E. F. be all the more inclined to good women's things, is that she is truly poor and needy, and from now on comes closer to old age every day, and can hardly support herself in such dwindling time, and that there is much and great poverty among us, and yet to come from all countries with even greater poverty, that God knows and is true! Therefore, the Fathers will not only provide help, but also alms, where they can help the poor women to the goods that God pleases. To the same E. F. together with your whole town, salvation and welfare be ordered, amen. At Wittemberg on: Friday after St. Luciae. s13. Dec.) 1532.

E. F. willing
Martinus Luther, *Doctor*.

No. 1948a. (1532 ?)

Book inscription.

This inscription is found in a copy of *Erasmi Laus Moriae, ed. Basil. apud Froben*. 1532, which is in the cathedral library at Halberstadt. Printed in the Allgem. literar. Anzeiger, Jahrgang 1801, Sp. 1744 und im Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 254.

When Erasmus wrote his book *Moriam,* he produced a daughter who is like him; for so the eel (Ael) is wont to writhe, writhe, and bite, but he, being a *Morio* and a stick-fool, wrote *Moriam,* a real foolishness.

No. 1958a.

Wittenberg. 27 February 1533.

The Wittenberg theologians (Luther, Bugenhagen, Jonas and Melanchthon) to the council of Bremen,

together with concerns about the restoration of the ceremonies in the cathedral there.

Printed in "Bremisches Jahrbuch", Ser. 2, Vol. 1 (1885), p. 135, No. 46 (from the handwritten Bremen Chronicle of the Bremen City Archives, p. 529); in Kawerau, Jonasbr., Vol. II, p. 349, No. 230a and in Erl. Briefw,, Vol. IX, p. 273. - Bugenhagen names himself as the actual author of the letter. We give this document, which is written in Low German dialect, in a High German translation.

To the honorable and wise mayors and aldermen of the city of Bremen, our favorable lords.

God's grace through our Lord Jesus Christ. Honorable, wise, favorable lords! We bring to your knowledge that the noble and highborn Prince and Lord, Duke John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, our most gracious Lord, has commanded us to write you a vain answer concerning the restitution of the ceremonies of the Cathedral Chapter in your city. 1) To this we have given our objection.

1) On Palm Sunday 1532, a mob of people under the leadership of Joh. Dore abolished the mass in the only Catholic church in Bremen, the cathedral. The city council feared that the city, which had already been sued by the emperor, would fall into the imperial suspicion, and negotiated with the cathedral chapter. Other deprived rights were returned to it, but the demanded restitution of the Roman cult was rejected for the time being. As a member of the Schmalkaldic League, the City Council sought the opinions of the heads of the Schmalkaldic League. In addition to this concern, other opinions were received from the Hessian theologians and from Urban Rhegius in Celle.

puts. Because the matter is very important, however, we have considered it necessary for many reasons to see and send our advice and opinions to our most gracious lord, the Elector, beforehand, and we do not doubt that his electoral grace will send you its concerns and advice by other messages of its own, for we did not want to delay this messenger of yours any longer. And I Joannes Pomeranus have further written of this to your Predicants, who will undoubtedly give you good report, and we are willing to serve you to the best of our ability at all times. May God grant you his grace and peace in Christ. Date Wittenberg, the Thursday after *Cinrum* [27 Feb], *Anno Domini* 1533.

(Now follows the theologians' advice and concerns at Wittenberg on the question of the council about the ceremonies in the cathedral church at Bremen).

Although it is certain that the ordinary masses and ceremonies held in the monasteries are unlawful services, and no one should approve of them, nevertheless every authority should not enjoin more than its subjects. Because a council of Bremen is not an authority over the cathedral chapter in the city of Bremen, the council cannot forbid the chapter to hold their ceremonies, but the city has the right to prevent the ceremonies by deed and force in places where the council has no command. But if it should be said that a council hereby permits unrighteous worship, if the council does not wish to prohibit it, the answer is that it has not permitted it, for a council cannot command or prohibit it in places where a council has no command, just as we do not permit our neighbors in other lands and dominions to hold their unchristian ceremonies, and yet we cannot prohibit them from doing so. Since, however, it is to be feared that such a restitution of the ungodly ceremonies in your city might cause an uproar among the citizens and give rise to insurrection, a respectable council should nevertheless appeal to the Ca

2) The messenger who carried this letter was robbed and slain by a lansquenet two miles from Bremen; but he had to atone for his deed on the Rade (near Walle).

The chapter has been told that they do not intend to conduct unlawful religious services in their city. Hereby nothing is forbidden to the chapter, they [1]nevertheless want to subject themselves to restitution.

No. 1962a.

Wittenberg. 24 March 1533.

To Paul Lautensack at Nuremberg.

Since we now have the complete text of this letter in Erl. Briefw., Vol. IX, p. 277, we share it here.

To the honorable and wise Paulo Lautensack, 2) citizen of Nuremberg, my good friend.

Grace and peace in Christo. My dear Paule! I have seen in the book, as it seems to me, that you have had great trouble with it, and also let others see it, because I am still half weak in the head, and feel well that you mean well and would like to do something to help the people. Now I find no harm in it, but because the time is now running out and the time is hard, I think that at this time no one would like to print it, nor perhaps be able to sell it, because the cost that would be involved is great, and the copies would be expensive to buy for the sake of the figure. Otherwise, I will gladly let you, and anyone else who has a greater desire to do so, be refreshed with it, as much as he can get out of it. Hiemit GOtt befehlt. Amen. *Date Wittebergae post Lae*
tare *) 1533, *Dr. Martinus Luther.*

No. 1963.

Wittenberg. March 28, 1533.

To Georg Funk in Dessau.

The original of this letter in the Anhaltisches Gesammtarchiv in Zerbst has in the inscription of the letter not

1) Instead of "so" we have assumed "se".

2) Lautensack, born in Bamberg in 1478, was a painter and at the beginning of the twenties organist and caretaker of the upper parish church in Bamberg. After the Peasants' War he had to leave Bamberg and went to Nuremberg. Already in 1530 he was suspected of Zwinglianism, but declared, when called before the council, that they were doing him an injustice, that he still had no doubt about the words of Christ. Later he surrendered completely to mysticism and Schwenkfeldianism and was therefore expelled from the city in 1542; however, he crept back in and died there in August 1558.

3) There seems to be a mistake in this dating, because the day of the week is not mentioned. We followed Kolde's dating, *Analecta,* p. 185.

"Hero", which almost all editions offer, but: *Georgio* N., because Luther did not know his surname. That the addressee was called Funk, results from the note of Hausmann on the address of the original. Funk drowned on 27. May 1534 while bathing in the Mulde. (Erl. Briefw., Vol. IX, p. 280.)

No. 1966a.

Wittenberg. (March? 1533.)

All the Churprince Joachim of Brandenburg.

(Fragment.)

Luther is pleased about the prince's love of God's word and the good arts, and that he shows himself to be mild in the education of learned people. He recommends Georg Sabinus to him.

This fragment is printed in Heffter, Erinnerung an Georg Sabinus, in Zeitschrift für historische Theologie 1844, Heft 2, p. 147, without citing the source, and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 284.

I am almost pleased that your princely graces not only delight in God's word (which is the highest grace), but also have a princely inclination for other arts, which you have so graciously demonstrated and amply displayed (as he reports to me) in your country child Georgio Sabino; for otherwise, unfortunately, the poor arts and writing have little good pleasure among other princes, lords, nobles, citizens, and peasants, yet next to God's word, which is the noblest princely virtue, educate learned people and preserve wisdom, so that vain swine (as the rabble would like) do not grow up in the land. May God, the Master and Giver of all arts and wisdom, preserve and strengthen the heart of your princely graces in His grace. Amen. - Command
me and first of all mentioned Georgem Sabinum in your princely grace *patrocinium*.

No. 1966b.

April 5, 1533.

Petition of the Leipzig Protestants to Duke George of Saxony.

(Written by Luther.)

Handwritten in Dresden in *Cod. Solger. C*. 351. f. 108d. (by Veit Dietrich's hand). Printed in Seidemann, Schriftstücke zur Reformationgeschichte 3 (in Zeitschrift für historische Theologie 1874, p. 120) and in Erl. There can be no doubt that this document was written by Luther, because it is found in *Cod. Solger*, from Dietrich's hand the Ueber

Supplicatio ad Rusticum [Georg] *ex Bohemia natum, cum 60 cives ejicere ex N. [Lipsia* am Rande] *vellet anno 1533. subjiundinas paschales. Dictata et a me* [Veit Dietrich] *excepta*. 5. *Aprilis* 1533.

Sublime, highborn Prince and Lord! We, E. F. G. faithful subjects of Leipzig, have heard from an honorable councilor of Leipzig a serious mandate, how we are to keep to the next Easter according to the old Christian custom of confession and to receive the Holy Sacrament in the same form 2c. Now we humbly ask E. F. G. to know that we have hitherto been gladly subject to E. F. G. with all our heart and with all our loyalty and also want to be so from now on, not only in temporal or worldly order, but also in everything that we may do with God and a good conscience; we are also ready, especially with fasting, confession, celebrations, and everything that the traditional custom of the Christian churches may comprehend, to gladly want to keep and follow; but most humbly ask E. F. G. to be a mild and merciful God. F. G. as a mild prince and gracious lord, to show mercy and space to our conscience in one piece. For we neither can nor want to do any hindrance or harm to E. F. G., neither to the secular government nor to our own conscience. F. G. want to consider, because we have so far shown ourselves faithful to neither disobedience nor rebellion, but to all submissiveness with body and goods, as an honorable council in Leipzig itself testifies, E. F. G. wanted to allow and grant us loyal subjects, out of princely mild virtue, a few things that we no longer desire, for which the highest need, namely our conscience, compels and urges us, such as that we fast, confess, and keep everything that pleases E. F. G., but would not be urged to receive a form of the sacrament. E. F. G. sits in the supremacy of God and leads God's name as a prince and lord in the land. But because he himself must pray the Lord's Prayer and ask God for forgiveness of sins, and not only for the sake of one sin alone or for the sake of undone sins, but also for the sake of all sins, present and future, we ask that he also forgive and graciously bear this one piece for us, because we are not able to change it through our imprisoned conscience, just as he does.

He himself desires forgiveness of sins, both of those that have happened and of those that will happen. For we all live in sins and remain sinners, and are entitled to forgiveness and forgiveness, both from God and among ourselves. And what good would it do the F. F. G., if we were otherwise found blameless and obedient in all things against the F. F. G., also willing and submissive, to surrender both body and goods, and should we not be able to obtain something from our gracious sovereign, in which our conscience is most concerned? Must a father suffer if his child breaks a leg and remains lame, or gouges out an eye and goes blind, or otherwise takes damage to his body: should the father therefore turn away his fatherly heart and disown his child? That would be an unnatural and horrible thing, if the poor child had not got such an infirmity by chance out of disobedience or will of courage, but out of some other cause. How much more can the F. F. G. consider that it is sharp enough, if the F. F. G. would turn their gracious princely heart away from us faithful, humble, obedient subjects and disown us for the sake of a few things, which we do neither willfully nor disobediently, but are urged to do by our conscience: We ask, as before, most humbly, that E. F. G. will keep and show a gracious, fatherly heart towards us, E. F. G. poor faithful subjects, and graciously show us favour and grace in the insurmountable matter of our conscience, and yet graciously overlook and spare in it the one piece, so that we are (to be) most humbly obedient in all others and want to be. We want to be found willing to earn this, in addition to and with all our assets of body and goods, and with our poor prayer to God we are willing to be diligently indebted. Petition of E. F. G. for a fatherly answer.

No. 1972a.

(Hamburg.) 28 April 1533.

The deacons and ordained citizens of the city of Hamburg to Luther and Melanchthon.

They send Dr. Robert Barnes, the Englishman, to Wittenberg, so that he may discuss the promotion of M. Joh. Aepinus, Superintendent at Hamburg, to Doctor of Theology with Luther and Melanchthon.

Printed in the Mittheilungen des Vereins für Hamburger Geschichte, Jahrg. 8 (1885), p.65 (after the concept) and in the Erl. Briefw., Vol. IX, p. 295. - We give this letter, which is written in Low German dialect, in High German translation.

To the respectable, highly learned and renowned gentlemen, Martino Lütter and Philippo Melanchtoni, divine Scripture Doctor and teacher in the Universiteten Wittenbarghe 2c., our special lords and patrons.

Our willing services with fortune of all good before. Respectable, distinguished gentlemen and friends in Christ! We have laid before our special lord and friend, Antonio Anglico, 1) in divine Scripture, Doctor, some of our opinions concerning the learned *Magistri* Johannis Haepini, 2) our Superintendent, in which our city and ourselves are noticeably concerned, with E. A. W., and commanded him, as you have done, to discuss the matter with us. A. W., as you have heard from him: so our official request and desire is that you give and deliver full credence to the said Mr. Antonio in all that he will report on our behalf, and that you show E. A. W. goodwill in this. A. W. in this respect good-willed and unburdened. In this E. A. W. will do our city and us special good, since we want to be diligently found out of our highest fortune for the sake of E. A. W., whom we command to deserve in all ways.

Date under our signete, which we use at the (the) God's box, on the XXVIII day of the month of *Aprilis anno* XXXIII.

E. A. W. willing

Diaks and decreed citizens of the city of Hamburg.

1) Dr. Robert Barnes, who took part in the doctoral thesis.

2) Joh. Aepinus, actually Huck or Hoch, born in the year 1499 at Ziegesar in the Mark Brandenburg, inscribed at Wittenberg on Oct. 1, 1518 as *Johannes Hugk de Cziesser Brandb, dioc*. Imprisoned in his fatherland because of his reformatory efforts, after his liberation he went to England, Greifswald, Stralsund, where he worked out the new school and church order introduced in 1525. On October 17, 1529, he was elected pastor of St. Petri in Hamburg in Boldewan's place, and on May 18, 1532, he became the first superintendent. His doctorate took place on June 17, 1533, at the same time as that of Bugenhagen and Cruciger. The Elector and other princes were present at the ceremony. In 1537 he signed the Schmalkaldic Articles for Hamburg. After Luther's death, he was involved in the Adiaphorist disputes, was an opponent of the Interim, and sided with Flacius. In 1552 he joined with his colleague Westphal in opposing Osiander. He died on May 13, 1553.

No. 1980a.

(Hamburg.) 3. June 1533.

The deacons and ordained citizens of Hamburg to Luther, Jonas and Melanchthon.

They give thanks for the willingness of the Wittenbergers to comply with their wishes, and ask that John Aepinus be allowed to return to them as soon as possible.

Printed in the Mittheilungen des Vereins für Hamburger Geschichte, VIII, p. 69, No. 4, after the Concept, and in the Erl. We give the letter, written in Low German dialect, in a High German translation.

To the worthy, highly learned and honorable Messrs. Martino Lutter, Justo Jonä, Doctors, and Philippo Melanthoni, holy divine Scripture teachers at Wittenbarge, our special generous lords and friends.

Grace and peace through Christ, our one and only Saviour, and whatever else we are able to honour and do, always first. Worthy, highly learned, honorable, hateful gentlemen, special good friends! We have noted E. H. E. W.'s 3) reply to our recent request on account of our lord and friend Johannis Aepini, our superintendent, reading, and find E. H. E. W.'s request to be answered. H. E. W. in this case obligingly grateful, [that they] have accepted such our demand favorably and have considered it good with us according to the equity (? We have also not omitted to confer with an honorable, highly wise councilor of Hamburg, as our favorable lords, for such a requested time, as two or three months, to keep the said Johannem Aepinum with you, who is not unwilling to grant this, yet kindly and obligingly asks, E. H. E. W., that we may have the right to keep the said Johannem Aepinum with you for a period of two or three months. H. E. W. want, according to our desire, not to extend (advance) such time, [as much] as always possible, but to give things an acceleration 5) so that we may with the most conducive obtain our friend Johannem Aepinum in us again, in consideration of our need, and that in him, God knows (knows Godt), to whom we command H. H. E. W. in long-lasting welfare, we are noticeably interested, and are also indebted in this way.

3) Jsutve). H. E. W. is to be resolved by "Ew. Hochehrwürden" sem.

4) "daH us" put by us instead of: "the", which will hardly be correct.

5) In the original: "eynen Vorspoth". The word "Vorspoth" is probably derived from: Sputen == hurry.

thanes of our utmost (uterigen) property always willingly gladly. Date under our signet, which only need at the (the) God's box, on Tuesday in the Pentecost (Pinxten) [3. June] *anno* XXXIII.

E. H. E. W. willing

Diaks and ordained Borger of the city of Hamborch.

No. 1980b.

(Herford.) 5 June 1533.

Gerhard Wilskamp au Luther und Melanchthon.

Wilskamp asks them to give a clear explanation of some words that occur in their letter "to the nine men of Herford" (No. 1889), because the brothers are violently attacked and blasphemed because of them.

Handwritten at Wittenberg, *Ms. Pagendarm.* p. 49. Printed in Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 305.

Gerhard of Xanthen wishes Martin Luther and Philip

Grace and peace. Venerable fathers! In the Epistle to the Nine Men, 1) the sentence, "Time itself will find counsel," they seize bitingly, and set aside the rest of the Epistle, not considering that this was put there to quiet the agitation, and they twist it as if Luther wanted our house, which by the grace of God has already been reformed to the gospel of Christ, to be extinct with us, without? 2) a succession by acceptance of those who want to let their virgin, who is capable of abstinence through the gift of God, 3) remain according to the counsel of Christ and Paul (Matth. 19,12. 1 Cor. 7, 37Z, and join us, so that they may be brought up under Christian freedom in the discipline of God. Some of the most distinguished evangelicals oppose this way of life to such an extent that they seek to win new followers for themselves by means of this secret letter from ours, writing thus: "All the same, you may all have the gift of the cut, but it cannot be inferred from this that for this reason you must use special clothing, place, and manner of life, other than the city. It is not good that man should be alone; this is what he said who cannot lie. I will now speak of the

1) No.1889, Col. 1743.
2) Instead of *atque, absque* is to be read. Cf. Wilskamp's letter of 10 Oct 1533.
3) Instead of *capaces*, read *capacem.*

Rage of the flesh, I am silent of the contempt of the ordinance of GOD, who has bestowed upon us all the faculty and the members to produce offspring. Those who do not carry this out, what do they do but accuse GOD 4) of foolishness, that He created them thus?" These are the words of our disciple of Priapus (*priapistae*), in whom even the epitome of Christianity stands here, who will be the holy anchor in the event of heresy breaking in, yes, a third Cato. I ask for your judgment and interpretation of the saying, "Time itself will find counsel." Farewell. Datum Bonifacii [June 5] Anno 1533.

No. 2004a.

Strelitz. 1 October 1533.

Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Duke informs Luther that his trip to him, promised in No. 1997, cannot be accomplished because of his many obligations. As an answer, however, Luther is to use the fact that he and his brother, Duke Heinrich, had agreed and promised at the imperial congresses in Nuremberg and Augsburg to let the old, laudable and Christian religion remain until a common concilium. He had no doubt that Luther would help to promote this if possible.

The original is in the archives at Schwerin. Printed in Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 342.

No. 2007a.

(Herford.) 10 Oct. 1533.

Gerhard Wilskamp to Luther.

He repeats in an urgent way the request which he already addressed to Luther and Melanchthon in No. 1980b.

Handwritten in the Wittenberg Seminary Library, *Ms. Pagendarm.* p. 52. Printed in Erlanger Briefw., vol. IX, p. 348.

Grace and peace through Christ! I have long since called upon you and Melanchthon in great distress, most reverend Father in Christ.

4) Instead of Daus, read *Deum.*

5) Melanchthon does not give an explanation of this statement in his answer, in which he only reports that Luther, himself prevented from writing, had instructed him to communicate that he disliked those statements about the prohibition of abstinence 2c. On Oct. 10, Wilskamp repeated his request, and Luther did not give the explanation of those words until Oct. 24, 1534, in his letter to the council at Herford. (Erl. Briefw.)

1) by inquiring, among other things, about the passage in your letter, "Time itself will find counsel," which, if I am not mistaken, is so placed as to calm the unrest. They stubbornly seize this passage, pay no attention to the rest of the letter, and twist it as if Luther absolutely wanted our house, which by the grace of God has already been reformed to the gospel of Christ, to die out with us without any succession by accepting those who, according to the counsel of Paul, want to let their virgin remain so [1 Cor. 7:37], and join us in order to be instructed in the discipline of God under Christian freedom. Melanchthon answered on your behalf with these words: 2) "Luther himself does not want abstinence to be forbidden to all. But he does not wish to burden your comrades with vows or marriage covenants 3) or otherwise to bind them in such a way that they could not comfortably leave this way of life." We accept this answer with thanks, since it is quite in accordance with our rule (*instituto*), where 4) with good forethought the same is denied with these words, "But we will not accept a vow from anyone, even if he should fervently ask for it." And if Luther, as the letter testifies and Philip promises, had not reserved himself, because he was busy at the time, to answer us at another time, 5) we would already have been given ample answer, if we were to consider the secret of monasticism from the old leaven, with which you have to do. Now it is the endeavor of our mockers, not to say their silliness (alas, I speak as one who has experienced their very miserable machinations quite often), that if we do not present Luther's promised answer, perhaps by insisting on it, they will do their mockery with us. Therefore I would have you ask for Christ's sake, for whom all this. Our cause is to be fought to the best of our ability and knowledge according to the rule of faith, that you may not find yourself burdened to put an end to the matter with a few words. Given the 10th of October, Anno 1533, Gerhard of Xanthen.

1) No. 1980b.

2) The following quotation is from Melanchthon's letters of July 4, *Corp. ref.* , No. 118.

3) *votis aut votis*, so also in Melanchthon's letters. In the meaning "marriage" *votum* occurs in the Pandects. The meaning is: Luther does not want that one forces to celibacy or to the marriage state.

4) namely, in the Rule of the Brethren of 1431.

5) Melanchthon writes in his letter: Luther did not have time to write, but will answer at another time'.

No. 2029a.

(Herford.) 6 January 1534.

Gerhard Wilskamp to Luther and Melanchthon.

Wilskamp says thanks for the kindness shown him by the explanation, repeats in essence what he had already written on October 10, that it would have been enough for them in Melanchthon's answer, if Luther had not reserved himself to answer them himself. Mainly in order to train preachers of the Gospel, who are beginning to be lacking there as well, they want their way of life to be a permanent one.

Handwritten in Wittenberg, *Ms. Pagendarm.* p. 53. Printed in Erl. Briefw., vol. IX, p. 377.

To the men to be revered in Christ, Dr. M.
Luther and Ph. Melanchthon at Wittenberg.

Grace through Christ! Since this messenger 6) is sent to you, most esteemed fathers in Christ, I could not help but write to you, even if only a little, at the same time giving thanks for the benefits and asking you to give us credit for the fact that we have so often burdened you, who are busy with more important things. If Luther himself (as Philip's letter testifies) had not reserved the right to answer us, we would already have been sufficiently answered to this piece, "Time itself will find counsel," against our pressing enemies by this modest saying of Philip: "Luther does not want abstinence to be forbidden to all, but neither does he want to burden your comrades with vows or marriage covenants 7) or otherwise bind them in such a way that they cannot comfortably give themselves up from this way of life." We seek nothing else but that our lives (according to the original institution of our fathers) may be Christian free. In the same [institution or rule]they expressly left us in writing a hundred years ago: "But we will take no vows from any man, though he should fervently ask them." We live in a life where we can feed someone of our own through the gospel of Christ, as we have often raised up preachers of the Word of God according to our little gifts. To this task our whole city, except boys, who are almost yet little children, to their great future peril, has not even one, as far as I know, now prepared. And in the neighboring towns

6) In any case, the messenger who delivered the letter of the abbess of Herford, to which Luther and Melanchthon answered on January 15. The letter of the Aeb
tissin is missing.

7) Cf. no. 2607a.

and villages already have a shortage of evangelists. What will finally happen? Of course, for this reason in particular we would like our life to continue, so that you may see how certainly (*qua fide*) you will not find yourselves weighed down by the help given to us, since in this matter we do not seek our own, but God (he himself is a witness). For him we and all that is ours will fight under his direction, and to him we command you and what is yours. I send for your dear wives (uxorculis) *Colifolia Arenue vice*. 1) Fare you well. Given on the Epiphany of the Lord [6 Jan.] Anno 1534.

Gerhard von Xanthen in the house of the brothers at Herford.

Dessau. 2) **No. 2058a.** 5 June 1534.

to the Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

Luther asks the Elector, if he could give written or verbal advice or help to the pious people who had been driven out of Halle, not to refrain from doing so.

The original (?) is in the private possession of the head of the institute Bagge in Friedrichsdorf im Taunus. Printed by Kolde in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XIV, 603. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 49.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, most gracious lord! The pious people, expelled from Halle, 3) have

1) Mr. Dr. Enders remarks: "I don't know how to explain it! We feel the same way.

2) Luther was visiting Prince Joachim of Anhalt.

3) Albrecht of Mainz, who believed to have found support in the so-called Hallian Alliance of Nov. 24, 1533, acted with all severity against the Protestants in Halle. When the Protestant-minded city councillors elected in the spring of 1534 refused to communicate in the old manner at Easter, they were ordered to leave the city after selling their possessions. Around Pentecost they, seventeen in number, had to wander "into misery". The majority went to Anhalt, to Köchen, and on Luther's visit to Dessau, they presented their request for use to the Elector. The latter indeed pleaded with Albrecht on their behalf. But since he did not achieve anything with this, he described the proceedings against the people as an encroachment on the banning rights to which he was entitled as Burgrave, which led to protracted negotiations.

asked me so earnestly to write to E. C. F. G. that I could not refuse them. The wrong man and right Cardinal plagues the pious people miserably, as E. C. F. G. will hear from the same Supplication. The innocent blood of M. Georgen [Winkler], which he has shed and drunk, is stirring and breaking out and wants to provoke his judgment even against him. If E. C. F. G. can advise and help the good people in writing or orally with the bloodhound, then here E. C. F. G. see that it is a highly necessary, Christian good work and alms. And I humbly ask for God's sake for them, E. C. F. G. do not want to complain about it. Oh that God would let the pusillanimous sissy again see a terror and seriousness, she should certainly leave her wantonness alone. May Christ soon give his enemy his reward, amen. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Aulen. At Dessau, Friday after Trinity [June 5] 1534. E. C F. G. most humble

Mart. Luther, D.

Wittenberg. **No. 2071.** 4 July 1536.

To Duke Henry V of Mecklenburg.

This letter, which we have dated De Wette 2c. of July 7, 1534, is, according to Erl. Briefw., Vol. X, p. 379, to be placed in the year 1536, for which he refers to Schnell, Mecklenburg im Zeitalter der Ref.

Marientverder. **No. 2077a.** 31 August 1534.

Paul Speratus, Bishop of Pomesania, to Luther, Melanchthon and Jonas.

(Regest.)

He sends them a writing, which Sebastian Schubart, preacher of the Lord Friedrich von Heydeck,5) gives him as a

led. Although a decision was made against Albrecht at the Zerbst Conference on 23 February 1538, the dispute did not end there. Only after the victory of the Reformation in Halle 1541 the exiles could return. (Erl. Briefw.)

4) With the "first time" Luther means the meek concession when in 1521 the archbishop stopped the re-established sale of indulgences in Halle on Luther's threat to write against the Abgott zu Halle. (Erl. Briefw.)

5) Heydeck, lord of Johannisburg, was the patron of the Schwenkfeldians. Speratus and also Apel feared that he would draw the Duke over to them. Schubart later professed the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, as is attested by a letter of 1542 from him in the State Archives.

had sent his work, but of which Speratus judges that Krautwald is the author. He told them what rumors were being spread about them, namely that no one could judge less than Philip, no one had such a weak mind as Martinus, and Jonas was in error as a simple-minded man. For the sake of the prince, for whom he fears, he asks for an answer about the work. - He sends several pieces of booty that someone who served in the army against the Turks gave him as a gift.

The original concept is at Königsberg in the State Archives. Printed by Tschackert, on Luther's correspondence, in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XI, 302 and in the Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 67.

No. 2077b.

Wittenberg. (End of August 1534.)

Book inscription for Lazarus Spengler in Nuremberg at the time of the delivery of the German translation of the Bible.

The original is in the Nuremberg City Library. Printed in the *Bibliotheca Solgeriana,* P, I. p. 12, No. 85; in Mayer, *Spengleriana,* p. 8; in Krafft in the Theol. Arbeiten aus dem rhein. wissenschaftl. PredigerVerein, II (1874), p. 98, No. VII and in Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 68 f.

To my favorable lord and brother Lasaro Spengler, the city of Nuremberg Syndico, übersandts 1) Martinus LutheR.

No. 2081a.

(Herford.) 9 October 1534.

Gerhard Wilskamp to Luther.

(Regest.)

Wilskamp complains that since the time of the revival of the gospel, much evil has befallen the brethren, both from the papists and from so-called evangelicals. Now the council demands of them that they should lead the school, which is in ruins. They have offered, with the permission of the abbess, who has the right to occupy the school, to bring in brothers from elsewhere who are experienced in the establishment and management of schools, since they lack the persons to take on this burden, or otherwise to help them for their share in the school system. But they did not want to allow them to draw help from elsewhere, nor did they want them to contribute only according to their share, nor did they want them to take in those who wished to join them without a vow of abstinence according to Christian freedom, and always referred to the words in Luther's letters: "Time itself will find counsel. The brethren are ready to train up some with whom they can give their

1) Whether the copy still reached Spengler's hands is uncertain, for he died on September 7.

The city could serve in the word of God, since unfortunately not even one citizen devotes himself to the study of theology. The task of teaching school is hindered by the fact that they are already a laughing stock to the boys because of their monkish dress, and that they are ignorant of both Hebrew and Greek. Moreover, there were people who thought that the friars, for the sake of their souls, should teach the children, and they referred to the writings of Luther, in which he expressed the wish that the monasteries should be transformed into schools. About this he asks Luther to give an answer in writing. He also hopes now, as was promised in Philip's letter, to receive from Luther the long awaited answer as to how the sentence is to be understood: "Time itself will find counsel." With this word certain people had tormented them quite impudently, and had waited for nothing else than to exterminate them, the brethren, and to seize their goods, for in the streets people were talking about having to do with the brethren because of the goods.

Handwritten at Wittenberg, *Ms. Pegendarm.* p. 56. Printed in Erl. Luther answered this letter on Oct. 24, 1534.

No. 2083a.

Wittenberg. October 20, 1534.

To Prince Johann von Anhalt.

Here the letter No. 2092 is to be transferred, because according to the original in the Anhaltisches Gesammtarchive not "Luciä" but "Lucä" is to be read.

No. 2085a.

Wittenberg. 13. November 1534.

To Anna of the Lady of Wendishayn.

Luther promises to intercede for her and her husband with the visitators. (Cf. No. 2000. There instead of: "Darne" is to be read: "Dame").

The original is in the Acts of the Castle Biederstem near Nossen. Printed by Dr. Herm. Peter, in the Leipziger Zeitung. 1897. no. 134, enclosure. 1 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 81.

The honourable, virtuous woman Anna von der Dame, now at Widdesheym, 2) my good friend in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honourable, virtuous woman! I have read your writing.

2) Franz von der Dame and his wife Anna belonged to the Christians expelled by Duke George of Saxony for their faith (see No. 1955 and No. 2000; in both places wrong names, namely "Daum" and "Dame" instead of: "Dame"). The Elector gave them an outlying estate of the Buch Monastery, Wendishayn, for three years. The conditions there were unfavorable for them. The pastor there, only outwardly a friend of the Gospel, was a commissioner of the bishop.

And I am ever sorry for your affliction; let our Lord Christ comfort and strengthen you together with your dear master of the house. The devil is hostile to the word of God, therefore he goes about and seeks everywhere a loophole where he may come to us and torture us, and so should our friends, who should help and advise us more cheaply. My most gracious lord, the Elector, is not in the country now, and may hardly come home before Christmas from business. Who the Münch is, and who governs the Puche, I do not know, but I will ask the Visitatores how it stands, and help write to them, the best we can. What harm is it if you also call on the godparents 1) at Torgau for advice and help, perhaps they could do something. Hereby, God be with you, amen. My Käthe and I greet your dear host kindly, and God be with you. Friday after St. Martin's Day [13 Nov.] 1534.

Martinus Luther, D.

No.2094b.

Wittenberg. December 17, 1534.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse. .

In No. 2094a we have brought a regest of this letter; now that we have it in Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 96, the complete text is available, we share it with you.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most reverend Prince, most gracious Lord! Here comes Magister Phi

in Meissen. The influential forester in Buch, called "Münch zur Puche" in our letter, was a bitter enemy of the Lutherans. The couple will have suffered much from these two. In addition, there was a discord between the visitators and the sequestrators, since the latter often had only fiscal interests in mind. The second visitation in Meissen, from March 24 to 28, 1534, will have meant well for the Dame's, but when the sequestrators came there on their round trip, the couple seems to have fared badly; perhaps the Dame's were not up to the administration of the estate either. For the time being, Luthern succeeded in averting the danger from them; in 1536, the Elector even extended the usufruct for another three years; but when, after the expiration of this period, the sequestrators again reported unfavorably about them, the estate was taken away from them. Further is not known about them, (Dr. Peter I. c.) - The wrong name Widdeshehm has probably arisen by confusion with the places Weidenhain and Wildenhain situated near Torgau, (Dr. Peter.)

1) Maybe: Räthe?

lippus and has shown my thoughts?) Truly, I am also sorry for such a rift, I have also felt the damage well that I would like to reawaken unity with life and limb where it could be, because (when), my conscience excluded, there should be nothing that I do not want to suffer and do gladly. But I cannot hide my conscience, because I cannot regain it, and the rebuke is a heavy worm in my heart. Christ our Lord, hear our poor prayer, and give his Spirit, that this spirit of division may be cast out, and that the right unity of his Spirit may come to us again, Amen. Thursday after Lucia [Dec. 17] 1534.

E. F. G. williger

M. L.

No. 2101a.

Cassel. 29 December 1534.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther.

(Regest.)

Answer to No. 2094d. - The Landgrave expresses his satisfaction that Luther has a good inclination toward Christian unity, so that God's honor and His Word are promoted. He hopes that God will grant ways and means by which unanimous Christian faith will be preserved. He reports that Melanchthon and Bucer have arrived there, and expresses the hope that Luther and others will behave toward each other in such a way that unanimity will be preserved, and God's Word will not remain in Saxony alone, but will resound everywhere and gain progress.

The original concept is in the archives at Marburg. Printed in *Kuchenbecker, Analecta Hassiaca, Collect. X*, p. 418 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 109.

No. 2102a.

Wittenberg. 30 December 1534.

To Urban Rhegius in Celle.

Hereto will be transferred with the Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 112, the letter no. 2200 is to be transferred since one used to begin the new year with Christmas.

2) The meaning of these words is, as the Erl. Briefw. correctly remarks: Melanchthon has with him and delivers the thoughts which I have distinguished. - Melanchthon is not the author of the Bedenkm. See what we have said about it in No. 2094a.

No. 2111.

Weimar. 12 January 1535.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

The Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. X, p. 118, has taken the wrong date from Burkhardt: "5 January".

No. 2113.

Wittenberg. January 18, 1535.

To Matthias Weller in Freiberg.

We have, like all earlier editions, for this letter the address: "To a composer", but Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 486, and the Erl. Briefw., Vol. X, p. 123, let the letter be addressed to the above addressee.

No. 2120a.

Wittenberg. February 28, 1535.

To Spalatin.

Letter No. 2217 is to be transferred here because, as Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 131, the original has the date 1535, not 1536.

No. 2121a.

Wittenberg. 2. March 1535.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Letter No. 2218 is to be transferred here because, as can be seen from Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 133, the original has the date: Tuesday after Oculi 1535.

No. 2123a.

Wittenberg. March 18, 1535.

To Caspar Müller, Mansfeld chancellor, in Eisleben.

Luther informs him that Wicel has written a new book for his papists. He asks him to report to the Count of Mansfeld that the two students are being cared for too lavishly; he should keep an eye on it.

The original is in Rome in the Vatican. Library, Ottobon. no. 3029. Facsimile and print at Georg G. Evers, M. Luther, 1. 1883, as supplement, and in the Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 137. - The Erl. Briefw. says: "We give the text according to Evers, who, however, does not seem to have read without errors; so far as the facsimile, which is not particularly successful, makes it possible, the errors are improved." Nevertheless, Dr. Enders has put no less than thirteen question marks to the readings in Evers and in the facsimile. To us the letter, at least in its present form, seems somewhat suspect.

To the honourable, simple-minded man Caspar Möller, count's councillor and chancellor in Mansfeld, my favourable lord and dear godfather.

G. and peace in Christo. Honorable, kindly dear Lord and Godfather! New Newspaper
I don't know much to write to you, because you are at the place, since they come here before, but perhaps not much good, and de(r) evil the more. Your Grammatell, 1) I hear from Joua 2) (for I read none of the books), has given his sows but times Musealen. And what else should such sows eat but such Musealen? Eat, dear sows, eat! It is a food for you. to such guests belong such kitchen-masters, *Quanta est ira Dei in istos homines, ut in seipsos cogantur fieri vindices, cecitate et amentia. Sed de hoc satis* [How great is the wrath of God against these men, that they are compelled to become punishers in themselves through blindness and folly. But enough of this]. This I put into your consideration, if you want to report it to my lord from afar. Lord from afar, that S. G. nevertheless would have a friendly understanding how to keep the two pious students (with the kitchens). There are also credible people who begin to say (or mumble) that without need much would be raised, so that one might well keep four such gentlemen. I myself did not want to tell m. gn. [4] so that the goat at Lubick would not make a fool of me. But because I out of desire m. gn. Lord to keep an eye on it from time to time, I will first report it to you from afar, if you would also report it from afar, until we could hold the goat. What's the harm in a friendly stir? The ale is good, the maid fair, the fellows young... The students are truly fine, that I am often sorry that I cannot be here more often because of my weakness. This you shall understand as a poor simple sheep, as you are famous. For I would gladly be pious, if I could not be so simple as you are. Hereby commanded by God, and greetings to all our good friends, amen.

1535Doctor Martinus

On the thursday after Judica. Doctor Luther Doctor Plenus.

(postscript lengthwise from the margin:)

My Lord Käthe sends you friendly greetings, and Hans Luther, your godfather, [also]. 5)

---

1) Wicel.
2) Evers reads: Jena.
3) Evers reads: let.
4) Added by us.
5) Word illegible due to ink stains.

No, 2127.

Wittenberg. April 18, 1535.

To Benedict (Gübe? Baworinsky?), archipresbyter of the Bohemian Brethren.

From this letter, the Erlangen correspondence makes two, one to Benedict Baworinsky, vol. X, p. 141, and the other to Benedict Gub, ibid. p. 143, but nevertheless leaves it undecided whether one of the two existing redactions is not a retranslation from the Bohemian and identical with the other.

No. 2127a.

Wittenberg. April 19, 1535.

To Stenzel Guldschmidt in Breslau.

This letter is to be transferred here from No. 2199, for it is, as the Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 145, here Valerianus is April 18, *Valeriani et Triburtii*. The day *Valeriani et Maximiani*, December 15, is excluded by the fact that Andreas Guldschmidt was not in Wittenberg at that time, but with the university in Jena, because of the plague.

No. 2140a.

Weimar. 6 July 1535.

Elector Johann Friedrich to Luther.

(Regest.)

Answer to No. 2139a. The Elector grants Luther's request, which he has made for Antonius Schönitz, and points out that it would be good if he brought the registers to him in the Electorate with the help of his friendship.

The original concept is in the Hauptstaatsarchiv zu Dresden, *Locat* 8948, fol. 69. Printed in Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 168.

No. 2141a.

Wittenberg. (No later than the middle of July, 1535.)

Luther, Cruciger, G. Major and Melanchthon to the preachers at Nordhausen.

See St. Louis ed. vol. X, 744. There this letter is without date, and we intended to insert it under No. 2200a, but by mistake Col. 2030 has omitted this evidence. (See the chronological register in this volume.) Now we see from the Erl. Briefw., Vol. X, p. 173, that the letter is to be classified under the above chronology, since, since Melanchthon and Cruciger co-signed the letter, the university had not yet moved to Jena.

No. 2169a.

Wittenberg. (September 12, 1535.) 1)

To Chancellor Brück.

Same contents as No. 2169.

Handwritten in *London, Public office*, with the inscription: *Ad Dr. Pontanum cancellarium Martini L. litere* (not a very good copy). Printed by Kolde in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XIV, 605 and in Erl. Briesw., vol. X, p. 227.

Grace and peace in Christ. Esteemed, reverend, dear lord and godfather! There comes Doctor *Antonius Anglicus, 2) Legatus a suo rege,* and desires, as you miss, from my most gracious lord interrogation, which may be gracious, but secret or close, as I do not care, where E. A. proves conducive to it, my most gracious lord will not complain, especially because his C. F. G. knows the man well beforehand and comes in much different form than the French embassy 2c. F. G. knows the man well before, and comes in much different shape than the French embassy 2c.

Now, [since] the king also has the courage to accept the Gospel and to enter into a covenant with our princes and to let our Apologia go into his kingdom, methinks that if His Majesty were to be taken honestly, it should make the papists both mad with conciliation and all the rest. For since all these things, unsought by us, are of their own accord, God may well intend something better and greater than we understand. And where he wants to greet us graciously, we must see to it that we do not let him pass by without thanks, *Fronte capillata, post est occasio calva.* [4]) *Qui negligit occasionem* (says Bonaventura), *hunc rursus negliget occasio* [He who misses the occasion will miss the occasion again].

For the sake of the royal marriage, there is already the *suspensio* that the other legate is to deal with us theologians in the future, which cannot be denied him. That's none of the princes' business. And I myself would like to hear what reason they have for wanting to be so sure of the matter.

1) This time determination results from comparison with the previous letter, No. 2169.
2) Dr. Robert Barnes.
3) The Augsburg Confession of Faith.
4) One must seize the opportunity by the scoop, behind it is bare. *Cato, distich*. 2, 26.

I would almost like to see Magister Philippum travel or be sent to England himself, for he promised it before, and thereupon has acted so far with the king that he is so far away. And if he should ever be hindered, his happiness would be too much for him, and in the end such adherence would bring displeasure and perhaps an eel's tail. 1) Could it not happen now, that [it] might happen after my lord's return? Lord's return. He has done and worked much, as we all know. Should one then again leave him nothing good, or carry him a little, that would be too severe, and his merit rewarded with sadness. Yet all lawyers and Medici are free, and go to foreign masters when they will. These things write I, that the good man be not overcharged with evil thoughts.

E. A. will probably do the best in this. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen.

No. 2169b.

Ulm. 31 September 1335.

The preachers at Ulm to Luther.

(Regest.)

The clergy express their joyful approval of the Concord. Luther replied on 5 October.

Printed by Keim, Reformation der Reichsstadt Ulm. 1851. p. 322 (without indication of the source) and in Erlanger Briefw., vol.

No. 2172*.

(Lüneburg.) September 26, 1535.

The council of Lüneburg to Luther.

The council asks Luthern, he wants to help that Dr. Caspar Cruciger go to Lüneburg as superintendent.
The original concept is at Lüneburg in the city archives. Printed in Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 233.

Our 2c. Respectable, erudite, magnanimous lord and friend! Because the respectable and

1) That is, to give birth to an error, for one cannot hold the eel by the tail, which occurs several times in Luther, e. g., St. Louis ed. vol. V, 854, § 134.

The highly learned Doctor Urbanus Rhegius 2) has returned to our gracious lord and sovereign from us, we have ordered such *officium to be* kept for a time by another learned man, who nevertheless has a weak life, until we can get hold of a skilled man; it is therefore necessary for us to have another superintendent, so that a Christian instruction of the people and a uniform church order may be kept here. Now we are told how a well learned man, who lives an honest and good life, by the name of Doctor Casparus Creutziger, is to abstain from preaching and teaching the Word of God with all diligence. According to the same, we want to have asked with special diligence in a friendly and official manner, [that] your A. W. want to kindly urge and induce the aforementioned Doctor to promote the teaching of the Gospel, [that] his A. W. want to let himself be used for an obedient office with us to the glory of God, and want to grant our diligent request, as we do not doubt that your A. W. will show himself to be good-willed and friendly to this, [that] we are for your A. W., which we blessedly commend to the Almighty, we are again quite willing to merit unsaved diligence. On Sunday after Matthew [26 September] *anno ut* 8.

No. 2172a.

Wittenberg. September 28, 1535.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

The following postscript is to be added to this number, which we overlooked in De Wette-Seidemann, because vol. VI, p. 443 concludes the letter, but p. 444 begins the postscript:

Augsburg, Ulm, Esslingen, both city councils and preachers, also the

2) For the implementation of the Reformation in Lüneburg, which took place under heavy fights between the Catholic council and the Protestant citizenry as well as Duke Ernst of Braünschweig-Lüneburg, Rhegius had already come from Celle to Lüneburg in the summer of 1531 and repeatedly from Easter 1532 to autumn 1533, the second time as Superintendent. After his departure Heinrich Radbrock, the former abbot of the monastery of Scharnebeck, who had already been his successor after the first departure of Rhegius, now again became his successor, but was little equal to the position. Nothing came of Cruciger's appointment, and negotiations with Hermann Bonnus in Lübeck were equally futile. Only in the year 1537, when the council sent its own deputation to Schmalkalden to Luther, it succeeded to win Paulus von Rhode from Stettin, even if only for a short time. (Erl. Briefw.)

Preacher at Strasbourg, and give it wonderfully to the right unity, as E. C. F. G. will read, first I can make and send the letters. 1)

No. 2181a.

Weimar. 6 October 1535.

Elector John Frederick of Saxony to Luther.

Answer to No. 2172a. The Prince-Chief has reservations about having the letters written by the Bishop of Mainz to Hans Schönitz vidified by the Court for his brother Antonius, and advises that if he wishes to have the letters printed, he should have this done by a public Notary. The Prince promises Schönitzen that he will order protection for him even during his absence.

The original concept is at Dresden in the Hauptstaatsarchiv, I^ooat. 8948. k. 68. The first Concipirung is corrigated many times; the corrections are cursory and often written only suggestively. Printed in the Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 244.

Johans Fridrich 2c.

Our greetings. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have read your letter, which you have now sent to us at the request of Antoni Schenitz concerning the vidimir of several letters, which have been attributed to his brother by the Archbishop of Mainz 2c. and since the said Schenitz asks to order our court to vidimir such letters to his and his brother's children [Ehren Nothdurft] 2), we have all kinds of misgivings about this, and also take care that the court concerned would hardly be able to do the same. Because we consider it to be the case that he would perhaps, for the honor of his and his brother's heirs, have a printout publicly issued, it should be sufficient, and also have more prestige, where such letters are exemplified by an open Notary Public, as is appropriate and due, and such letters are advertised. You shall notify him of this, and also not let this order of ours come from you. But at his request we will

1) To this letter the Elector answered on October 6. This answer is now before us in Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 244, from which we see that Col. 2008 must erase notes 2) and 3) as wrong, namely "Hoferecht" stands for Court Court, and the Elector does not advise to have the letters printed, but only sets the possibility that they will be printed.

2) Added by us.

Order to protect and handle the said Schenitz, according to our given protection, of our absence like us^) equally and rightly. This we have not wanted to do to you in your gracious opinion. Date Weimar, Wednesday after Francisci [Oct. 6] 1535.

No. 2183a.

Wittenberg. 20 October 1535.

To Friedrich Myconius in Gotha.

Here the letter No. 2198 is to be transferred, because, as we see from the Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 248, the date is not "Luciä" but "Lucä", which the manuscripts testify. Furthermore, at Jena in the *Cod. Bos. 9. 24 k. f. 215* in Rörer's postscript the speech which Luther delivered 4. *post Lucae i. e.* 20. Oot. on occasion of the ordination of a preacher called to Gotha. - The date, which the Erlangen correspondence has, "24. October", will be a printing error.

No. 2183b.

(Frankfurt a. M.) 20 October 1535.

The preachers at Frankfurt a. M. to Luther.

(Regest.)

They inform Luther that after they have preached the Gospel for eleven years, the city council has finally decided to prohibit the mass. The Bishop of Mainz and the Imperial Chamber Court are aroused by this, and they rage and rage and threaten the city with extreme evil if the mass is not restored. The council seems to be wavering. Therefore they ask Luther to advise them what they should do in this matter.

Handwritten in the Frankfurt City Archives, MG. 6. 11 (12). *Lit. K.* (a copy made for the council). Printed in Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 249.

No. 2184.

Wittenberg. October 25, 1535.

To Agnes Lauterbach in Leisnig.

We have brought this letter, like all earlier editions, under the heading: "To an unnamed person. The name of the addressee, as the Erl. Briefw., Vol. X, p. 251, from a manuscript in Riga, *Cod. 244. f. 140b.*, where the address reads: "To the respectable, virtuous woman Agnes Lauterbachin of Leysnig, preacher, my good friend and godmother."

3) That is, as we do when we find present.

No. 2184a

(Frankfurt a. M.)October 27, 1535.

The Council of Frankfurt a. M. to Luther and Melanchthon.

The council explains in detail how they were urged by the preachers to suspend the papal mass and ceremonies in the Catholic monasteries, and in what trouble they got into as a result. Now they ask for advice on how they should behave.

The original concept is in the Frankfurt City Archives, MG. C. 11 (12). lüt. L. Printed in the Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 251.

To the worthy, highly learned gentlemen, Martins Luther, Doctor 2c., and Herr Philippen Melanchthon, our dear lords and special good friends.

Our kind offices before. Worthy, highly learned, dear gentlemen and especially good friends! We are confronted with errors and difficulties due to the suspended papal masses and ceremonies, which we have undertaken to discover to you out of good faith and to take care of with your faithful advice and report, with the friendly request that you will hear them willingly and without annoyance. For since the matter itself is of great importance and much is at stake, the necessity requires that the transaction be told at length. Namely:

When, in recent years, shortly after the Bavarian outrage, we appointed several preachers and commanded them to preach the word of God for the salvation of us and our souls, our preachers have now, for several years, taken charge of the mass and other papal church offices and ceremonies, against which they preach daily, that they, especially the mass, are not founded in holy scripture, are contrary to the word of God and an abominable blasphemy, which we, as the magistrate, are obliged to abolish; from which the listening people not only against the mass, ceremonies, and the spiritual persons, but also against us, as those who had engaged in such blasphemy 1) and who, as was our due, did not want to abolish it, received and apprehended such displeasure, from which we were concerned that all kinds of improprieties and wanton acts, in awakening evil, would follow in the future, as has also been shown subsequently. For when they began to preach and shout against the masses and ceremonies daily, the longer the more vehemently, the more

1) consented.

In a short time it has come about that not only the common people, but also a part of us, the council, have been persuaded and have neither known nor believed otherwise than that it was in our power, and that we were guilty before God, to do away with the masses and ceremonies. Which they have often said to us publicly from the pulpit and in many other ways. For which reason we have been moved to send for them, and to tell them: It has now been a good while since they preached Mass and ceremonies, as mentioned above, and although it may well be that the Mass and ceremonies, as they have hitherto been in use among the clergy, do not have much foundation in Holy Scripture, we know neither from their sermons nor otherwise to report that it is in our power, and that we are the same magistrate to whom it is due and should be incumbent to create and rule with the ceremonies and the mass in such a manner; with a friendly request that they would refrain from moving the unintelligent people to be ruthless against the clergy and us, and that they would preach the word of God, with humble denunciation of the abuses, for the increase of God's honor and love of neighbor, in such a way that thereby no one would give offense, and the Gospel would remain undefiled by those who had not yet come to know it.

But such our admonition and entreaties, which have been made to them several times, have found little favour with them, but they have persisted in their intention of dissuading the masses and ceremonies, until they have brought matters (which we do not like to write of them) to the point that not only the clergy, but also we against the common people, and one citizen against another, have been in trouble, so that we have been caused to petition our congregation from guild to guild, and to send them notices, admonitions, and ceremonies, but also we against the common people, and one citizen against the other in worries, so that we were caused to request our community from guilds to guilds, and to let them do notices, admonitions and reminders, as can be seen from the printed note, marked with the letter, 2) Hiebei verwahret.

To which exhortation and reminder our congregation obediently and well kept, and namely gave the answer: although they would suffer the mass, for causes that

2) On December 22, 1532, the City Council had a printed patent sent to the guilds, to the effect that 1) each one should remember his oath, which he swore to Imperial Maj. Maj. and the Council, 2) that each one should pay attention to the imperial congresses of Augsburg and Regensburg, and therefore 3) that the demand for the abolition of the mass 2c. be left in patience until the future Concilium. (Erl. Briefw.)

If it had not been preached in the above-mentioned manner, then they would still have placed it in our hands, as the authorities. At the same time, we assume that it would have remained so, if our preachers had been somewhat more inclined to peace.

But they have not only not put up with such modesty on the part of the congregation, but have worked much more than before with preaching and otherwise, so that the previous indignation, awakened again, has increased to such an extent that at last it was to be feared (as they, the preachers, 1) were in part allowed to hear [make] from the pulpit and to consternate [bedröwen]): where we, the council, would not hold mass, that the women and children would do so; so that it (writing the truth) should not be regarded as almost unequal to the beginning of an uprising and rebellion, as can be seen from the courage exercised by some children and other young people during the Christmas holidays of the same year, 2) and from the response that we received from the congregation to the other admonition, according to the note marked B, 3). For even though our congregation gave us the things completely in the first answer, they were nevertheless so turned away and incited by the preachers and others, who had a desire for unrest, 4) in between, that in the last answer they wanted to have the mass unanimously taken away.

Now we have seen and noted that there is nothing else to be expected, except either outrage and intervention of the mob, which we would not have been responsible to allow in any way, or else the ceremonies would be done out of sight: we have, in order to prevent such mischief, first of all in the kindness of the [papal] clergy with us

1) Especially Dionysins Melander, the evangelical preacher in St. Bartholomew's Church.

2) "On St. Stephen's Day and the following day (2nd and 3rd Christmas Day) many boys stayed in the parish (parish church of St. Bartholomew) after the (Protestant) sermon, and there prevented all services of the Catholics; the same also happened to the preachers (Dominican church) and the White Women or women in mourning" (Ritter, evang. Denkw., p. 166). Also several altars were broken.

3) At the beginning of January 1533, the City Council again issued a printed patent to the guilds, in which he referred to the mischief that had taken place and at the same time drew attention to the imminent danger, since the city had already been threatened with a fine of 200 Marks of gold by Imperial Maj. Maj. had already threatened the city with a fine of 200 marks of soluble gold if it were to hinder the papal clergy in their ceremonies; at the same time, he called upon it to declare clearly whether the mass should be abolished or not, so that unanimous action could be taken according to necessity. (Knight I. c. p. 167.)

4) Erl. Briefw.: "hätten".

5) for their own good, and so that we may live with them, they with us, and the common citizenry with one another in peace, suspend their masses and ceremonies for a time, namely, until a future council or other Christian renewal of religious matters, with a preliminary protestation that we do not want to have talked and acted with them in any other way than for the above-mentioned reasons of maintaining peace and unity, and that we do not know how to secure or defend them from violence in any other way. 6)

Since the clergy, after such an act with them, have omitted the masses and ceremonies, we and our congregation, as we were concerned about, have been sued from this time on at the Imperial Court of Appeal. There, irrespective of all our exceptions and defences, so far as they have acted and proceeded against us, 7) we have been sentenced to pay two hundred marks in commemorated fines, and in addition to this, to the imperial eight. Eight, where our most gracious Lord Count Palatine Ludwig, Elector, by imperial order, 8) has agreed to our being sentenced to a fine of two hundred marks in gold. Maj.'s order, 8) on our appeal to his churf. Gn., to bring matters to an amicable arrangement between Mainz and us, as you know. In which amicable action, however, the matters may not have been settled, but both parties have been given an agreement to sign or sign off in a certain time, notwithstanding this opinion that provost, dean, chapter and common clergy in the monastery of St. Bartolme, founded with us (in view of the fact that there is a special imperial endowment before other monasteries, which is to be used by the monastery of St. Bartolme). Foundation before other monasteries, the election of a Roman king and temporal ruling head in Christendom to take place in it at any time, is decreed and confirmed in the Golden Bull), should be allowed and neither refused nor prevented to preach, sing mass and read other things according to their statutes, foundation and church regulations, as by old custom; and we in the church of St. Bartolme should be allowed to preach, sing mass and read other things, as by old custom; and we in the church of St. Bartolme should be allowed to preach, sing mass and read other things according to our statutes, foundation and church regulations.

5) Erl. Briefw.: "stood".

6) This negotiation of the council with the Catholic clergy took place on January 4 and 5, 1533.

7) On April 10, the Imperial Chamber Court at Speier sent the Council a *Mandatum poenale*, against which the Council protested and appealed to the Emperor.

8) By order of King Ferdinand, Prince Ludwig of the Palatinate had taken over the amicable mediation between Frankfort and Mainz and had scheduled a day for this on April 25, which was then postponed to May 10.

We have been preaching the Gospel and the Word of God to other churches outside of St. Bartholomew's, according to the right understanding, to peace and unity, as we can answer for this to God and the Roman Emperor. Maj. can answer for, would like to have preached 2c. And that otherwise all other misunderstandings concerning the monasteries, convents, and clergy in our city, until a future Christian Concilio or the Roman Royal Majesty and the Holy See, may be settled. Maj. and the Holy. Reichs gemeiner Stände meeting, or until the Roman Emperor's Maj. Maj. will, as is hoped, soon come to the Holy Roman Empire, be based on and stand for further action and settlement as it has been up to now. And in the meantime the attribution or transcription with the justification to the Imperial Court of Appeal should stand still. Chamber Court should be stopped 2c., as then further reported in touched parting.

However, since this departure has given us many reasons, and especially that, according to it, two kinds of disgusting sermons and the administration of the sacraments would arise in our city, from which a new unrest and disruption of peace and unity would arise, we have postponed writing it in or out, in the hope that the matter will be brought before our most gracious and gracious lords, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, as well as our special, dear and good friends, masters, mayors and councillors of the cities of Strasbourg, Ulm and Nuremberg, whom we have asked to find counsel in other ways.

However, to write about it recently, all the advice given, also our applied diligence and costs, to obtain a further standstill, have been irreplaceable, so that we furthermore do not know how to use any responsible excuse of delay to write the farewell on or off, but must either accept the same farewell, or, if not, be certain of the declaration of the penal case and the eight.

But now let us consider, if we let it come to this, that we would be declared in penance and guard (as reported), into what danger, mischief and ruin our city would be led, from this it would also follow that we would then be forced to the whole restitution, not only in St. Bartolmes, but in all other monasteries, churches and convents, and thus from the pure doctrine of the Gospel completely by force.

But after we know that in more than one city, where the true doctrine of the Gospel is preached, the papal masses and ceremonies, especially in the churches, are celebrated with no harm (as

1) Strasbourg advised the city of Frankfurt not to give in on the matter.

we are tolerated by the Protestant doctrine, and it is credibly reported that our gracious lord, the Landgrave of Hesse, acted in the same way before this time between Münster and the bishop there by treaty, 2) also you at Wittenberg and Marburg have advised the city of Bremen in the same case, to let the clergy hold their masses and ceremonies in the cathedral monastery, as this is attributed to our council friend Justinian von Holtzhausen 3) before, which and other things, which were given to him by each of you in particular at that time, you well know to remember:we have not known how to avoid it, although it is highly repugnant and burdensome to us, to contact the Elector of Mainz or his churf. Gn. We have not known how to avoid this, although it is highly repugnant to us, to let ourselves act with the Elector of Main or his lordly deputies for the restitution of the monastery of St. Bartolmes on the measure of the proposed Heidelberg means, but that there not the clergy, but we want to set up the prebendary, as long as the decency lasts.

All of which we have held up to our preachers, have spoken to them kindly about it, and have had them ask for it: Since we do not know any other way of dealing with the evil in this matter, we ask them, considering that such things, as mentioned above, are tolerated in more cities, and that we, according to your writings to our friend Justinian von Holtzhausen, 4) understand that in this case they should be allowed to preach with a clear conscience, that we would like to be admitted in this case with a clear conscience, and that they would like to keep their sermons all the more mild and modest, so that the common people would not be provoked or incited to sit down against our nobility and to show themselves contrary, from which further unrest and indignation would be to be feared.

In which they have sent us all kinds of complaints (as can be heard in part from the writings that they subsequently handed over in our council), and that writings should have gone out from both of you, as you can see.

2) in the treaty, mediated by the landgrave, of Feb. 14, 1533, between the city of Münster and the bishop, according to which the city on the one hand acknowledged the old constitution of the cathedral priest, and on the other hand was granted six churches for Protestant preaching.

3) Justinian von Holzhausen, born 1502, a humanistic pupil of Melanchthon (inscribed in Wittenberg on Dec. 19, 1524) and in correspondence with him, was elected to the City Council in 1529, belonged with his father, Hamman von Holzhausen, to the most respected members of the Protestant party in the City Council, represented the city as an envoy at several imperial congresses, as well as in 1537 at the Convention in Schmalkalden, at which Frankfurt joined the League. He died on Sept. 9, 1553.

4) These letters of Luther and Melanchthon are missing.

(if you had been rightly informed of the matter), do not want to give credence (which is also primarily the cause that we have to trouble you again herewith), nor have they refrained from making the people rebellious and stiff-necked to this undertaking, so that we have to worry about tumult and indignation no less than before, that we would by no means have provided for them.

But at the end of their writing they have offered to follow your and others' advice and instruction in this matter, which we have therefore accepted from them, and send you their letter, at their request, together with other letters which they write to you together or separately, privately, unknowingly to us, as they have sent all this to us in an embittered form, enclosed.

Dear Sirs and Friends! Now that you have recently and truthfully heard how we have come to the suspension, what has happened to it, what has followed from it, and what is to be done about it, you, as the highly knowledgeable, can well judge that the issue is not whether one should trust in God (for no one doubts this), but rather whether we, the mayor and council of Frankfurt, have been obliged to stop the masses and ceremonies in the churches, since we have no patronatus or other jurisdiction: whether we, the mayor and council of Frankfurt, are obliged to abolish the masses and ceremonies in the churches, since we have no zus *patronatus* or other jurisdiction, and are also obliged to let our city come to thorough ruin rather than to restore one convent, regardless of the fact that through such restitution of the one convent the teaching of the Gospel is preserved in the other churches.

So our friendly request to you is with special diligence: you shall, in response to our preachers' letter and this true report of ours, in honor of the Gospel, give us your good advice, report and instruction as to how we may, according to the form of the matters of the restitution of half of the monastery of St. Bartelmes, without reproach to our consciences. Bartelmes, without reprimand and without burdening our consciences, may and should be communicated to us with good will,1) likewise, not to admonish our prebendaries, because they are obligated to keep to their command "in honor of God" and for the sake of common peace. For what we know ourselves to do or to refrain from doing out of instruction of the Word of God, to which we are not obliged to do.

1) There is no answer from Luther to this letter, but the same folder of the archives contains Melanchthon's answer from Jena dated November 5 (still unprinted), in which he advises to agree to the restitution of the mass at St. Bartholomew's because the city council there does not have the *jus patronatus,* and the refusal would not only bring the imperial power upon the city, but could also give rise to a great war. (Erl. Briefw.)

we would gladly comply, insofar as God grants us grace, with our part of it, confident that our preachers shall, in accordance with their commandment, as they have been instructed by you on the basis of the Scriptures to pursue, comply with all due diligence. And for our sake, show yourselves to be as benevolent as our trust in you is and as the necessity of the form and importance of the trade requires. The Almighty will graciously reward this, and we will earn it for you together and separately with friendly diligence and will. Date on Wednesday the 27th day of Octobris Anno 2c. xxxv.

(Inserted note.)

Dear Sirs and Friends! And so that you may know to what extent the Mainzians think they can be compared with us, we send you herewith a copy of the articles and points which they have sent us to consider and decide upon. *Dat. ut in litteris*. 2)

No. 2186.

Wittenberg. Before the 2nd of November, 1535.

To Brixius of Norden and the other preachers at Soest.

Such should be the address of this letter, according to what the Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 262. It says there note 2: Luther calls him in the heading wrongly Thonwerde. Brixius thon Noirde (Northanus) from Schöpfungen in East Frisia, 1528 Caplan in Büderich near Wesel, which he had to leave in 1530 because of his evangelical attitude, then appointed 1532 to Münster, where he assisted Beruh. Rothmann, whose sister he married in 1533; expelled by the Anabaptists in 1534 on January 1, he first went to Lippstadt, where he received a call as preacher to Soest in March of the same year. As such he signed the Schmalkaldic Articles in 1537 (St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1950) and remained here until he was expelled by the Interim, whereupon he was called to Lübeck in 1548, where he died on Aug. 4, 1557.

No. 2187.

Wittenberg. 2 November 1535.

To Bernhard Wurzelmann, pastor in Dinkelsbühl.

Wurzelmann is according to your Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 264 the surname of the addressee, Erhard Schnepf's brother-in-law, whom Luther probably did not know.

2) The outcome of the dispute was that in November 1535 one agreed to the restitution of the mass, but with the retention of the Protestant sermon, in St. Bartholomew's Church. It remained so until the Interim on Oct. 4, 1548, when the church had to be entirely vacated to the Catholics. (Erl. Briefw.)

No. 2100b.

Wittenberg. 29 December 1535.

To Anton Lauterbach in Leisnig.

In No. 2327 we have placed the letter at the end of the year 1536, but there Col. 2138, Note 1, pronounced "that it seems to us that this letter is more correctly placed in the year 1535". The Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 280, agrees.

No. 2200a. (1535?)

Bible inscription for the Ansbach chancellor Georg Vogler.

From a Bible printed in 1535 by Hans Lufft, now in the Windsheim City Library, printed in the Jahresbericht des historischen Vereins von Mittelfranken, 1868. p. 100 and in the Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 282.

Joh. XIX. 1)

My kingdom is not of banishment, that is, my kingdom is not a worldly kingdom. Why is that? Because in the worldly kingdom the more part hold themselves out after the devil's kingdom. As it is written in Ps. 2:1, Why do the heathen rage, and the nations judge 2) useless things? Kings 2c. But my kingdom is wholly according to God against the devil.

John X. 3)

I am the life and the resurrection. He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live.

Dr. Georgio Vogler Amixissimo S. Martinus Luther d.

No. 2210a.

Wittenberg. End of Jan. or beginning of Feb. 1536.

To Cardinal Albrecht at Mainz.

Thus, with the Erl. Briefw., Vol. X, p. 296, this writing must be dated, for it cannot have been written before No. 2207, since Luther still speaks of this writing on Jan. 24 as something future. In the determination of the time, which we have set after Köstlin: "Before the 12th of January", "January" will be misprint instead of February. On Feb. 11 Melanchthon had left Jena, and on Feb. 14 he writes to N. N. (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. III, 42) that he had heard immediately on his arrival at Wittenberg that Luther had written a very severe letter to the Archbishop at Mainz.

1) Joh. 18, 36.
2) Maybe: tichten?
3) Joh. 11, 25.

No. 2215.

Wittenberg. II March 1536.

To Nikolaus Hausmann in Dessau.

This letter is published in the Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 306, presumably through a printing error, under March 13.

No. 2216a.

Wittenberg. 16 March 1536.

To the Elector John Frederick of Saxony.

Luther urgently asks for an allowance for the church servants in Grimma, especially for the pastor Johann Schreiner there.

After the hitherto unprinted original in private hands, on which Luther's well preserved seal still exists, printed from a copy made by Dr. Buchwald in Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 309.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Most noble, highborn Prince and Lord! To your electoral graces my subservient services in all obedience have always been rendered with diligence. Most gracious Prince and Lord! Magister Johann Schreyner, 4) pastor of Grym, has now informed me how the appointed visitators in Meissen and the Voitland found in a recent visitation to Grym 5) that the church servants there, as pastor, chaplain and schoolmaster, are more in need of their necessary maintenance, as then reported here in the enclosed copy of the registration with clearly expressed words. So then the said pastor is known to your electoral graces without a doubt, sent with preaching before several others, and burdened with much of the superlative toil and work of the place, and about

4) Joh. Schreiner, born 1487 at Waldheim, Augustinian, monastery companion and friend of Luther and Wittenberg Magister, became the first Protestant pastor at Grimma in 1521, superintendent at the first visitation in 1529, one of the visitators of Meissen appointed by the Elector in 1542, died August 21, 1552.

5) This visitation took place on March 7, 1534, by Erasmus von Spiegel, Spalatin and Joh. Riemann, pastor in Werdau.

who has a miserably ill wife, with whom he has had to spend his fortune with the physicians for some time, which still has no end, and to worry that she may remain in such illness for a long time according to the will of God[1], for which the same priest is in particular need of help before others: For this reason I ask your electoral grace in all submission and humility, that your electoral grace will have mercy on him, and graciously provide him with the allowance, as the above-mentioned visitators considered necessary, and order this to the sequestrators of this place in Meissen by grace, who will undoubtedly know how to do this, so that the above-mentioned pastor together with the chaplain and schoolmaster will be helped. For the sake of your princely graces I will be found willing to earn this with my prayers to God and in all submissiveness and obedience. Date Wittenberg on Thursday after Reminiscere [16 March] Anno 2c. xxxvj.

E. churf. G. submissive, obedient Martinus Luther Doctor Ecclesiast zu Wittemberg.

No. 2223a.

Ansbach. 5 April 1536.

Margrave George of Brandenburg to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Margrave notifies Luther of the death of his father Frederick, which occurred yesterday. - Luther answered on 29 May.

Printed by Joh. Jakob Spies, Brandenburgisch-historische Münzbelustigungen, Thl. I (Ansbach 1768), p. 152 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 318.

No. 2234.

(Aarau.) (May 1, 1536.)

The Confederates to Luther and the other theologians assembled in Eisenach.

This letter, as the Erl. Briefw., Vol. X, p. 331, it is not to be dated April 30 with Kolde, but May 1, for the invitation sent from Basel to the federal deputies was: to appear in Aarau on Sunday April 30 in the evening and to act on the matter on Monday.

1) bedridden, paralyzed. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 1894.

No. 2238a.

Gotha. 17 May 1536.

Bucer to Luther.

(Regest.)

Postscript of Luther to Melanchthon.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 85.1.13.
Printed in the Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 336.

Bucer reports that they (the theologians of the Upper Netherlands) had received Luther's letter on May 16, since four of them were about to make a visit to Erfurt. After receiving the letter (No. 2237), they immediately wrote to the others in Eisenach, who were waiting for Luther's instructions, that they should follow them and go with them to Wittenberg, where they hoped to arrive on May 21.

The Codex adds the remark: Dr. Martinus Luther sent this letter immediately to Grimma to Philipp Melanchthon, who expected the theologians of the upper Germany at that place, and Luther had written with his own hand in Bucer's letters:

Here you have M. Bucer's letter. I wonder at the very great promptness of the messenger. Therefore, return to us. The other you know.

No. 2241a.

Wittenberg. (Before or on the 29th of May 1536.)

To the Margrave George of Brandenburg.

Luther informs him that the preachers of the upper provinces have been found better than he had hoped. Now he asks the Margrave and his preachers that they may also give their consent to the Concord.

Printed by Hartmann and Jäger,s) "Brenz", II, 40; in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XIII, 333 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. X, p. 341.

To my gracious Lord Margrave Jörgen of Brandenburg 2c.

What we have done here with the Upper Austrian preachers (for I was not able to come to Eisenach before my new guest, the *Calculo, as* I was supposed to), E. F. G. will, as I see fit, receive in writing from my most gracious lord, the Elector.

2) Hartmann and Jäger found a copy of this letter among Brenz's papers. Luther had enclosed it with a letter from Menius to Brenz, in which he reported on the Concordia negotiations. Brenz, who was in constant communication with Ansbach, was to take care of him. Since Menius left Wittenberg on May 30 (Kolde, *Analecta* p. 229), it can be assumed,
that our letter was written on May 29th.

I have learned more about them than other princes and lords; for they have allowed themselves to be found better than I could have hoped, have freely accepted our Confession and Apologia, and have promised to learn and practice them. More I have no knowledge to demand or urge. But let E. F. G. hereupon and E. F. G. preachers shall also show their good concern and approval, for we are not willing to follow such an order.
chem long delay 1) to conclude the peace without the other's favor. I have humbly answered E. F. G. to this request. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. E. F. G. willingly[er].

Martinus Luther.

1) So put by us; in the other prints either: "loss" or: "vexation".

End of the twenty-first part.